ARAB LINGUISTICS

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ARAB LINGUISTICS

An introductory classical text with translation and notes

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INTRODUCTION

If the *Ājurrūmiyya* is the quintessence of Arabic grammar, then aš-Širbīnī's commentary on it is surely the essence: it is modest yet comprehensive, not over-long, but detailed enough for serious study, and as orthodox and well-meaning as aš-Širbīnī himself (whose life is briefly outlined on p. 467, Epilogue n 8). His *Nūr as-sajiyya fī ḥall 'alfāẓ al-Ājurrūmiyya* is the distillation of some nine centuries of linguistic speculation; what is left is both wholly unoriginal and entirely typical of a discipline which had already reached its peak more than two hundred years before aš-Širbīnī's death in 1570. It is, therefore, an ideal introduction to the vast technical literature devoted to the preservation and propagation of one of the world's few divine languages, the Classical Arabic in which the Qur'ān was revealed and through which the Islamic faith finds expression.

This edition has been prepared with the aim of making accessible both to Arabists and non-Arabists the main elements of indigenous Arabic linguistics, and thereby at least partially filling a large blank in the history of linguistics, which has hitherto paid little heed to non-European traditions and systems. The remainder of this Introduction will help the reader to make the best use of the book.

In the Arabic text Ibn Ājurrūm's own words have, according to the practice of the day, been directly integrated into aš-Širbīnī's commentary, and are therefore distinguished by overlining (see p. 466, appendix, on the manuscripts used). The translation does what it can to reproduce this peculiarly medieval method of explication, with what success the reader may judge, and this time (for want of better typographical alternatives) Ibn Ājurrūm's words are marked by underlining. The transliteration is as close as practical to that of H. Wehr, *A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic*, Wiesbaden 1979. In the actual translation the material has been broken up into numbered paragraphs to facilitate cross-reference, sometimes adopting aš-Širbīnī's own subdivisions where available, otherwise quite arbitrarily. So much for form; as for content, it can only be said that the translation is bound to be too literal for some and not literal enough for others. Either of these defects, however, is less serious than outright errors, and it is hoped that whatever mistakes have been made are few and harmless.

The notes, optimistically no doubt, attempt to answer as many forseeable kinds of questions as possible, covering technical, historical, textual and comparative topics as seems appropriate. Paradigms are provided in abundance (ideally all the facts of Arabic morphology should be there), partly to supplement the information already set out in transliteration in other works of reference, and partly to offer the reader more opportunities to verify or extend the theories advanced in the text and annotations. Inevitably many notes can be no more than hints or pointers, where space does not allow an idea to be developed thoroughly. But the labyrinthine further references and their frequent circularity are deliberate, on the one hand being a means of connecting together matter which is too bulky for a single note, and on the other hand hopefully stimulating wider enquiries, aided perhaps by serendipity. The fact that annotations and text, with very few exceptions, are face to face, may somewhat compensate for this inconvenience.

The notes will have achieved their purpose if they make readers aware of the inner coherence of the grammatical system by imparting some of the automatic presuppositions of the native Arab linguists, for whom no term, category or structure exists in isolation. The reader will nevertheless often come across remarks which have little justification beyond the intrinsic interest of their contents. This is an inescapable predicament of annotators, who must say something about everything; aš-Širbīnī answers this charge in 16.4, and I will simply add here (with similar false modesty) these words of Sir Thomas Browne: 'There are many things delivered rhetorically, many expressions therein merely tropical, and as they best illustrate my intention; and therefore also there are many things to be taken in a soft and flexible sense, and not to be called unto the rigid test of reason'.

The principles of reference to other primary and secondary sources (see Abbreviations following this Introduction) are thus:

Four representative Arab grammars are chosen, *Jum.* because it is an important early work, *Muf.* because it gives access to Ibn Ya^{c}īš's commentary and the paragraph numbers of Howell (cf. 3.53 n 6), *Alf.* (cf. 21.61 n 6) because, as well as having been translated, a whole array of commentaries and supercommentaries can easily be consulted through its verses, and *Qaṭr* because (like *Āj.* and *Taṣr.*) it is a major source for aš-Širbīnī and has, moreover, been published in translation.

Western treatments (Beeston, Fleisch, Bateson, Yushmanov, Nöldeke, Cantineau) are referred to as often as possible, as are certain standard grammars such as Wright, Reckendorf (*Ar. Synt.*, *Synt. Verh.*) and Cantarino. Individual technical terms are often discussed at length in *E.I.* (1) & (2), to which reference is accordingly made.

Qur'anic quotations are attributed to the Sūra (S.) and verse of the standard Egyptian edition. Translations are either borrowed from published versions or are ad hoc when a particular grammatical feature needs to be emphasized. Bibliographical details of translations and well known commentaries are not given, since these references are easily traceable through Sūra and verse numbers.

Poetry is identified by reference to *Schaw. Ind.*, and again, translations are either borrowed or ad hoc.

Journal titles are generally abbreviated according to *Index Islamicus* (q.v. Epilogue n 7).

This book would not have appeared without help from many quarters. I thank my friend C. H. M. Versteegh for mediating on my behalf with the editor and publisher of this Series, and I thank Sydney University for providing a congenial and encouraging working atmosphere, as well as for some very valuable secretarial help with the preparation of the final copy. Above all I am grateful to the Alexander von Humboldt Foundation, under whose sponsorship I was able to complete the writing of the annotations in appropriately well equipped surroundings at Munich. This had not been my original plan in accepting the honour of a Humboldt research fellowship, but a visit to the homeland of Goethe was enough to prove the wisdom of his words:

Du glaubst zu schieben und du wirst geschoben.

M. G. Carter
Sydney, 1981

ABBREVIATIONS

Āj. = aš-Šayḵ Ḵālid al-Azharī, *Ḥāšiya ᶜalā l-Ājurrūmiyya*, Cairo n.d.
Alf. = Ibn Mālik, *al-Ḵulāṣa l-'alfiyya*, ed. & trans. A. Goguyer (see Epilogue n 5)
Anc. West-Ar. = C. Rabin, *Ancient West-Arabian*, London 1951
Ar. Synt. = H. Reckendorf, *Arabische Syntax*, Heidelberg 1921
Ašbāh = as-Suyūṭī, *al-Ašbāh wa-n-naẓā'ir*, 2 vols, Hyderabad 1940-42
Bateson = M. C. Bateson, *Arabic Language Handbook*, Washington 1967
Beeston = A. F. L. Beeston, *The Arabic Language Today*, London 1970
Cantarino = V. Cantarino, *Syntax of Modern Arabic Prose*, 3 vols, Bloomington/London 1974-75
Concordance = A. J. Wensinck, *Concordance et indices de la Tradition musulmane*, 7 vols, Leiden 1936-69
E.I. (1), *E.I.* (2) = *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1st & 2nd editions, see further Epilogue n 7
Études = J. Cantineau, *Études de linguistique arabe*, Paris 1960
Fleisch = H. Fleisch, *L'arabe classique, esquisse d'une structure linguistique*, Beirut 1968
G.A.L. = C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Literatur*, 2 vols & 3 suppl. vols, Leiden 1937-49
G.A.S. = F. Sezgin, *Geschichte des arabischen Schrifttums*, in progress, Leiden 1967-
Grundr. = C. Brockelmann, *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der semitischen Sprachen*, 2 vols, Berlin 1908-13
Howell = M. S. Howell, *A Grammar of the Classical Arabic Language*, intro. & 4 parts, Hyderabad 1886-1911
Īḍāḥ = az-Zajjājī, *al-Īḍāḥ fī ᶜilal an-naḥw*, ed. M. Mubārak, Cairo 1959
Inṣāf = Ibn al-Anbārī, *al-Inṣāf fī masā'il al-ḵilāf*, ed. G. Weil, Leiden 1913
Jum. = az-Zajjājī, *al-Jumal*, ed. M. Ben Cheneb, Paris 1957
Ḵaṣā'iṣ = Ibn Jinnī, *al-Ḵaṣā'iṣ*, ed. M. A. an-Najjār, 3 vols, Cairo 1952-56
Kitāb = Sībawayhi, *al-Kitāb*, 2 vols, Cairo (Būlāq) 1898-99
Ḵizāna = ᶜAbd al-Qāhir al-Baġdādī, *Ḵizānat al-'adab*, 4 vols, Cairo (Būlāq) 1881-82
Kl. Schr. = H. L. Fleischer, *Kleinere Schriften*, 3 vols, Leipzig 1885-88

Lane = E. W. Lane, *An Arabic-English Lexicon*, 4 vols, London 1863-93

Lex-Ind. = G. Troupeau, *Lexique-Index du Kitāb de Sībawayhi*, Paris 1976

Ma^c^*ānī* = al-Farrā', *Ma*^c^*ānī l-Qur'ān*, ed. A. Y. Najātī etc., 3 vols, Cairo 1955-73

Moscati = S. Moscati etc., *An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages, Phonology and Morphology*, Wiesbaden 1969

Muf. = az-Zamak̲šarī, *Kitāb al-Mufaṣṣal fī n-naḥw*, ed. J. P. Broch, Christianiae 1879

Muḡnī = Ibn Hišām, *Muḡnī l-labīb fī kutub al-'a*^c^*ārīb*, 2 vols, Cairo 1885

Muqtaḍab = al-Mubarrad, *Kitāb al-Muqtaḍab*, ed. M. A. K. ^c^Uḍayma, 4 vols, Cairo 1963-68

Nöldeke = T. Nöldeke, *Zur Grammatik des classischen Arabisch*, ed. A. Spitaler, Darmstadt 1963

Qaṭr = Ibn Hišām, *Qaṭr an-nadā wa-ball aṣ-ṣadā*, ed. & trans. A Goguyer (see Epilogue n 5)

Schaw. Ind. = A. Fischer, E. Bräunlich, *Schawāhid-Indices*, Leipzig 1934-45

Synt. Verh. = H. Reckendorf, *Die syntaktischen Verhältnisse des Arabischen*, Leiden 1898

Taṣr. = aš-Šayk̲ K̲ālid al-Azharī, *al-Taṣrīḥ bi-maḍmūn at-Tawḍīḥ*, 2 vols, Cairo n.d.

Tr. = H. Fleisch, *Traité de philologie arabe*, 2 vols, Beirut 1961-79

Versteegh = C. H. M. Versteegh, *Greek Elements in Arabic Linguistic Thinking*, Leiden 1977

Wright = W. Wright, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*, 3rd ed., 2 vols, Cambridge 1955

Yushmanov = N. V. Yushmanov, *The Structure of the Arabic Language*, trans. from the Russian by M. Perlmann, Washington 1961

كتاب نور السجية في حل الفاظ
الاجرومية للشيخ الامام العالم العلامة
سيبويه زمانه فريد عصره واوانه
الراجي عفو ربه القريب المجيب
سيدى محمد الشربيني الخطيب
الشافعي قدس الله
روحه ونور ضريحه
بجاه محمد وآله
وصحبه
وسلم
آمين

The Ājurrūmiyya's Exposition by the Light of Intuition by the Master, Imām, Learned and Erudite Sībawayhi of his Time, Unique in his Age and Epoch, ever Hoping for the Forgiveness of his Lord who is always Near and answers every Prayer, Sayyid Muḥammad aš-Širbīnī al-Ḵaṭīb aš-Šāfi^{c}ī, may God sanctify his Spirit and light his Grave, through the Glory of Muḥammad, his Family and his Companions, Peace be upon them all, Amen

TEXT AND TRANSLATION

(1b) بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قال شيخنا واستاذنا فريد دهره وحيد عصره سيبويه
زمانه ورئيس وقته واوانه مبدى الطريقة وشيخ السلوك والحقيقة من لسان التقصير
في طول مدحه قصير شيخ الاسلام والمسلمين وارث سيد المرسلين شمس الدنيا والدين
محمد الخطيب الشربيني رحمه الله تعالى آمين بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وبه نستعين
وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وآله وصحبه وسلم الحمد لله رافع مقام المنتصبين
لاقامة الدين الخافضين جناحهم للمستفيدين الجازمين بان تسهيل التأليف وغيره من
رب العالمين اشهد ان لا اله الا الله وحده لا شريك له الواحد الاحد الفرد الصمد
الذى لم يلد ولم يولد شهادة صادرة عن يقين واشهد ان سيدنا ونبينا محمدا
عبده ورسوله وصفيه وخليله المبعوث بالتيسير المخصوص بالشفاعة العظمى يوم الدين
وعلى آله واصحابه وازواجه وذريته واهل بيته الى ابد الابدين وبعد فيقول فقير

(1b) In the name of God, the Compassionate and Merciful:

0.1 Our master and teacher, unique in his time, alone in his era, the Sībawayhi[1] of his day, foremost in his period and epoch, our guide to the right path and leader in the way and the truth, whose own concision makes lengthy praise fall short, Šayk̲ of Islām and the Muslims, heir of the Lord of Messengers, Sun of the World and the Faith, Muḥammad al-K̲aṭīb aš-Širbīnī (may God have mercy upon him) said:

0.2 In the name of God, the Compassionate and Merciful, to whom we pray, God bless our Lord Muḥammad, his Family and his Companions, and give them peace. Praise be to God, who exalts the case[1] of those whose object is to observe the Faith, who make inflections of compliance before those who seek the benefits of learning, and who are inflexible in their decision that only through the Lord of the Worlds is authorship and all else made easy.

0.3 I bear witness (with the witness which comes of certitude) that there is no god but God alone, who has no partner, the Only, Sole, Single and Everlasting God who bore not, nor was born.[1] I also testify that our Lord and Prophet Muḥammad is God's Servant, Messenger, Intimate and Friend, sent to smooth our path, and distinguished by his Great Intercession[2] on the Day of Resurrection. Peace be upon his Family, his Companions, his Wives, his Seed and the People of his House for ever and ever.

NOTES

0.1 (1) An extravagant compliment: Sībawayhi was the founder of Arabic grammar as a coherent discipline, a Persian by origin who came to Baṣra in the middle of the eighth century to study law, but who then turned to grammar as a pupil of al-K̲alīl ibn Aḥmad (see below). Using his legal knowledge as a model, Sībawayhi produced a strictly functional analysis of Arabic, embodying the results in a work known simply as 'the Book' (*al-Kitāb*), which has remained ever since the principal source of all grammatical science. He died, aged about 40, some time between 777 and 809. See *G.A.L.* I, 100, *E.I.* (1), art. 'Sībawaihi', Carter, *R.E.I.* 40, 69.
Al-K̲alīl ibn Aḥmad, the master of Sībawayhi, died between 776 and 791 (the later date is preferred, since it is also reported that he died after Sībawayhi). He is best known for his work in the areas of lexicography and metrics; though his contributions to the *Kitāb* are numerous and important, it is possible that his achievements in the field of pure syntax have been overestimated. See *G.A.L.* I, 100, *E.I.* (2), art. 'al-K̲h̲alīl b. Aḥmad', W. Reuschel, *al-Ḫalīl ibn-Aḥmad, der Lehrer Sībawaihs, als Grammatiker,* Berlin 1959, Carter, *J.A.O.S.* 93, 146.

0.2 (1) These are puns on the technical terms of grammar, an affectation which goes back at least to the time of Ibn Hišām (d. 1360, see 1.02 n 1), e.g. *Qaṭr* 1, n 5, and which has become routine with later commentators, e.g. al-Ušmūnī (d. 1467) on *Alf.*, al-Azharī (d. 1499) on *Āj.*, etc. For the case/mood names which provide these puns see 3.1 ('exalts' = independence), 3.5 ('object' = dependence), 3.8 ('compliance' = obliqueness), 3.9 ('inflexible decision' = apocopation).

0.3 (1) This is an echo of S. 112 vv 1-3. See further 22.5 on the declaration 'there is no god but God', and 5.71 on 'who bore not, nor was born'.

(2) The Qur'ān is by no means helpful on the topic of intercession, which carries with it the problem of impinging on God's omnipotence. However, the doctrine evolved that Muḥammad had the power to make inter-cession on Judgement Day (see *E.I.* (1), art. 'S̲h̲afāᶜa'). It is not clear whether aš-Širbīnī's phrase 'Great Intercession' refers to Muḥammad's primacy among those permitted to intercede, or to the division of intercession into two kinds, one evidently allowing intercession on behalf of individuals, and the other a general intercession for all believers guilty of mortal sins (see refs. in *E.I.* (1) to Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Fiṣal fī l-milal,* Cairo 1321, IV, 63f).

رحمة ربه القريب المجيب محمد الشربيني الخطيب ان مقدمة الشيخ العالم العلامة الامام
الفهامة الاستاذ محمد ابي عبد الله ابن داود الصنهاجي الشهير بابن اجروم بهمزة
ثم الف بعدها وتشديد الراء وهو لفظ بربري معناه الفقير الصوفي لما كانت من
احسن مختصر في علم العربية صنف واجمع موضوع على مقدار حجمها الف سألني بعض
اصحابنا ان اضع عليها شرحا يحل الفاظها ويتمم مثلها ويوضح ما اشكل منها
ويفتح ما اقفل منها ضاما الى ذلك من الفوائد المستجادات والقواعد (2a) المحررات
التي وضعتها في شرحي على قطر الندى فاستخرت الله تعالى بعد ان صليت ركعتين
في مقام امامنا الشافعي رضي الله تعالى عنه فلما انشرح لذلك صدرى لما علمت
من ان الهمم قد فترت وعلى المختصرات اختصرت شرعت في شرح تقر به اعين الطالبين
ويحصل به غاية السرور للمبتدئين والمتوسطين راجيا بذلك جزيل الاجر والثواب وان
يعيننا به على دخول الجنة بغير سابقة عذاب وسميته نور السجية في حل الفاظ
الاجرومية وانا اسأل الله الكريم من فضله ان يجعله خالصا لوجهه وان يصب عليه
قبول القبول فانه اكرم مسؤول واعز مأمول وان ينفع به كما نفع باصله فقد
اعتنى بشرحه كثير من العلماء ففي ذلك دلالة على اخلاصه جعل الله تعالى قراه

0.4 Now, Muḥammad aš-Širbīnī al-Ḵaṭīb, needy for the mercy of his Lord who is ever near and answers every prayer, says that the *Introduction*[1] of the learned and erudite Imām, the most perspicacious teacher Muḥammad Abū ᶜAbdullāh ibn Dāwūd aṣ-Ṣanhājī, better known as Ibn 'Ājurrūm[2] (spelt with ʼ followed by *ā* and double *r*,[3] which is a Berber expression meaning Faqīr or Ṣūfī)[4] being one of the finest abridgements of the science of grammar[5] ever composed and, for its size, one of the most comprehensive treatises ever written, I was asked by some of my friends to devise a commentary upon it which would unravel its terminology, elaborate its examples, clarify its obscurities and lay open its inaccessibilities, including with this some of the more appropriate comments and well-defined principles *(2a)* that I have already set down in my *Commentary on Qaṭr an-nadā*.[6] So I asked Almighty God for guidance, after twofold prayers at the shrine of our Imām aš-Šāfiᶜī[7] (may Almighty God be content with him), and, my spirits rising with the knowledge that even the best ambitions have languished and fallen short at mere paraphrases, I set to work on a commentary to gladden the eyes of the student and bring the utmost joy to beginners as well as to those of middling accomplishment, through which I hope for an abundant heavenly reward and recompense, and to be helped thereby into Paradise without prior punishment.

0.5 I have called it *The Ājurrūmiyya's Exposition by the Light of Intuition*,[1] and I beseech the Bounteous Lord in His grace to make it pure in His sight, that with flowing zephyrs of approval it may be blessed, for He is the most bountiful of those to whom prayers are addressed, and the mightiest on whom all our hopes rest.[2] And I pray that my work may be as useful as the original, for many scholars have taken the trouble to write commentaries on it,[3] which is a sign of its straightforward reliability. May God receive it in Paradise in the

0.4 (1) The full title of the work is *al-Muqaddima l-'ājurrūmiyya* 'The Ibn Ājurrūm Introduction', most commonly abbreviated to *al-'Ājurrūmiyya* 'The one of Ibn Ājurrūm'. Strictly *'ājurrūmiyya* is the fem. of the adjective *'ājurrūmī* 'related to Ibn Ājurrūm', formed by suffixing *ī* to the name (cf. 11.721 n 4). On the popularity of the work see 0.5 n 3

(2) His full name is given in *G.A.L.* II, 237 and *E.I.* (2), art. 'Ibn Ādjurrūm'. Little is known about him, except that he died in Fez in 1323, where he had been a teacher. In *Buġyat al-wu^{c}āh* (Cairo 1964), I, 238, as-Suyūṭī declares that from his reading of the *Ājurrūmiyya* he deduces that the author was of the 'Kūfan' persuasion (see 9.4 n 3).

(3) On spelling instructions see 3.44 n 2. The names of the letters are replaced in transcription with the letters themselves (but see 5.51 n 1 for one kind of exception); these should, of course, be in square brackets or between oblique strokes according to whether they are phones or phonemes, but this is a distinction which is not formalized in Arabic (but see 1.11 n 2). Both *'* and *ā* are notated with the same letter, q.v. 2.43 n 2. The three short vowels (4.01) are called *fatḥa* (*a*, literally 'opening'), *kasra* (*i*, lit. 'breaking') and *ḍamma* (*u*, lit. 'drawing together'). That these names might be related to the physiology of vowel production is clear enough, though it is not easy to take the idea any further, cf. *E.I.* (2), art. 'Ḥaraka wa-sukūn'.

(4) *Faqīr* = 'poor, mendicant', *ṣūfī* = 'mystic, ascetic' (cf. *G.A.L.* S II 332). *Buġyat al-wu^{c}āh* I, 238 gives Ākurrūm as a variant.

(5) See 1.01 and notes for the nature and purpose of grammar.

(6) This work is not in Brockelmann (*G.A.L.* II, 320), nor are any copies known, and we assume the work is lost. His *Šarh šawāhid al-Qaṭr* 'Commentary on the verses quoted in the *Qaṭr*' (*G.A.L.* S II, 17) is no more than a parsing of the said verses, and cannot be the missing work.

(7) Founder of the Šāfi^{c}ī school of law, he lived from 767 to 820 (*G.A.S.* I, 484). His mausoleum is in Cairo, and the Šāfi^{c}ī school is the dominant Egyptian rite.

0.5 (1) Following an old tradition aš-Širbīnī has given his book a rhyming title (*'ājurrūmiyya/sajiyya;* the latter means 'a faculty or quality firmly rooted in the mind', Lane). If these notes were to have a title of the same nature, it would be *aṭ-Ṭuruq al-mutasarriba 'ilā l-'ājām al-'ašiba* 'Devious ways into the tangled thickets'.

(2) The English lamely follows the rhyming prose of the original at the same level of literary merit. Rhyming prose (see *E.I.* (1), art. 'Sadj^{c}') is a device often used in solemn discourse; one genre, the *maqāma* (q.v. *E.I.* (1) s.v.) consists of narratives entirely in rhyming prose. 'Flowing zephyrs' is a mixed metaphor which seemed best left as it was.

(3) *G.A.L.* II, 237 and Suppl. lists over sixty commentaries, some of which have in turn attracted glosses and super-commentaries, and it is certain that more remain to be discovered. The work is still popular at the present day, so much so that *agrumiya* has acquired the meaning

الجنة في اعلى عليين مع الذين انعم الله عليهم من النبيين والصديقين والشهداء
والصالحين وفعل ذلك بنا وبوالدينا ومحبينا آمين

قال المؤلف رحمه الله بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم بدأ بالبسملة اقتداء بالكتاب العزيز
وعملا بقول النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم كل امر ذي بال اي امر يهتم به لا يبدأ
فيه ببسم الله فهو اجذم اي مقطوع البركة والكلام على البسملة وما يتعلق بها
افردته بالذكر في مقدمة فلا نطيل بذكره ثم اعلم ان من اراد الخوض في علم من
العلوم على الوجه الاتم لا بد ان يعرف حده وموضوعه وغايته وفائدته ليكون على
بصيرة في طلبه فحد هذا العلم الذي نحن بصدده علم باصول يعرف بها احوال اواخر
الكلم اعرابا وبناء وموضوعه الكلمات العربية لانه يبحث فيها عن الحركات (2b)
الاعرابية والبنائية وغايته الاستعانة به على فهم كلام الله تعالى وكلام رسوله

Highest Heaven, among the prophets, the believers, the martyrs and the virtuous, all favoured by God, and may He do likewise with us, our parents and our loved ones, Amen.

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 The author of the *Ājurrūmiyya* (may God have mercy on him) says:

In the name of God, the Compassionate and Merciful: beginning with *bi-smi llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīmi* 'in the name of God, the Compassionate and Merciful',[1] thus following the example of the Noble Qur'ān and putting into practice the words of the Prophet (God bless him and give him peace), "Any serious matter (i.e. matter of importance) which does not begin with *bi-smi llāhi* 'in the name of God' is severed (i.e. is cut off from blessing)".[2] Speaking with the formula *bi-smi llāhi* 'in the name of God' and anything else connected with it, is syntactically isolated by being mentioned in a prefatory way, and we shall not discuss it further.[3]

1.01 Now,[1] you must know that whoever desires to immerse himself thoroughly in a science first has to discover its definition, data, aim and use, in order to pursue the study of it in full awareness.[2] The science that we are dealing with here is defined as a science of certain principles by which the varieties of word endings both inflectional and invariable can be known. Its data are the actual words of Arabic, because it is in these that the vowels of *(2b)* inflection and invariability are studied. Its aim is to help in understanding the speech of Almighty God[3] and his Prophet (God bless him and give him

of 'grammar' itself (at least in the Egyptian dialect). In the last century the *Ājurrūmiyya* was transformed into a catechism for use among Christian Arabs (*G.A.L.* Suppl. II, 332).

1.0 (1) Instead of the full phrase 'in the name of God etc.' the word *basmalatun* is used, i.e. the noun of the verb *basmala* 'to say "in the name of God etc."', derived from the characteristic consonants of that expression. Other delocutives are *kabbara* 'to say "*allāhu 'akbaru*"' ('God is most great'), *sabbaḥa* 'to say "*subḥāna llāhi*"' ('Glory be to God'), *sallama* 'to say "*as-salāmu ᶜalaykum*"' ('Peace upon you'), and one very important in grammar, *nawwana* 'to pronounce *n* on the end of a word' (from *nūn*, = *n-w-n*, 2.43 n 3, name of letter *n*). In each case the characteristic consonants of a phrase or word have become the radicals of a new verb, cf. Fleisch 247 n 21, *Tr.* #132

(2) Cf. *E.I.* (2), art. 'Basmala'. This 'Tradition' (v. 1.01 n 4) does not seem to be findable in Wensinck's *Concordance* (only a similar one in I, 149), though it is mentioned in the same author's *Handlist* 34. In any case aš-Širbīnī's immediate source is al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* I, 5.

(3) Like many others, aš-Širbīnī wrote a short treatise on this very topic (see *G.A.L.* II, 320). Two problems arise: (a) how is the phrase connected with the following utterance or text, which is solved by treating it as purely 'phatic' and unconnected syntactically with what follows (cf. Petráček, *Ar. Or.* 39. 70), and (b) the status of *bi* 'in, with', which begins the phrase; this is explained as connected with an elided verb such as 'I recite, I declare' or the like.

1.01 (1) This paragraph is quoted by aṣ-Ṣabbān in his Commentary on al-Ušmūnī I, 15, and is the only reference to aš-Širbīnī by a later grammarian that I have so far been able to discover. That of Goguyer, *Qaṭr* 85 n 4, is evidently to *Šarḥ šawāhid al-Qaṭr* (0.4 n 6).

(2) The urge to define one's science is a late-comer to grammar, most probably inspired by translations of such works as the *Isagoge* (and cf. Versteegh 130). 'Grammar' renders *naḥw*, lit. 'way, direction, manner', reflecting the original Arab concept of language as a form of behaviour (cf. Carter, *R.E.I.* 40, 81, and contrast Rundgren, *Acta Univ. Upsal.* 2:5, 132). Eventually *naḥw*, while retaining its general meaning of 'grammar', became specifically applied to syntax, with *ṣarf*, lit. 'free currency' (cf. 1.41 n 1) for morphology, q.v. 17.1 n 1.

(3) i.e. the Qur'ān, doctrinally the very words of God revealed to the Prophet Muḥammad, cf. *E.I.* (2), art. 'Ḳur'ān'.

على الله عليه وسلم والاحتراز عن الخطأ في اللسان وفائدته معرفة صواب الكلام من
خطائه ثم ان بعض المصنفين في هذا الفن بدأ بعد البسملة بالكلمة كابن هشام في
بعض كتبه وبعضهم بدأ بالكلام كابن مالك لانه المقصود وتبعهم المصنف بقوله الكلام
والاصل هذا باب شرح الكلام وله معنيان معنى في اللغة ومعنى في الاصطلاح فمعناه
لغة كل ما افاد لفظا كان كقام زيد او غير لفظ كالاشارة والغمز والرمز ولسان
الحال ومعناه اصطلاحا ما اجتمع فيه اربعة قيود بدأ بالقيد الاول منها بقوله
هو اللفظ اي الملفوظ كخلق بمعنى المخلوق وهو الصوت المشتمل على بعض الحروف
الهجائية التي اولها الالف واخرها الياء والصوت هو هواء منضغط بين قارع
ومقروع واحترز به عن الاشارة والكتابة والعقد والنصب والقيد الثاني المركب وهو ما
تركب من كلمتين فصاعدا واحترز به عن المفردات كزيد والاعداد المسرودة نحو
واحد اثنان الى اخرها والقيد الثالث المفيد اي الدال على معنى يحسن سكوت

peace)[4] and to avoid mistakes of language. Its use is the recognition of correct speech from incorrect.

1.02 After the *bi-smi llāhi* 'in the name of God', some writers in this field begin directly with the topic of the word, as does Ibn Hišām[1] in certain of his books, while others begin with speech, as does Ibn Mālik,[2] because that is the purpose of words. Our author follows Ibn Mālik:

1.1 Speech[1] (which means basically, 'This is a chapter explaining the term "speech"') has two meanings, one lexical and one technical. Its lexical meaning[2] embraces everything which conveys information, whether it be a formal utterance such as *qāma zaydun* 'Zayd stood' or not, such as a gesture of pointing, a wink of the eye, a nod of the head or the language of situation.[3] Its technical meaning is that which combines in itself four features:

1.11 The author begins with the first by saying that speech is (1) a formal utterance,[1] i.e. something uttered, using *lafẓ* 'utterance' in the meaning of *malfūẓ* 'thing uttered', just as *k̲alq* 'creature' is used in the meaning of *mak̲lūq* 'thing created'. An utterance is a sound composed of letters of the alphabet[2] (which begins with *ʼ* and ends with *y*). A sound is made of air compressed between two objects striking against each other, and in this way gesture, writing, counting on the fingers and the language of situation are excluded.

1.12 (2) Speech is also composite,[1] i.e. composed of two words or more, thus excluding isolated words such as *zaydun* 'Zayd' and the cardinal numbers such as *wāḥidatun* 'one', *it̲nāni* 'two' etc.

1.13 (3) The third feature is that it is informative,[1] i.e. denoting a meaning which, once uttered, it is correct[2] for the speaker to be silent

(4) i.e. the 'Traditions', the collected sayings and actions of the Prophet, and extra-Qur'anic body of religious matter second only to the Qur'ān itself in doctrinal authority, cf. *E.I.* (2), art. 'Ḥadīth'.

1.02 (1) Ibn Hišām (1308-1360, active in Cairo) is possibly the most highly regarded grammarian of all, even being called 'a better grammarian than Sībawayhi'! See *G.A.L.* II, 23, *E.I.* (2), art. 'Ibn Hishām'. Both *Qaṭr* and *Šuḏūr aḏ-ḏahab* begin with the topic of the word.

(2) Ibn Mālik (1203-1274), born in Spain, active in Damascus, tireless versifier with over 5000 verses to his name (see *Alfiyya* 21.61 n 6). The *Alfiyya* and his advanced *Tashīl* (21.0 n 2) both begin with the topic of speech. See *G.A.L.* I, 298, *E.I.* (2), art. 'Ibn Mālik'.

1.1 (1) *Jum.* 17; *Muf.* #1; *Alf.* v 8; *Qaṭr* 3. These basic linguistic issues are not, of course, raised in Western works dealing specifically with Arabic syntax. 'Speech' renders *kalām* 'talking', which contrasts both with *kalim* 'words' (cf. 1.16, 1.2) and *qawl* 'dictum, thing said'. Al-Ušmūnī on *Alf.* 9 sums it up neatly: 'speech (*kalām*), words (*kalim*) and the individual word (*kalima*) are all something said (*qawl*), but the converse is not so'. Cf. Versteegh 34.

(2) 'Lexical meaning' is *maᶜnā fī l-luġa,* lit. 'a meaning in the language' (cf. *luġa* 'language' denoting 'variant realization', in 21.44 n 1), contrasting with 'technical meaning', *maᶜnā fī l-iṣṭilāḥ,* lit. 'a meaning by agreement', evidence of the grammarians' realization that grammar had become a *techne* with its own specialist vocabulary (cf. 20.8 n 2).

(3) 'Language of situation' (*lisān al-ḥāl,* lit. 'the tongue of the situation) is probably the same as *nuṣba,* lit. 'signpost', used by Jāḥiẓ (d. 869) in the same context, and allegedly of Aristotelian provenance (see *E.I.* (2), art. 'Bayān', esp. p. 1115a). It must not be confused with 'context of situation', q.v. at 19.8 n 2.

1.11 (1) *lafẓ* '(formal) utterance' is to *kalām* 'speech' what *parole* is to *langage*. Elsewhere *lafẓ* contrasts with *maᶜnā* 'meaning' (2.1 n 2), *taqdīr* 'implicit form' (2.101 n 1) and *maḥall* 'status' (22.1 n 2); it may also denote 'stem' (3.65 n 9) or 'linguistic form' (17.51 n 1).

(2) In other words, an utterance must consist of recognized phonemes of the language: that orthographical signs (see *E.I.* (2), arts. 'Ḥurūf al-hidjā'', 'Abdjad') also represent phonemes was taken for granted by the Arab phoneticians (see further 1.16 n 1). Cf. Beeston 16.

1.12 (1) 'Composite' is *murakkab,* also found in the meaning 'compound', q.v. 3.411 n 4, and 'complex', q.v. 9.5. The antonym is *mufrad* 'simple, single, singular', see 23.431 n 1.

1.13 (1) The criterion of informativeness (*'ifāda,* whence *mufīd* 'informative here) is not explicit in early grammar, but became so by the ninth century (cf. Versteegh 34 and earlier instances in al-Mubarrad, *Muqtaḍab* IV, 53, 88, 91, 126, 172, 186, 329). In Sībawayhi's system this aspect of speech was covered by the notion of *istiqāma,* lit. 'righteousness', i.e. the quality of satisfying the listener's expect-

المتكلم على ذلك اللفظ بحيث لا يصير السامع منتظرا لشيء اخر فان قيل لا يحتاج
حينئذ الى ذكر المركب لان المفيد الفائدة المذكورة لا يكون الا مركبا اجيب بان
لا يكتفي في ذكر الحدود باللوازم وايضا انما ذكر المصنف هذه المقدمة للمبتدئين
فلا يكتفي فيها باللوازم واحترز به عن غير المفيد كالمركب الاضافي كعبد الله
والمزجي كبعلبك والتقييدي (3a) كالحيوان الناطق والاسنادي المتوقف على غيره نحو
ان قام زيد والقيد الرابع ما ذكره بقوله بالوضع اي بالقصد وهو ان يقصد المتكلم
افادة السامع ويأتي فيه السؤال المتقدم في المركب والجواب عنه واحترز به عن
كلام النائم ومن زال عقله ومن جرى على لسانه ما لا يقصده ومحاكاة بعض الطيور
وما اشبه ذلك تنبيه دخل في التعريف ما لا يجهل معناه كالسماء فوقنا والارض
تحتنا الا ان يريد بمفيد المفيد بالفعل فلا يسمى كلاما مثال ما اجتمع فيه هذه
القيود نحو زيد كريم فيصدق عليه انه لفظ لانه صوت مشتمل على الزاي والياء
والدال والكاف والراء والياء والميم وهي بعض حروف الف باء تاء ثاء الخ وانه

at that point in such a way that the listener[3] will expect nothing further. If it is objected that there is, therefore, no need to state that speech is composite, since anything thus informative can only be composite,[4] the reply is that with definitions it is not enough to mention the bare essentials and, furthermore, our author wrote this *Introduction* for beginners only, where bare essentials would not suffice. Through this feature are excluded all those composite utterances which are not informative by themselves, such as the annexed compound[5] (e.g. *ᶜabdu llāhi* 'ᶜAbdullāh'), the mixed compound[6] (e.g. *baᶜalbakku* 'Baalbek'), the limiting compound[7] *(3a)* (e.g. *al-ḥayawānu n-nāṭiqu* 'the logical animal') and the predicative compound[8] which is dependent upon something else (e.g. *'in qāma zaydun* 'if Zayd stood').

1.14 (4) Fourthly, speech is by convention; i.e. intentional,[1] which is to say that the speaker intends to convey information to the listener. The previous objection about the composite nature of speech can also be raised here, but the answer is the same.[2] By this feature are excluded the speech of one who is asleep, who has lost his wits or whose tongue utters what he does not intend, as well as imitation by certain birds and such like.

1.15 Note: Within this definition fall such self-evident assertions as 'the sky is above us' and 'the earth is beneath us', except that by 'informative' the author means only that which actually conveys information, hence the above are not termed speech.[1]

1.16 The combination of these four features is illustrated by *zaydun karīmun* 'Zayd is generous': it is true that this is a formal utterance because it is a sound comprising *z, y, d, k, r, y, m,* which are letters of the alphabet,[1] that it is composite because it is composed

ations (see n 3 below), cf. Carter, *J.A.O.S.* 93, 149. A connection between *mustaqīm* 'right, correct' and *orthos* is possible, but must date back long before *mustaqīm* was transferred from ethics to grammar (cf. Versteegh 16 n 70 and contrast the obvious literal translation *orthos* = *mustaqīm* in the time of al-Fārābī, id. 64).

(2) See 12.91 n 8 on *yaḥsunu* 'it is good, structurally correct'.

(3) The listener *sāmi*^{c} or person addressed *mukāṭab* has from the first been recognized as a determining factor in speech, not only from the point of view of informativeness but also structure (cf. Carter, *J.A.O.S.* 93, 147). The listener is part of the 'context of situtation', and he alone determines, for example, the correctness of elisions, e.g. 19.8, and cf. also 9.81-95.

(4) See 20.01 n 1 on this doctrine.

(5) *murakkab 'iḍāfī,* see further 3.65 n 7.

(6) *murakkab mazajī,* see further 3.411 n 5.

(7) *murakkab taqyīdī;* an adjective and the noun it qualifies have always been regarded as a single noun, e.g. *Kitāb* I, 45, 210. See ch. 11 on adjectives

(8) *murakkab 'isnādī,* see further 3.411 n 4.

1.14 (1) Definitions of speech usually say that it is 'informative by convention' or 'informative by intention', but here the two are conflated, and very probably not fully understood: 'convention' is *waḍ*^{c}, lit. 'deposition' of meaning, a notion which owes much to the Greek *thesis* (cf. Versteegh 139) and is correspondingly lacking in early grammars. 'Intention' is *qaṣd,* on which see 14.4 n 5; it is clearly not a synonym of *waḍ*^{c} as the commentary implies. Further on *waḍ*^{c} see Weiss, *Arabica* 23, 23, and cf. 11.81 n 1.

(2) i.e. that only by means of a composite utterance can the intention to inform be carried out: in other words, there can be no topic without comment (cf. 1.13, 20.01 n 1).

1.15 (1) A much earlier formulation of the same idea is *Kitāb* I, 71, which states that if you point to your listener and say 'this is you' the utterance is 'not right' (*lā yastaqīm,* cf. 1.13 n 1), i.e. not informative, as the later grammarians termed it.

1.16 (1) That these are in the strict sense phonemes is implicit in 1.11. As evidence that the grammarians distinguished between phonemes and the simple phonetic value of written symbols consider the following points: allophones have always been recognized, cf. *Kitāb* II, 404 for consonantal allophones and Troupeau, *Lex.-Index*, roots *f-ḫ-m, m-y-l* for vocalic allophones; consonants as radicals are distinguished from the same consonants as augments (cf. 5.3 n 1, and see 3.3 for vowels similarly distinguished); names of letters are not confused with their value or function (cf. *Kitāb* II, 61). See also 1.25 nn 2, 3. On the spelling convention *z-y-d* = *zaydun* see 2.12 n 1, 3.5 n 2.

مركب لانه تركب من كلمتين الاولى زيد والثانية كريم ويصدق عليه انه مفيد لانه
افاد فائدة لم تكن عند السامع لان السامع كان يجهل كرم زيد ويصدق عليه انه
مقصود لان المتكلم قصد بهذا اللفظ افادة المخاطب ولما كان كل مركب لا بد له من
اجزاء يتركب منها احتاج الى ذكر اجزاء الكلام معبرا عنها بالاقسام مجازا فقال
واقسامه اي اجزاء الكلام من جهة تركيبه من مجموعها لا من جميعها ثلاثة بالاستقراء
والقسمة العقلية اسم وفعل وحرف لا رابع لها اما الاستقراء فلان علماء هذا الفن
تتبعوا كلام العرب فلم يجدوا غيرها لكن نقل الفراء ان كلا ليست واحدا من الثلاثة
بل هي بين الاسماء والافعال واما القسمة العقلية فلان الكلمة اما ان تدل على
معنى (3b) بنفسها او لا الثانى الحرف والاول اما ان يقترن باحد الازمنة الثلاثة
او لا الثانى الاسم والاول الفعل تنبيه انما قدم الاسم في الذكر على قسيميه لانه
يخبر به وعنه والفعل على الحرف لانه يخبر به لا عنه واخر الحرف لعدمهما فيه
وتقسيم الكلام الى هذه الثلاثة من تقسيم الكل الى اجزائه كما مرت الاشارة اليه
كانقسام السكنجبيل الى خل وعسل بخلاف تقسيم الكلمة الى ذلك فانه من تقسيم الكلي

of two words,[2] the first *zaydun* 'Zayd' and the second *karīmun* 'generous', that it is informative because it conveys information the listener did not have as long as he remained ignorant of Zayd's generosity, and that it is intentional because the speaker intended to convey information to the listener by means of this utterance.

1.2 Since every compound must needs have parts of which to be composed, the author now has to deal with the 'parts of speech', which he designates figuratively as 'subdivisions',[1] saying, <u>and its subdivisions</u> i.e. the 'parts of speech' insofar as speech is composed of a combination of them, thought not necessarily of all of them at once, <u>are three in number:</u> (by induction and rational dichotomy),[2] viz. <u>the noun, the verb and the particle</u> (to which there is no fourth).

1.21 With the inductive method scholars in this field have made thorough observations of the speech of the Arabs[1] without finding any but these three (though al-Farrā'[2] is reported as claiming that the word *kallā* 'nay' is not one of the three, but belongs somewhere between nouns and verbs).[3] As for rational dichotomy, a word either denotes a meaning *(3b)* intrinsically or not: the latter is then a particle and the former, being either connected with one of the three times or not, is respectively a verb or a noun.[4]

1.22 Note: The author gives priority to the noun over the other two because it can be both a subject and a predicate,[1] and to the verb over the particle because it can be a predicate but not a subject, and puts the particle last because of its inability to be either.

1.23 Dividing speech into these three is a division of the whole into its parts[1] (as already shown), like the division of oxymel into vinegar and honey; it is not the same as dividing the word itself into three kinds, for this is a division of the universal into its particulars,[2]

(2) 'Word' *kalima* is not defined by aš-Širbīnī; the minimal free form, however, is subject to the same criteria as any other utterance, i.e. it must occur in a context, be meaningful to the listener and be marked appropriately (see 11.1 n 2 and 2.14 n 2 on utterance-initial and final markers respectively). Thus the 'word' may comprise several morphemes, e.g. *zaydun = /z-y-d/, /-a--/* (10.37 n 1), */u/* (3.2), */n/* (1.4); cf. 14.53 n 1.

1.2 (1) See 1.23 on the reasons for this. The first to speak of 'subdivisions' rather than 'parts' is apparently az-Zajjājī, in *Jum.* 17 (so al-Azharī, *Āj.* 10). On the tripartite division cf. Versteegh 38.

(2) 'Rational dichotomy' is *qisma* *ᶜaqliyya*, variously translated as 'inclusive disjunction', 'exhaustive division' etc., a favourite Greek analytical device, on which see further 3.87 n 2.

1.21 (1) Even at this late date, 'Arabs' always means the idealized desert Arabs who are supposed to have acted as informants for the early grammarians, but see J. Fück, *ᶜArabiya*, Berlin 1950, ch. 9.

(2) Abū Zakariyyā al-Farrā', active in Kūfa, died 822 aged 67; along with al-Kisā'ī (18.0 n 2) he is regarded as the leader of the 'Kūfan' school of grammar (9.4 n 3). *G.A.L.* I, 116, *E.I.* (2), art. 'Farrā''.

(3) The 'report' is from al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* I, 25, but seems to have oversimplified the views of al-Farrā'. In *Muġnī* I, 161, *kallā* is said by al-Farrā' to be equivalent to *'ay* 'that is' and *naᶜam* 'yes', which seems to mean that he regards it as a particle of strong affirmation.

(4) This method of classification is obviously Greek in origin, but does not appear in Arabic until the 9th century (cf. az-Zajjājī, *Īḍāḥ*, 48, 52, 54, who is undoubtedly drawing on slightly earlier sources such as al-Mubarrad, d. 898, and see Versteegh 54, 70). By the time of az-Zamakšarī (d. 1144) it has become throughly incorporated into the system, e.g. *Muf.* ##2, 402, 497, and cf. 3.87 n 2.

1.22 (1) On predicability as a nominal marker see 1.6. This criterion likewise has probable Greek origins (cf. Versteegh 58, n 29), but is also (pace Versteegh 57) not to be found in the earliest grammar. For Sībawayhi nouns were already sufficiently identified by their form, i.e. by *tanwīn* (1.4). However, by the time of az-Zajjājī, the notion of predicability as a classificatory device is well established, cf. *Īḍāḥ* 42. It is on these grounds, too, that az-Zajjājī concludes that the tripartite division is universal, as discourse can only be composed of subjects, predicates and 'linking words' (*Īḍāḥ* 45).

1.23 (1) This passage is found in al-Astarābāḏī, *Šarḥ al-Kāfiya* (Istanbul 1858), I, 5, as also are the contents of 1.22 above. It is unlikely that aš-Širbīnī took them directly from this source, but neither are they to be found in his usual sources, al-Azharī *Āj.* and *Taṣr.* There are other works by al-Azharī he may have used, or perhaps he has it from al-Ušmūnī on *Alf.* v 8.

(2) In 1.2 Ibn Ājurrūm refers to 'subdivisions' (*'aqsām,* same root as *qisma* 'dichotomy', 1.2 n 2) of speech: as this is a division of the

الى جزئياته كانقسام الحيوان الى انسان وفرس وعلامة الثاني صدق اسم المقسوم علو
كل من اقسامه بخلاف الاول فالاسم ينقسم الى ثلاثة اقسام مضمر نحو انا ومظهر
كبكر ومبهم نحو هذا وكذا الفعل ينقسم الى ثلاثة اقسام ايضا ماض كضرب ومضارع
كيضرب وامر كاضرب وقيد الحرف بقوله جاء لمعنى احترازا عن حروف التهجي
اذا كانت اجزاء كلمة كزاي زيد ويائه وداله لا مطلقا لان حروف التهجي اذا لم
تكن كذلك كانت اسماء لمعان كجيم مثلا اسم جه والدليل على انها اسم قبولها
لعلامات الاسم نحو كتبت جيما وهذه الجيم احسن من جيمك وكذلك الباقي وهو ينقسم
ايضا الى ثلاثة حرف مشترك بين الاسماء والافعال نحو هل وحرف مختص بالاسم نحو
في وحرف مختص بالفعل نحو لم ثم شرع في العلامات المميزة بين هذه الثلاثة
مبتدئا منها بالاسم لما مر فقال فالاسم اي المتقدم في التقسيم يعرف اي يميز
عن قسيميه بالخفض وهو الكسرة التي يجلبها عامل الخفض في اخر الكلمة سواء اكان
ذلك العامل حرفا ام مضافا واجتمع ذلك في بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم فلفظة اسم اسم

like the division of animal into man, horse etc. The mark of the latter division is that, unlike the former, the name of the thing divided applies to every one of its subdivisions.

1.24 The noun has three subdivisions: the pronoun, e.g. *'anā* 'I', the overt noun, e.g. *bakrun* 'Bakr' and the vague noun, e.g. *hāḏā* 'this'.[1] The verb likewise has three subdivisions: the past tense, e.g. *ḍaraba* 'he struck', the imperfect, e.g. *yaḍribu* 'he strikes' and the imperative, e.g. *iḍrib* 'strike!'.[2]

1.25 The particle has the feature that it is an element which occurs for some grammatical meaning.[1] This excludes the letters of the alphabet when they are part of a word, e.g. the *z, y, d* of *zaydun* 'Zayd', but not absolutely, since in other forms the letters of the alphabet can be meaningful nouns,[2] e.g. *jīmun*, the name of the sound *j:* the proof that it is a noun is that it can take noun markers, e.g. *katabtu jīman* 'I wrote a *j*', *hāḏihi l-jīmu 'aḥsanu min jīmika* 'this *j* is more elegant than your *j*', and likewise for the rest of the alphabet.[3] The particle also has three subdivisions: the particle common to both nouns and verbs, e.g. *hal* '?', the particle peculiar to nouns, e.g. *fī* 'in' and the particle peculiar to verbs, e.g. *lam* 'not'.[4]

1.3 The author now turns to the markers which distinguish these three parts of speech, beginning with the nouns[1] for the reason already given:

1.31 The noun[1] (i.e. the first in order of subdivision) is recognized (i.e. is distinguished from the other two subdivisions) by the oblique form,[2] which is the word-final *i* produced by the operator of obliqueness, whether that operator is a particle or an annexed noun. Both kinds are found together in the expression *bi-smi llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīmi* 'in the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful':[3] the

universal into its particulars, *'aqsām* is only 'figuratively' applicable to 'parts' of speech, although it is correctly applied to the subdivisions of the noun and verb listed in 1.24 and of the particle in 1.25. Cf. Versteegh 147 n 121.

1.24 (1) See 11.71 for pronouns, 7.2 n 1 for overt nouns (and cf. 11.61 n 1), and 11.73 for 'vague nouns', i.e. demonstratives.

(2) See 5.01 for past tense, 5.02 for imperfect, 5.03 for imperative.

1.25 (1) This reproduces the earliest description of the *ḥarf* as first defined by Sībawayhi (*Kitāb* I, 2), viz. *ḥarfun jā'a li-maᶜnan*, lit. 'a bit which comes for a meaning'. This has given rise to much comment, especially among those who would like to trace it to Greek origins (see Versteegh 43 for summary of opinions). Two points will be made here: (a) *ḥarf* means exactly what it says, a 'bit' (more technically a 'particle') which is not, morphologically, a noun or verb, and (b) it is meaningful (see next note) but indeterminate in function: such 'meaning' as it has, then, is grammatical rather than lexical, cf. 2.2 nn 5, 6, and Carter *J.A.O.S.* 93, 153 n 49. Other references 1.9 n 2.

(2) *'asmā'un li-maᶜānin* 'nouns with meanings': there are no other kinds according to 1.13 (some grammarians do exclude nonsense words such as **dīz*, 'Zayd' backwards), but the phrase is inspired by the definition of the particle above. The 'meanings' of the particle are in effect its grammatical function (see further 1.7 n 1), so that *ḥarf* has a very wide application as a technical term, which one would not readily deduce from *E.I.* (2), art. 'Ḥarf', viz. 'grapheme' (1.11 n 2), 'phoneme' (1.16 n 1), 'consonant' (4.02), 'radical' (17.5), 'morpheme' (5.3, 8.71) and even (though not in our text) 'segment of indeterminate length' (see Weiss, *Z.D.M.G.* 64, 362).

(3) The name of a thing is, of course, a noun (Versteegh 54); in *Kitāb* II, 61, al-Kalīl catches out students who cannot tell the difference between the phoneme */k/* and the name *kāf* (cf. Eng. */h/* and the word 'aitch' by which it is named).

(4) See 1.52 for *hal*, 1.705 for *fī*, 5.71 for *lam*.

1.3 (1) Apart from the reasons given in 1.22 we may add that the noun has priority because statements may be constructed out of nouns alone (ch. 9), cf. al-Astarābāḏī, loc. cit. 1.23 n 1.

1.31 (1) *Jum.* 18; *Muf.* #2; *Alf.* v 10; *Qaṭr* 5; Beeston 51; Fleisch 37; Bateson 9; Yushmanov 25. In keeping with the elementary nature of the *Ājurrūmiyya* the classification is purely formal. See 19.3, 20.7 on formal categories of nouns, 3.64 n 2 for semantic categories.

(2) See 3.8 n 1 on the term *kafḍ* 'obliqueness', translated here as 'oblique form' in the light of aš-Širbīnī's explanation. On word-final *i* as obliqueness marker see 3.81; for 'operator' see 2.11. Note that the two operators of obliqueness mentioned here (see 1.7 for particles of obliqueness, 26.7 for annexation) are the only possible operators: in other words, all oblique nouns are the second element of a prepositional phrase or annexation unit (cf. 26.01 n 2).

عرفت اسميتها بالخفض (4a) في اخرها وخافضها الباء من اولها والجلالة الكريمة اسم
عرفت اسميتها بالخفض في اخرها وخافضها المضاف الذي هو اسم والرحمن الرحيم
نعتان للجلالة الكريمة تابعان لها في خفضهما وهما اسمان عرفت اسميتهما بالخفض
في اخرهما وخافضهما المضاف الذي خفض الجلالة وقيل التبعية الواقعة بينهما وبين
الجلالة ويعرف ايضا بالتنوين من اخره وهو نون ساكنة اصالة تتبع الاخر لفظا لا
خطا لغير توكيد وخرج بقيد السكون النون الاولى من ضيفن الطفيلي وهو الذي يجيء
مع الضيف متطفلا لتحركها وصلا وخرجت بقيد الخط ايضا لثبوتها خطا وقيد السكون
بالاصالة لئلا يخرج بعض افراد التنوين اذا حرك لالتقاء الساكنين نحو محظورا
انظر وبقيد تتبع الاخر لفظا وبقيد عدم الخط ايضا النون في نحو انكسر ومنكسر
لانها لا تلحق الاخر وتثبت في الخط وبغير توكيد نون نحو لنسفعا على تقدير
رسمها في الخط الفا تنبيه انواع التنوين الخاصة بالاسم اربعة النوع الاول تنوين
التمكن ويسمى تنوين الامكنية وتنوين الصرف وهو اللاحق لفظا لغالب الاسماء المعربة

expression *ismi* 'name' is a noun whose nominality is recognized by its oblique *(4a)* ending, the prefix *bi* 'by, in' being its operator of obliqueness; the name of the Almighty, *allāhi*, is a noun whose nominality is recognized by its oblique ending, with the annexed noun (*ismi* 'name') as its operator of obliqueness; both *ar-raḥmāni* 'the Compassionate' and *ar-raḥīmi* 'the Merciful' are adjectives qualifying the name of the Almighty and concording[4] with it in their obliqueness, and are thus both nouns whose nominality is recognized by their oblique endings, and their oblique operator is the same element which has already made the name of the Almighty oblique (though some say that their operator is the concord between them and the name of the Almighty).

1.4 The noun is also recognized by the tanwīn,[1] on the end. The *tanwīn* is defined as the normally unvowelled *n* pronounced but not written at the end of a word and not denoting emphasis.[2] By the feature of vowellessness he excludes the first *n* of *ḍayfanun* 'parasite' (one who arrives with a guest uninvited), because this *n* is vocalized in juncture;[3] it is also excluded by its orthographical feature because it is permanent in writing. The vowellessness of *tanwīn* is called a normal feature so that certain individual cases of *tanwīn* should not be excluded when they happen to be vocalized in order to avoid the clash of two unvowelled consonants, as in the Qur'anic *maḥẓūran-u-nẓur* '... restricted. See...'.[4] By the feature of word-final pronunciation, and also by the feature of lacking a written form, the *n* within such words as *inkasara* 'it broke' and *munkasirun* 'breaking' is excluded because it is not word-final and is permanent in writing. By the feature of not being emphatic is excluded the *n* suffixed to *la-nasfaᶜan* 'we shall surely drag'[5] (assuming the *ā* here to represent an *n* in writing).

1.41 Note: There are four kinds of *tanwīn* peculiar to the noun, viz. (1) the *tanwīn* of establishment, also called the *tanwīn* of stability and the *tanwīn* of currency.[1] This is the *tanwīn* suffixed to most fully

(3) S. 1 v 1, and at the beginning of almost every other Sura. The expression is referred to as the *basmala*, see 1.0 n 1. For the juncture feature *bi-ismi*>*bismi* see 11.1 n 2, likewise for the same feature in the definite article *al*>*l*. For the assimilation of the article *al*>*ar* see 11.41 n 2. The use of such terms as 'nominality' is another echo of philosophical influence, and as such is not seen before the ninth century (e.g. al-Mubarrad, *Muqtaḍab* III, 309, 313), and see also 11.721 n 4. On the morphological identity of nouns and adjectives see 11.61 n 1.

(4) See 11.01-02 on adjectival concord. The dispute here concerns the question of whether the oblique operator is 'formal' *lafẓī* or 'abstract' *maᶜnawī*, q.v. at 2.1, i.e. whether it is the overt element 'by' (which has already made oblique the noun qualified by the two adjectives) or the abstract quality of concordance which makes the two adjectives oblique. A similar dispute occurs in 26.01, and cf. 7.0, 9.11 for other conflicts of opinion over formal and abstract operators.

1.4 (1) *Muf.* #608; *Alf.* v 10; *Qaṭr* 5; Beeston 51; Fleisch 39; Bateson 10, Yushmanov 41. Though often translated as 'nunation', the straight transliteration *tanwīn* is preferred (a) because it is a feature unique to Arabic, synchronically speaking (cf. the preservation of such terms as Umlaut, tilde etc.), and (b) it is no more or less informative than the so-called translation 'nunation'! See 3.87 n 1 for references to Western treatments of the problem as it relates to inflection and definition (and cf. also 1.42, 11.8).

(2) For emphasis see 26.34 n 2. Graphically *tanwīn* is represented by doubling the appropriate vowel marker: since the vowel markers are diacritical the *tanwīn* disappears along with the vowel in pause (see 2.14 n 2). The exception is *tanwīn* with *a* (dependent form), which is written with a double vowel marker and an *'alif* (see 2.43 n 2), hence in pause only the *tanwīn* is lost (and one of the two vowel markers with it), leaving *ā*, i.e. the original *a* and the lengthening marker *'alif*.

(3) This is rather slack, since even the *tanwīn* is vocalized in juncture (cf. n 4 below): he evidently wishes to contrast *ḍayf-un* 'guest', where the final *n* is a *tanwīn*, with *ḍayf-an-un* 'parasite', where the first *n*, though a suffix, is not a *tanwīn*.

(4) S. 17 vv 20, 21. See 2.5 n 3 on the clash of two unvowelled consonants and 11.1 n 2 on juncture in general. As *tanwīn* is notated with doubled vowel signs, the extra vowel inserted only in juncture is never written, a rare anomaly in the orthographical system.

(5) S. 96 v 15. The *an* on this verb is written with *'alif*, as if it were a nominal inflection (cf. n 2 above); another example 5.32. See 26.34 on the emphatic *n*.

1.41 (1) The terms are *tamakkun* 'establishment', lit. 'being firmly in position', *'amkaniyya* 'stability', lit. 'quality of being most firmly in position' (cf. 11.721 n 4 on abstract nouns in *iyya*), *ṣarf* 'currency', lit. 'free circulation (of money)', *munṣarif* 'fully declinable', lit. 'freely circulating'. See further 18.4 n 1, and cf. 3.87.

المنصرفة معرفة كزيد ونكرة كرجل وفائدته الدلالة على خفة الاسم لكونه معربا
منصرفا وعلى تمكنه في باب الاسمية لكونه لا يشبه الحرف شبها قويا فيبنى ولا
يشبه الفعل في علتين فرعيتين فيمنع الصرف الذي هو التنوين النوع الثاني تنوين
(4b) التنكير وهو اللاحق لبعض الاسماء المبنيات للدلالة على التنكير اشعارا بان
المراد به غير معين وهو معنى قولهم فرقا بين معرفتها ونكرتها ويقع قياسا في
باب العلم المختوم بويه وسماعا في باب اسم الفعل المختوم بالهاء وغيرها تقول
سيبويه بلا تنوين اذا اردت شخصا معينا اسمه سيبويه وتقول ايه بكسر الهمزة
وسكون الياء المثناة التحتية وكسر الهاء بلا تنوين اذا طلبت من مخاطبك زيادة من
حديث معين فان اردت اي شخص كان اسمه سيبويه او استزادة اي حديث كان
نونتهما النوع الثالث تنوين المقابلة وهو اللاحق لنحو مسلمات مما جمع بالف وتاء
لان العرب جعلوه مقابلة النون في نحو مسلمون مما جمع بالواو والنون او الياء
والنون النوع الرابع تنوين العوض وهو اللاحق لنحو غواش وجوار من الجموع المعتلة

inflected and fully declinable nouns, whether defined, e.g. *zaydun* 'Zayd' or undefined, e.g. *rajulun* 'man'.[2] It serves to denote the noun's unrestricted inflection[3] and declinability, and its firm establishment in the noun category through having no strong resemblance to the particle (which would cause it to be invariable)[4] or to the verb in any two secondary defects[5] (which would prevent full currency, which is *tanwīn*);

1.42 (2) the *tanwīn (4b)* of indefinition,[1] which is suffixed to certain invariable nouns to denote indefinition, showing that no specific individual is meant, which is what the grammarians mean by 'distinguishing the defined from the undefined'. It occurs regularly[2] with the class of proper nouns ending in *wayhi*, and anomalously with the class of nouns of action in *hi* etc. You say *sībawayhi* 'Sībawayhi'[3] without *tanwīn* if you mean a specific person named Sībawayhi, and you say *'īhi* 'go on' (spelt with *i* after the *'*, followed by *y* with two dots beneath and *i* after the *h*, without *tanwīn*) if you are requesting your listener to add to a specific statement. But if you mean anyone called Sībawayhi or an addition to any statement whatever, you add *tanwīn* in both cases;

1.43 (3) the *tanwīn* of correspondence,[1] which is suffixed to such words as *muslimātun* 'female Muslims' and other plurals in *āt* because the Arabs have made it correspond to the *ūna* in words like *muslimūna* 'male Muslims' and others which form their plural in *ūna* and *īna*;

1.44 (4) the *tanwīn* of compensation,[1] which is suffixed to such words as *ğawāšin* 'covers' and *jawārin* 'girls' among the defective plurals, in compensation for the arbitrarily elided final *y* (i.e. its elision denotes nothing and has no grammatical reason).

(2) See 11.7 on definition, 11.8 on indefinition.

(3) Lit. the 'lightness' (*ḵiffa*) of the noun, ultimately phonological in reference (cf. 2.31 n 4 on 'heaviness'), but the boundaries between morphology and syntax are often terminologically vague, cf. 1.5 n 3.

(4) Invariability (*binā'*, lit. 'building' i.e. in a permanent form) is the antonym of *'i^{c}rāb,* 'inflection' (ch.2). But it also has a much wider application, referring to the structure of any word (e.g. the past tense verb, 5.01 n 1, the passive, 8.67 n 1, the short vowels as distinct from inflections, 3.3); in *Kitāb* II, 362 a problem is set in the following words: *ibni lī min al-jiwāri fta^{c}alū* 'Construct for me from the root *j-w-r* the verb of the pattern *ifta^{c}alū*' (*ibni* 'build!' is cognate with *binā'*). Note that invariability is associated with loss of syntactic freedom (cf. 18.41): in certain constructions there is doubt as to whether the noun ending is a genuine inflection or an invariable ending, q.v. in 22.12, 23.41. Similar vagueness prevails about some verbal endings, e.g. 5.1, 5.2, 5.32.

(5) The defects (*^{c}ilal*, plur. of *^{c}illa*, cf. *mu^{c}tall* in 2.43 n 2) are listed in 3.88, 3.89. It is also possible that *^{c}ilal* here means 'causes', see further 23.62 n 2, 24.22 n 1.

1.42 (1) *tanwīn at-tankīr*, see 11.8 on indefinition. It is noteworthy that *tanwīn* is not primarily associated with indefinition, but is regarded principally as the marker of the fully established noun: this is not unreasonable in view of the many proper names which have *tanwīn*, e.g. *zaydun* in 1.41. However, Western interpretations, taking as a basis the complementary distribution of *al* 'the' and *tanwīn*, see the latter as an indefinition marker, see refs. in 1.4 n 1, and 3.87 n 1 for bibliography relating to *tanwīn* versus partial inflection.

(2) See 8.3 n 2 on 'regularly', *qiyās*.

(3) See 23.411 on *sībawayhi*; 'noun of action' is lit. for *ism al-fi^{c}l*, (cf. 16.1 on *fi^{c}l*), a quasi-imperative which, since it does not take agent suffixes (5.03), is not classified as a verb. It is, of course, an interjection, but what is interesting is that the Arabs could not count such words as 'particles': (lengthy treatment in *Muf.*#187-99).

1.43 (1) *tanwīn al-muqābala*, lit. 'facing *tanwīn*', because it has the same distribution as the *na* of the sound masc. plur. (3.41) in the undefined form, though not in the defined form (compare paradigms at 4.13 n 2, 4.6 n 1). This early example of morphological parallelism (cf. *Kitāb* I, 4) may be a relic of pre-Sībawayhian grammar, which is notably analogical in method (cf. Carter, *R.E.I.* 40, 95 n 1).

1.44 (1) *tanwīn al-^{c}iwaḍ* (*^{c}iwaḍ* 'compensation' is originally a term of commercial law relating to defective merchandise). The loss of the defective 3rd radical (2.43 n 2) is purely a phonological event (thus **jawāriyu*$>$*jawārin* according to 2.6), not like the loss of a radical in apocopation (2.43) or in plurals where there is a limit on the number of consonants (thus *safarjal* 'quince' loses a radical in the plur. *safārij*, and cf. the modern example *'imbarāṭūr* 'emperor', plur.

عوضا عن الياء المحذوفة اعتباطا وهو الحذف لغير دليل او لغير علة واللاحق لاذ
في نحو يومئذ يفرح المؤمنون عوضا عن الجملة التي تضاف اذ اليها وذكر ابن هشام
في المغني العوض عن مفرد وهو اللاحق لكل وبعض اذا قطع عن الاضافة ورد بان
تنوينهما تنوين تمكين يذهب مع الاضافة ويثبت مع عدمها فان قيل اذ من نحو
يومئذ كذلك اجيب بان المراد الاضافة التي تقتضي اعراب المضاف اليه لفظا فلم
يرد اذ من نحو يومئذ لانها لا تضاف الا الى الجملة وايضا هي ملازمة لاضافة الجملة
فاذا نونت علم انه عوض عن المحذوف ولا كذلك بعض وكل وهذه الانواع الاربعة
مختصة (5a) بالاسم وزاد بعضهم على هذه الاربعة ستة ذكرتها في شرح القطر ولا
نطيل بذكرها وجمعها بعضهم في قوله

اقسام تنوينهم عشر عليك بها   فان تقسيمها من خير ما حرزا
مكن وعوض وقابل والمنكر زد   رنم او احك اضطرر غال وما همزا

1.441 This *tanwīn* is also suffixed to *'id̲* 'when'[1] in such words as *yawma'id̲in* 'on that day', as in the Qur'anic *yawma'id̲in yafraḥu l-mu'minūna* 'on that day the believers shall rejoice',[2] in compensation for the sentence to which *'id̲* is usually annexed. Ibn Hišām mentions in the *Muḡnī*[3] compensation for a single word, namely the *tanwīn* suffixed to *kullun* 'all' and *ba^cḍun* 'some' when they are cut off from annexation, but this has been rejected on the grounds that the *tanwīn* of these two is simply the *tanwīn* of establishment, which always disappears in annexation and remains in the absence of annexation. If it is claimed that the same applies to *'id̲* in *yawma'id̲in* 'on that day', the answer is that 'annexation' here means that which requires the formal inflection of the second element; the *'id̲* of *yawma'id̲in* and such like is not intended here because *'id̲* 'when' is only annexed to sentences,[4] and indeed only occurs in annexation to sentences, so that, when it is given *tanwīn*, you will know that this is in compensation for what has been elided,[5] which is not the case with *ba^cḍun* 'some' and *kullun* 'all'.

1.45 These four kinds of *tanwīn* are peculiar *(5a)* to the noun, to which some grammarians have added another six that I have already dealt with in my *Commentary on Qaṭr an-nadā*[1] and will not go into here. One writer has collected them all into the following verses:[2]

'aqsāmu tanwīnihim ^cašrun ^calayka bihā
fa-'inna taqsīmahā min k̲ayri mā ḥuriza
makkin wa-^cawwiḍ wa-qābil wa-l-munakkara zid
rannim 'aw iḥki ḍṭarir ḡāli wa-mā humiza

'the kinds of their *tanwīn* are ten, and here they are for you, divided up with the best of care: (1) establishment, (2) compensation, (3) correspondence, (4) indefinition, (5) redundant vocative, (6) poetic trilling, (7) verbatim quotation, (8) poetic licence, (9) metrical extravagance, (10) after *hamza*'.[3] But to call the last six *tanwīn* is only a figure of speech, since they are not peculiar to the noun.

'abātira; see *Kitāb* II, 340). The *tanwīn* is, nevertheless, quite irregular, cf. Fleisch, *Tr.* #102g. On elision (*ḥaḏf*) see 3.73 n 2.

1.441 (1) *Muf.* #204; *Alf.* v 399; Ibn Hišām, *Muḡnī* I, 74; Fleisch 147, 206; Nöldeke 53, 107. Cf. the related elements *'iḏā* in 5.94, *'iḏan* in 5.43, *'iḏmā* in 5.85, the '*'iḏā* of surprise' in 5.432 n 2.

(2) S. 30 v 4; here *yawma-'iḏin* may be analysed as 'on the day of' (18.101) and 'the time of it', there being no sentence to which *'iḏ* is annexed (cf. n 5 below), hence the '*tanwīn* of compensation'.

(3) On Ibn Hišām see 1.02 n 1. The reference in *Muḡnī* I, 170 is only a passing mention (but aš-Širbīnī is here paraphrasing al-Azharī *Taṣr.* I, 35 in any case). The status of *kullun* (13.4) and *ba*^{c}*ḍun* (17.65 n 1) is interesting, especially the former, which has the same syntax as the superlative adjective (cf. 13.4 n 6) on the one hand, but which may also stand alone, with *tanwīn*, in an apparently undefined state ('everything'). Ibn Hišām clearly has reservations about this, and sees *kullun* as a defined expression meaning 'all of it', a view which seems well grounded in spite of the objections raised here. See 26.93 n 1 on complementary distribution of *tanwīn* and annexation.

(4) Sentences by nature carry no inflection markers, though they very often function as inflected elements (e.g. 5.41, and cf. 5.84 n 4).

(5) One problem with *'iḏ* is that it remains definite when the sentence to which it was annexed is replaced by *tanwīn* (cf. n 2 above), and to this extent Reckendorf's reluctance to accept the ending as a genuine *tanwīn* is justified (5.43 n 3). Certainly the original demonstrative function of *'iḏ* is not very far below the surface: a verse such as S. 2 v 214, *wa-ḏkurū ni*^{c}*mata llāhi* ^{c}*alaykum 'iḏ ja*^{c}*ala fīkum ul-'anbiyā'a*, 'remember God's grace to you when he set prophets among you' could easily be read, 'remember God's grace to you: look! he has set prophets among you'. Cf. '*'iḏā* of surprise' in 5.432 n 2.

1.45 (1) The work is evidently lost; a suitable alternative would be *Muf.* #608 or, since aš-Širbīnī will certainly have copied from it extensively, al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* I, 35-37!

(2) The verses are anonymous and seem to date back no further than al-Azharī (d. 1499), *Taṣr.* I, 37, or as-Suyūṭī (d. 1505), *Ašbāh* II, 108, though aš-Širbīnī's version differs slightly from both.

(3) Type (1) 1.41; type (2) 1.44; type (3) 1.43; type (4) 1.42. Type (5) is inferred by taking *zid* 'increase!' in the verse to mean *ziyāda* 'redundant element' (3.231 n 1), i.e. the rare vocative form *yā maṭarun* O Matar', for *yā maṭaru* (cf. 23.41). Type (6) *tarannum* 'poetic trilling', a nasalizing of the rhyming vowel (q.v. 5.88 n 4), cf. Fleisch, *Tr.* #37e. Type (7) *ḥikāya*, using a fem. word as a man's name and retaining the *tanwīn* which it should have lost by becoming a proper name (3.89 (4)). Normally *ḥikāya* in grammar means 'verbatim quotation', especially when repeating words with the inflection of their original context. Type (8) *iḍṭirār*, lit. 'being forced to', adding *tanwīn* to words which should not have it (e.g. *mawāṯiqan* in 13.13). Cf. also

وتسميتها تنوينا مجاز لا حقيقة لعدم اختصاصها بالاسم ويعرف ايضا بدخول الالف
واللام بجميع اقسامها غير الموصولة والاستفهامية من اوله كالرجل والفرس وكاللام
بدلها وهي الميم وقد ورد عنه صلى الله عليه وسلم انه قال ليس من امبر امصيام
في امسفر يريد ليس من البر الصيام في السفر رواه الامام احمد في مسنده اما ال
الموصولة فقد تدخل على الفعل المضارع كقول الفرزدق بمخاطبة رجل من بني عذرة
ما انت بالحكم الترضى حكومته   ولا الاصيل ولا ذي الرأي والجدل
ودخوله على المضارع اضطرار عند الجمهور واختيار عند ابن مالك وبينت توجيه
كل واحد منهما في شرح القطر واما ال الاستفهامية فقد تدخل على الفعل الماضي
نحو ال فعلت بمعنى هل فعلت حكاه قطرب تنبيه معلوم ان ال لا تدخل على
جميع الاسماء لان كثيرا من الاسماء لا تدخله ال كالمضمرات والمبهمات واكثر

1.5 The noun is also recognized by the prefixing of *al* 'the',[1] (i.e. all kinds of *al* 'the' except the relative *al* and the interrogative *al*)[2] on the front of the noun, e.g. *ar-rajulu* 'the man', *al-farasu* 'the horse'. Equivalent to the *l* of *al* is the *m* occasionally substituted[3] for it, as in the saying of the Prophet (God bless him and give him peace), *laysa min am-birri m-ṣiyāmu fī m-safri* 'It is no part of piety to fast during a journey' (related by the Imām Aḥmad in his *Musnad*).[4]

1.51 The relative *al* is sometimes prefixed to imperfect tense verbs, e.g. in the verse of al-Farazdaq addressed to one of the Banī ᶜUḏra:[1]

mā 'anta bi-l-ḥakami t-turḍā ḥukūmatuhu
wa-lā l-'aṣīli wa-lā ḏī r-ra'yi wa-l-jadali

'You are not the arbiter whose judgement is acceptable, nor of noble origin, sound opinion or skill in argument'.[2] Its occurrence before imperfect tense verbs is held by most to be a poetic licence, but as elective by Ibn Mālik,[3] and I have explained both points of view in my *Commentary on Qaṭr an-nadā*.[4]

1.52 Interrogative *al*[1] occurs before past tense verbs, e.g. *'al faᶜalta* synonymous with *hal faᶜalta* 'have you done?', as related by Quṭrub.[2]

1.53 Note: It is well known that *al* 'the' is not prefixed to all nouns because many, such as pronouns, vague nouns and most proper nouns, do

11.715 n 2. Type (9) *ḡuluww*, 'going to extremes', adding a vowel and *n* to the otherwise unvowelled rhyming consonant (q.v. 5.88 n 4). Type (10) after *hamza* (= *'*), found only with *hā'ulā'i* 'these' and a few other demonstratives which end in *'* (11.731, 11.734 etc.), hence *hā'ulā'in*.

1.5 (1) See 11.7 on definition in general, 11.74 on *al* in particular, where also main bibliographical references; for assimilation of *l* to following apicals see 11.41 n 2, and for elision of *a* in juncture see 11.1 n 2; on the name *'alif-lām* for the article see 11.74 n 2.

(2) See 1.51 for the relative *al*, 1.52 for interrogative *al*.

(3) Note that 'substituted' (*badaluhā*) here uses in a morphological context the term more commonly associated with substitution at the syntactical level (ch.14): as has been remarked before (1.41 n 4), from phonology through morphology to syntax is a continuum.

(4) This is evidently a Yemeni feature, cf. Rabin, *Anc. West-Ar.* 34, 50, 205 (where further examples), Cantineau, *Études* 51, Fleisch, *Tr.* #75b. See Wensinck, *Concordance* III, 461 for this 'Tradition' (cf. 1.01 n 4), which is unusual in that it occurs only in the collection of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal (d. 855, v. *E.I.* (2) s.v., *G.A.S.* I, 502).

1.51 (1) It is not usual for aš-Širbīnī to give such circumstantial details about the poems from which he quotes: the reason why he does so here is undoubtedly because he is only reproducing al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* I, 38. For the poet Farazdaq (d. 728-30) see *G.A.L.* I, 53, *G.A.S.* II, 359, *E.I.* (2), art. 'al-Farazdaḳ'.

(2) *Schaw.Ind.* 205 (add *Inṣāf* 212, al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* I, 38). Though historically both the definite article *al* and the relative pronoun *allaḏī* (11.753) are related (as ancient demonstratives), they were syntactically far enough apart for this licence of Farazdaq's to outrage the purists. The combination *at-turḍā* (for *al-turḍā*, see 11.41 n 2) is equivalent to *allaḏī turḍā* 'whose (judgement) is accepted' or *al-marḍiyyu* 'the accepted (of judgement)' (see 26.92 on the syntax of the latter paraphrase). Cf. Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.* 426.

(3) In *Alf.* v 98. See 1.02 n 2 on Ibn Mālik.

(4) The work is lost, but cf. al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* I, 38.

1.52 (1) This is nothing more than a variant of *hal* (see 5.741 n 1) showing the rare change *h* > *'*, attested also in the prefix of the Stem IV verb *'a* (cognate with *ha*, cf. 5.21 n 1, and cf. the noun *'āl*, from *'ahl*, both meaning 'family'). The reverse shift is also recorded: the variants *hin* and *la-hinna* exist for *'in* 'if' and *la-'inna* 'verily', (cf. Weil, *Zeitschr. für Assyriologie* 19, 21).

(2) Quṭrub, d. 821, is known principally as a collector of lexical material, with an interest in morphology, and is said to have been one of the few pupils of Sībawayhi (*G.A.L.* I, 102, *E.I.* (2), art. 'Ḳuṭrub'). If S.Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, Leiden 1886, 286, is to be believed, the word *quṭrub* 'demon, puppy etc.' is an

الاعلام فمراده ما يمكن دخول ال عليه ويعرف ايضا بالحديث عنه اي الاسناد اليه
وهو ان تضم اليه ما تتم به الفائدة كقام زيد وزيد قائم فزيد اسم فيهما لانك
حدثت عنه بالقيام وهذه العلامة معنوية وهي انفع علامات الاسم اذ بها (5b)
يستدل على اسمية ما لا يقبل ال ولا التنوين كتاء ضربت لانك حدثت عن التاء
بالضرب فهي اسم وكذا غير التاء من الضمائر كضربنا ثم لا فرق في الاسناد بين
المعنوي كما مر واللفظي نحو زيد ثلاثي وضرب فعل ماض ومن حرف جر اذ لا يسند
الى الفعل والحرف الا محكوما باسميتهما ويعرف ايضا بدخول حروف الخفض في اوله
كما سيأتي تنبيه حاصل ما ذكره المصنف في علامات الاسم اربعة اثنتان في اخره
وهما الخفض والتنوين واثنتان في اوله وهما الالف واللام وحروف الخفض وعكس
الترتيب الطبيعي وهو ان يقدم الاول اولا والثاني ثانيا لطول الكلام على حروف
الخفض وعطف العلامات بالواو المفيدة لمطلق الجمع اشعارا بان بعضها قد يجامع
بعضا في الجملة كالخفض مع الالف واللام او مع التنوين وقد لا يجامع كالالف واللام
مع التنوين ثم استطرد فذكر جملة من حروف الخفض فقال وهي اي حروف الخفض

not take *al*.[1] What our author means is only those nouns on which it is possible for *al* to appear.

1.6 The noun is also recognized by the fact that statements can be made about it, i.e. it can be the subject of predication,[1] which is to comine it with something that completes the sense, e.g. *qāma zaydun* 'Zayd stood', *zaydun qā'imun* 'Zayd is standing', where *zaydun* 'Zayd' is a noun because you have predicated of it the act of standing. This particular marker is abstract, and is the most useful of the noun markers because by means of it *(5b)* the nominality of words which do not take *al* 'the' or *tanwīn* can be deduced, such as the *tu* 'I'[2] in *ḍarabtu* 'I struck': *tu* 'I' is a noun because you have predicated of it the act of striking,[3] and the same applies to other pronouns, e.g. *ḍarabnā* 'we struck'. Moreover there is no difference as far as predication is concerned between the abstract type just mentioned and purely formal predication such as *zaydun ṯulāṯiyyun 'zaydun* is triliteral',[4] *ḍaraba fiᶜlun māḍin 'ḍaraba* is a past tense verb' and *min ḥarfu jarrin 'min* is a particle of obliqueness', since predicates can only be made about verbs and particles by deeming them nouns.[5]

1.7 Finally the noun is recognized by the occurrence of the particles of obliqueness,[1] before it, as will be explained. Note: The gist of what the author says is that the noun markers are four,[2] two suffixes (obliqueness and *tanwīn*) and two prefixes (*al* 'the' and the particles of obliqueness).[3] He has reversed the natural order of putting prefixes first and suffixes second because there is so much to say about the particles. And he has joined all the noun markers by 'and' denoting absolute coordination to show that some may combine with others in the sentence, e.g. obliqueness with either *al* 'the' or *tanwīn*, though in fact there are some which do not combine, e.g. *al* 'the' and *tanwīn*. He then digresses somewhat[4] by mentioning a number of the particles of obliqueness, and these are (i.e. the particles of obliqueness) as follows:

adaptation of the Greek *kynanthropos*.

1.53 (1) See 11.81 n 1 on proper names without *al*. It is worth noting that proper names without *al* nevertheless acquire the definite article when dualized or pluralized (examples in 3.41, 3.64). Such duals and plurals are, however, rather artificial (mostly grammarians' fictions, in fact), as there is an inherent incongruity between dual/plural and words intrinsically denoting specific individuals (for similar reasons duals and plurals are rare in the vocative, v. 23.421). Cf. 3.65 n 8.

1.6 (1) Cf. 1.22 on predicability, also *Muf.* #2; *Alf.* v 10, *Qaṭr* 5, and ch. 9 on equational sentence structure (9.0 n 1 on the term *'isnād* 'predication' in particular). On other noun markers see 1.8 n 1. The omission by Ibn Ājurrūm of these 'abstract' markers (cf. 2.1 on *maᶜnawī* 'abstract') is only to be expected in view of his purely 'formal' presentation.

(2) The Arabic has only *t*, which can be vocalized *tu*, *ta*, *ti*, i.e. as 1st or 2nd (masc. and fem.) sing., cf. 5.1 n 5 (similar case: 4.81 n 1).

(3) All verbs are predicates of their agents, see 3.73 n 5.

(4) See 10.37 n 1 on the pattern system.

(5) The examples here are simply grammarians' metalanguage (which is not always so easy to discern in a script which has neither capitals nor italics!). Nöldeke 64 has an interesting anthology of examples from literature. The problem was noticed very early (see *Kitāb* II, 31-36), and two illustrations will suffice to show how nominal markers could even be attached to sentences: *al-qāla wa-l-qīla* 'malicious talk', lit. 'the he said and the it was said', *min šubba 'ilā dubba* 'from youth to old age', lit. 'from it was youthful to it was crept around with a walking stick' (note impersonal passives, 8.11 n 1).

1.7 (1) See *Muf.* #498; *Alf.* v 364; *Qaṭr* 279 on particles in general. Here we quote from Bateson 37-38 by way of summary of points made elsewhere (refs. in brackets): 'Membership of the class of particles (1.25 n 1) is, on the one hand, a matter of function (1.25 n 2), since the particles are the words which do much of the grammatical work (3.84 n 3) of the sentence; on the other hand, although ties with the root system are discernible (21.5 n 1), particles are words which do not have true roots (26.26 n 1) or true patterns (10.37 n 1) and are not included in the two inflectional systems (1.41 n 4)'.

(2) A fifth, predicability, has already been dealt with in 1.6. There are others, viz. pronominalization and collocation with the vocative particle *yā* 'O', see further 1.8 n 1. The reason why they are omitted here is that aš-Širbīnī is simply copying al-Azharī, *Āj.* 14.

(3) Note the attention to distributional factors. On absolute coordination see 12.1.

(4) So it appears to al-Azharī, whom aš-Širbīnī is quoting here (*Āj.* 14), because the particles are not due to be dealt with until 1.9.

من بكسر الميم ومن معانيها ابتداء الغاية في المكان نحو من المسجد الحرام والزمان نحو من اول الشهر وغيرهما نحو انه من سليمان فالمسجد واول وسليمان اسماء لدخول من عليها والى ومن معانيها الانتهاء نحو سرت الى الكوفة فهي اسم لدخول حرف الجر عليها وعن ومن معانيها المجاوزة نحو رميت عن القوس فهو اسم لدخول عن عليه وعلى ومن معانيها الاستعلاء حسا نحو كل من عليها فان او معنى نحو فضلنا بعضهم على بعض فالهاء وبعض اسمان لدخول على عليهما وفي ومن معانيها الظرفية المكانية (6a) والزمانية نحو وانتم عاكفون في المساجد واذكروا الله في ايام معدودات والمساجد وايام اسمان لدخول في عليهما ورب بضم الراء ومن معانيها التقليل كقوله

1.701 <u>*min* 'from',</u> (spelt with *i* after the *m*),[1] whose senses[2] include the beginning of a spacial limit, e.g. *min al-masjidi* 'from the mosque', or a temporal limit, e.g. *min 'awwali š-šahri* 'from the first of the month' and others, e.g. *min sulaymāna* 'from Solomon'; *al-masjidi* 'the mosque', *'awwali* 'first' and *sulaymāna* 'Solomon'[3] are all nouns because *min* 'from' occurs before them;

1.702 <u>*'ilā* 'towards',</u>[1] whose senses include terminal destination, e.g. *sirtu 'ilā l-kūfati* 'I travelled to Kūfa', *al-kūfati* 'Kūfa' being a noun because *'ilā* 'towards' occurs before it;

1.703 <u>*^{c}an* 'from',</u>[1] whose senses include passing beyond, e.g. *ramaytu ^{c}an il-qawsi* 'I shot from the bow', *al-qawsi* 'the bow' being a noun because *^{c}an* 'from' occurs before it;

1.704 <u>*^{c}alā* 'on',</u>[1] whose senses include superiority, either perceptibly, as in the Qur'anic *kullu man ^{c}alayhā fānin* 'all those on it will perish',[2] or abstractly, as in the Qur'anic *faḍḍalnā ba^{c}ḍahum ^{c}alā ba^{c}ḍin* 'we have made some superior over others',[3] both *hā* 'it' and *ba^{c}ḍin* 'some others' being nouns because *^{c}alā* 'on' occurs before them;

1.705 <u>*fī* 'in',</u>[1] whose senses include being contained in space *(6a)* or time,[2] as in the Qur'anic *wa-'antum ^{c}ākifūna fī l-masājidi* 'while you are secluded in the mosques',[3] and *uḏkurū llāha fī 'ayyāmin ma^{c}dūdātin* 'remember God on certain calculated days',[4] both *al-masājidi* 'the mosques' and *'ayyāmin* 'days' being nouns because *fī* 'in' occurs before them;

1.706 <u>*rubba* 'how few, how many',</u> (spelt with *u* after the *r*),[1] whose senses include scarcity, as in the verse:

(5) Omitted are *ḥattā* (26.31), *la* (23.21 n 2), *wa* meaning *rubba* (26.61), *ḥāšā* etc. (26.1), *muḏ* and *munḏu* (26.62), and some rare ones in 26.1.

1.701 (1) The spelling instructions (3.44 n 2) are to avoid confusion with *man* 'who' (5.83). *Muf.* #499; *Alf.* v 369; Ibn Hišām, *Muġnī* II, 14; Nöldeke 52; other functions of *min:* partitive 9.03 n 4, explanatory 5.82 n 3; comparative 20.42 n 2; causative 24.55 n 2; see also 26.21; *min* was formerly a noun meaning 'part' (Brockelmann, *Grundr.* II, 117).

(2) 'Senses' renders *maᶜānī,* lit. 'meanings' as understood in 1.25 (and cf. 1.7 n 1), and is only preferred here over 'meanings' because the latter has too lexical a flavour. 'Semantic function' (2.2) has also been used for *maᶜnā*, but seemed too ponderous for this context.

(3) On the semi-declinable *sulaymāna* cf. 3.89 (7).

1.702 (1) *Muf.* #500; *Alf.* v 371; Ibn Hišām, *Muġnī* I, 70; Nöldeke 54; see further 26.22. The final *ā* of *'ilā* is actually spelt *ay*, and is so pronounced before suffixes (e.g. *'ilayka* 1.709). On the strength of this Rabin (*Anc. West-Ar.* 117) has speculated about the existence of a phoneme *ē* (cf. Fleisch, *Tr.* #7i). The so-called *'alif maqṣūra* 'shortened *ā* ' is related, cf. 3.89 n 2. See 9.4 n 3 on Kūfa.

1.703 (1) *Muf.* #508; *Alf.* v 374; Ibn Hišām, *Muġnī* I, 129; see also 26.23. The attempt to characterize the 'meanings' of *ᶜan* in a single term is particularly unhelpful here: it may better be summed up as denoting a literal or figurative movement away from something, e.g. *safartu ᶜan il-baladi* 'I travelled away from the country', *'aṭᶜamtuhu ᶜan jūᶜin* ' I fed him in his hunger' (examples from *Lane* s.v.).

1.704 (1) *Muf.* #507; *Alf.* v 375; Ibn Hišām, *Muġnī* I, 125; see also 26.24. The final *ā* is of the same nature as that of *'ilā*, 1.702 n 1. See 14.2 n 2 for an idiomatic use of *'alā* and *li* (1.709).

(2) S. 55 v 26; it had become, at least by the time of Ibn Fāris (d. 1004), an affectation to verify each point of grammar with Qur'anic quotations. Cf. 12.911 n 2 on 'perceptibly' and 'abstractly'.

(3) S. 2 v 253; similar example 26.1. Cf. 17.65 n 1 on *baᶜḍ* 'some'.

1.705 (1) *Muf.* #502; *Alf.* v 373; Ibn Hišām, *Muġnī* I, 144; see also 26.25.

(2) 'Being contained in space or time' is an explanatory translation of the single word *ẓarf*, lit. 'vessel, container', and used as the technical term for space and time qualifiers (v. ch. 18). It has been suggested that this term is borrowed from Greek *angeion* (see Versteegh, 8, for a review of this theory), but no-one has yet been able to demonstrate precisely how such a notion was transmitted from Greek to Arabic, presumably well before the time of Sībawayhi.

(3) S. 2 v 187. Note that, like all semi-declinable nouns, *al-masājidi* is regular when formally defined (cf. 3.89 n 12).

(4) S. 2 v 203.

الا رب مولود وليس له اب   وذي ولد لم يلده ابوان
اراد السيد عيسى والسيد آدم عليهما الصلاة والسلام فمولود اسم لدخول رب عليه
والباء الموحدة ومن معانيها الاستعانة بان تدخل على آلة الفعل نحو كتبت بالقلم
فهو اسم لدخول الباء عليه والكاف ومن معانيها التشبيه نحو زيد كالاسد فهو اسم
لدخول الكاف عليه واللام ومن معانيها التعليل نحو وانزلنا اليك الذكر لتبين
للناس اي لاجل ان تبين لهم فالناس اسم لدخول اللام عليه وحروف القسم بفتح
القاف والسين المهملة بمعنى اليمين وحروف القسم من حروف الجر وسميت حروف
القسم لدخولها على المقسم به وهي ثلاثة مشهورة الواو تختص بالمظهر مطلقا نحو
والله والنجم والباء الموحدة تدخل على المظهر نحو بالله وعلى المضمر نحو الله

'a-lā rubba mawlūdin wa-laysa lahu 'abun
wa-ḏī waladin lam yaldahu 'abawāni

'How few are born and do not have a father, and how few have children and are not born of two parents!',[2] referring to the Lord Jesus and the Lord Adam (prayers and peace upon them), *mawlūdin* 'born' being a noun because *rubba* 'how few' occurs before it;

1.707 bi 'with',[1] (spelt with one dot),[2] whose senses include assistance, since it is prefixed to the instrument of an action, e.g. *katabtu bi-l-qalami* 'I wrote with the pen', *al-qalami* 'the pen' being a noun because *bi* 'with' occurs before it;

1.708 ka 'like',[1] whose senses include comparison, e.g. *zaydun ka-l-'asadi* 'Zayd is like a lion', *al-'asadi* 'the lion'[2] being a noun because *ka* 'like' occurs before it;

1.709 li 'for',[1] whose senses include causation, e.g. *wa-'anzalnā 'ilayka ḏ-ḏikra li-tubayyina li-n-nāsi* 'and we sent down to you this reminder for you to make it clear for the people'[2] (i.e. in order that you might make clear to them), *an-nāsi* 'the people' being a noun because *li* 'for' appears before it;

1.710 and the particles of swearing,[1] (spelt *qasam* 'swearing' with *a* after the undotted *s*,[2] meaning *yamīn* 'oath'). The particles of swearing belong to the particles of obliqueness because they are prefixed to the noun by which the oath is sworn, comprising three well-known particles, viz.

1.711 wa,[1] which is exclusive to overt nouns, e.g. *wa-llāhi* 'by God!', *wa-n-najmi* 'by the star!';[2]

1.712 bi,[1] (spelt with one dot), which is prefixed both to overt nouns, e.g. *bi-llāhi* 'by God!', and to pronouns, e.g. *allāhu 'uqsimu bihi*

1.706 (1) *Muf.* #505; *Alf.* vv 366, 368; Ibn Hišām, *Muġnī* I, 118; see also 26.33. This word has contrary meanings (see further 26.33 n 1), and it was also disputed whether it was a particle ('Baṣrans') or noun ('Kūfans', v. 9.4 n 3), see *Inṣāf*, Suppl. prob. 3. The spelling instructions (3.44 n 2) are to avoid confusion with *rabbun* 'lord'.

(2) *Schaw. Ind.* 262. The late grammarians had an enormous stock of evidentiary verses to draw upon, and did not always quote them in illustration of the same grammatical point as they were first used to prove. This one is a good example, since it was originally produced (*Kitāb* I, 341, II, 258) as evidence for the form *yalda* (from *yalid*, with loss of unstressed *i* and addition of final *a*, probably for metrical reasons; cf. 5.02 n 4 on *yalid*). Sībawayhi does not use this verse as evidence for the function of *rubba*, and indeed, on one of the occasions quotes it in a form which does not even begin with *rubba*.

1.707 (1) *Muf.* #503; *Alf.* vv 371, 374; Ibn Hišām, *Muġnī* I, 95; Nöldeke 55, and see also 26.26, 26.4. The challenge to sum up the wide range of meanings of this particle in one word (cf. 1.703) leads to the choice of 'assistance' (*isti^{c}āna*, lit. 'seeking help'), a not very helpful attempt to combine the notions of 'with, in, at, by' which are some of the possible 'translations' of *bi*. For *bi* in oaths see 1.712.

(2) Spelling instructions distinguish *bi* from four otherwise identical letters *t, ṯ, n, y* (cf. 3.44 n 2). Note that the particles have been deliberately presented in order first of those which are independent words (orthographically) followed by those which, since they consist of only one letter, are always written as prefixes (cf. Beeston 28, 30).

1.708 (1) *Muf.* #509; *Alf.* v 377; Ibn Hišām, *Muġnī* I, 151; see also 26.31, 26.4. According to Brockelmann, *Grundr.* II, 389, *ka* is related to *kam* 'how much/many' (q.v. at 20.6 n 2).

(2) The article in *al-'asadi* 'the lion' is generic (11.741), hence the translation 'a lion', but cf. 10.44.

1.709 (1) *Muf.* #504; *Alf.* v 372; Ibn Hišām, *Muġnī* I, 175; Nöldeke 50; see also 26.27, 26.4 26.71.

(2) S. 16 v 44, lacking the usual introductory formula. The *li* prefixed to the verb might seem to us more 'causative' (cf. 5.51) than the second *li*, but cf. the explanation of *lakum* 'for you' in 24.51.

1.71 (1) *Jum.* 82; *Muf.* #506; *Alf.* v 365; *Qaṭr* 282; for other forms of oaths cf. 9.92; emphatic form of verb in oaths 26.34 n 2.

(2) Here the spelling instruction (3.44 n 2) distinguishes *qasam* '(the swearing of an) oath' from *qism* 'section, division'.

1.711 (1) Refs. as in 1.71 n 1. The origins of this element are still obscure, and the thorough investigation by Fischer, *Islam* 28, 1-105 (!) comes to no firm conclusion.

(2) S. 53 v 1. The star in question is the Pleiades group, the common noun 'star' having become a proper noun by 'usage predominating' (3.65

اقسم به والتاء المثنى فوق ويختص لفظ الجلالة بها وسمع شاذا ترب الكعبة
وتالرحمن فالباء هي الاصل لما مر انها تدخل على المظهر وعلى المضمر ويليها الواو
لانها لا تدخل الا على المظهر فقط ويليها التاء لاختصاص الجلالة بها فقط ثم لما
فرغ من علامات الاسم شرع في علامات الفعل فقال والفعل بكسر الفاء يعرف اي يميز
عن قسيميه بقد اي الحرفية وتدخل على الماضي نحو قد قام وعلى المضارع نحو قد
يقوم فقام ويقوم (6b) فعلان لدخول قد عليهما بخلاف قد الاسمية فانها مختصة
بالاسماء لانها بمعنى حسب فهي ملازمة للاضافة نحو قد زيد درهم فقد في محل
رفع مبتدأ ودرهم خبره والسين وسوف ويدخلان على المضارع فقط نحو سيقوم
وسوف يقوم فيقوم فعل لدخول السين وسوف عليه وتاء التأنيث الساكنة الدالة

'God, I swear by him!';

1.713 and *ta*.[1] (Spelt with two dots above),[2] exclusively found with the name of the Almighty, though rarely one hears *ta-rabbi l-ka*ᶜ*bati* 'by the Lord of the Kaaba!' and *ta-r-raḥmāni* 'by the Merciful One!'. The fundamental particle of swearing is *bi*, for, as already stated, it occur before both nouns and pronouns; next is *wa*, which occurs only before nouns, and last *ta*, because it is exclusive to the name of the Almighty.[3]

1.8 Having finished with the noun markers[1] the author now turns to the verb markers. And the verb[2] (spelt *fi*ᶜ*l*, with *i* after the *f*) is recognized (i.e. is distinguished from the other two subdivisions of speech),

1.81 by *qad* 'already',[1] i.e. the *qad* with particle status. It occurs both before the past tense, e.g. *qad qāma* 'he had stood' and the imperfect, e.g. *qad yaqūmu* 'he does stand', *qāma* 'he stood' and *yaqūmu* 'he stands' *(6b)* being verbs because *qad* occurs before them. This is not the same as the nominal *qad* which is found only before nouns,[2] synonymous with *ḥasbu* 'enough' and always in annexation, e.g. *qad zaydin dirhamun* 'a dirham is enough for Zayd', where *qad* 'enough' has independent status as subject with *dirhamun* 'a dirham' as its predicate;

1.82 by *sa* and *sawfa*,[1] which occur only before the imperfect tense, e.g. *sa-yaqūmu* and *sawfa yaqūmu* 'he will stand', *yaqūmu* 'he stands' being a verb because *sa* and *sawfa* occur before it;

1.83 and by the unvowelled feminine *t*. This denotes that the agent is

n 12), though some say it is merely a generic article (11.741).

1.712 (1) Refs. as for 1.71 n 1. See also 26.5. Note that when an overt verb (invariably *'uqsimu* 'I swear') occurs, only *bi* may follow. Conversely there are a few forms of oath apparently without any introductory particle, e.g. *lāhi* 'by God!', *al-ka^{c}bati* 'by the Kaaba!', though here it is reasonable to assume that one has been elided by frequency of use (see the collection by Fischer, ref. in 1.711 n 1).

1.713 (1) Refs. as for 1.71 n 1. See also 26.34. We are on safer ground regarding the origins of this particle: it is quite probably the remnant of some previous word, e.g. *'amānata llāhi* 'by God's safekeeping!' or *bayta llāhi* 'by God's house!' (so Fischer, loc. cit. 27-30).

(2) The spelling instruction is necessary here to distinguish *ta* from *yā*, which is indeed found as a vocative with the name of God, viz. *yā llāhu* 'O God!' (q.v. at 23.21).

(3) This specimen of 'rational dichotomy' (1.2 n 2) is mere pedagogical reinforcement: it has no bearing on the possible historical order of the three particles.

1.8 (1) Two markers may be mentioned here as they are not dealt with systematically by aš-Širbīnī: (a) pronominalization, which is invoked in 5.83, cf. n 5; (b) collocation with the vocative particle *yā* (q.v. in ch. 23), a marker which is acknowledged somewhat haphazardly by the grammarians (thus Ibn Mālik includes it in his definition of the noun, *Alf.* v 10, but not az-Zamakšarī or Ibn Hišām). An interesting, but isolated criterion is offered by *Jum.* 17: a noun is that which can be an agent (*fā^{c}il*) or patient (*maf^{c}ūl*), cf. Versteegh 59 for discussion and alternative sources in az-Zajjājī.

(2) See 16.1 n 1 on 'verb' (the spelling instruction excludes *fa^{c}l*, 'doing, being active'.

1.81 (1) Beeston 78 relates the function of this particle to the dynamic or static aspect of the verb: thus a dynamic action such as *^{c}alimtu* 'I came to know, realized' becomes static with *qad*, viz. 'I knew (already)', and, with imperfect tense forms, a static action such as *yaqūmu* 'he (always) stands' becomes potentially dynamic, viz. 'he might well, actually does stand'. Cf. Nöldeke 70.

(2) The two are doubtless cognate, though a plausible etymology is lacking (cf. Bloch, *Anthropos* 41-44, 723, Reckendorf, *Synt. Verh.* 296).

(3) See 20.6 n 2 for an alternative construction with *qad*.

1.82 (1) *Muf.* #578; Beeston 79; Fleisch 113. In *Inṣāf*, prob. 92, the 'Baṣrans' (9.4 n 3) argue that *sa* is a particle in its own right, while the 'Kūfans' sensibly claim that it is an abbreviation of *sawfa*. Brockelmann, *Grundr.* I, 466, sides with the Kūfans, and equates *sawfa* with similar time qualifiers such as *bukrata* 'tomorrow' (18.104), in the meaning of 'eventually, in the end'. Note that *sa*, being a one-letter element, is cited by the name of that letter, viz. *sīn* (cf.

على تأنيث فاعله وتدخل على الماضي فقط نحو قام وقعد فتقول قامت هند
وقعدت فخرج بالساكنة المتحركة فانها تدخل على الاسماء كقائمة وعلى الحرف
كربت وثمت الا ان حركتها في الاسم حركة اعراب وفي الحرف حركة بناء وخرج
بالدالة على تأنيث فاعله قولهم ربت وثمت بالسكون على قلة حيث دخلت على
الحرف لانها انما دلت على تأنيث اللفظ لا على تأنيث الفاعل ثم لما فرغ من
علامات الفعل شرع فيما يعرف به الحرف فقال والحرف يميز عن قسيميه بانه ما
لا يصلح معه دليل الاسم اي من علاماته المتقدمة ولا من غيرها وما لا يصلح معه
دليل الفعل اي من علاماته المتقدمة ولا من غيرها فترك العلامة له علامة فاذا لم
تقبل الكلمة شيئا من العلامات المذكورة تعين ان تكون حرفا اذ ليس لنا الا
ثلاثة انواع كما دل عليه الاستقراء ونظير ذلك كما قال ابن مالك ج ح خ فعلامة
الجيم نقطة من اسفلها وعلامة الخاء نقطة من فوقها وعلامة الحاء المهملة عدم
النقطة بالكلية ولما بين المصنف اجزاء الكلام بعلاماتها شرع فيما يعرض

feminine,[1] and is only found in the past tense: for example, from *qāma* 'he stood' and *qa^{c}ada* 'he sat' you say *qāmat hindun wa-qa^{c}adat* 'Hind stood up and sat down'. By 'unvowelled' is excluded the vowelled *t* which occurs with nouns,[2] e.g. *qā'imatun* 'standing' (fem. sing.) and some particles, e.g. *rubbata* 'how few', *ṯummata* 'then'[3] (except that the vowel after the *t* in nouns is inflectional, while in the particles it is invariable).[4] By 'denoting that the agent is feminine' are excluded such rarities as the unvowelled *t* of *rubbat* 'how few' and *ṯummat* 'then' as a particle suffix, because in this case it merely denotes that the expression itself is feminine, not that it has a feminine agent.

1.9 Having finished with the verb markers[1] the author now turns to those by which the particle is recognized. The particle[2] is distinguished from the other two subdivisions of speech by being

1.91 that on which the sign of the noun is improper,[1] i.e. the noun markers already mentioned, or any others, and equally improper the sign of the verb. (That is, those already mentioned, and any others).

1.92 The absence of marker, then, is the distinctive mark of the particle,[1] and if a word does not take any of the above mentioned markers then it is certain to be a particle, since we have only three kinds of word, as already shown inductively. Ibn Mālik used similar reasoning in discussing the letters *j*, *ḥ* and *ḵ*: the marker of *j* is a dot below, of *ḵ* a dot above and of *ḥ* the entire absence of dots.[2]

Having finished explaining the parts of speech in terms of their markers the author now deals with what happens to them when combined

other examples 1.707-13, 5.51).

1.83 (1) *Jum.* 286; *Muf.* #607; *Alf.* v 11; *Qaṭr* 14; 7.26-28; 4.13 n 5. The whole paragraph is repeated with minor modifications in 5.01, and may be from the lost *Qaṭr* Commentary (0.4 n 6). For Ibn Mālik this *t* extends to cover the *tu, ta, ti* of the 1st and 2nd (masc. and fem.) sing. (cf. 1.6 n 2), so that his definition of the verb is implicitly 'that which takes agent suffixes', though strictly speaking the fem. sing. *at* is not an agent suffix (see 7.28 n 1).

(2) See 11.42 n 1 on fem. markers in nouns.

(3) There are some seventy variants of *rubba* according to Lane, which are arrived at by the (random?) permutation of the possible vowels, suffixes (*at, ata,* with or without a suffixed *mā*) and single or double *b*. Of *ṯumma* only the variants given here seem to exist, to which should be added the interesting forms *fumma, fummata* (Cantineau, *Études* 41). The *ta* suffix has been investigated by Aartun, *Bib. Or.* 28, 126, as a feature denoting emphasis in such words as *lāta* 'not' (cf. 5.76 n 1), and cf. Fleisch, *Tr.* #115u, 143g.

(4) Cf. 1.41 n 4 on invariability, and cf. the phrase *lā ḥawla wa-lā quwwata* '(there is) no power and no might', quoted in 5.01, parsed in 22.4

1.9 (1) Summarized in *Muf.* #402, *Alf.* v 11. Verbs in general: ch. 5; agents ch. 7; passive ch. 8; objects and other qualifiers ch. 15; paradigms chs. 4, 8 passim.

(2) See 1.25, 1.7. *Jum.* 17; *Muf.* #497; *Alf.* v 12; *Qaṭr* 25; Fleisch 154; Bateson 37; Yushmanov 61; Versteegh, index (*ḥarf*).

1.91 (1) See next note on zero-marker. On 'improper', *lā yaṣluḥu*, see 11.82 n 2. In *E.I.* (2), art. 'Ḥarf', Fleisch speculates that *ḥarf* is equivalent to *horos*, and was so named because, by enunciating slowly, the grammarians determined the 'limits' of a sound, i.e. a syllable. Particles were given the name *ḥarf/horos* because many of them are monosyllabic. This all seems most unlikely, cf. 1.25 n 2.

1.92 (1) This negative definition of the particle reinforces what was said in 1.25 n 1 and 1.7 n 1: for this reason particles are often identified by their function (e.g. 5.74 n 3), and it is extremely significant that, when the 'meanings' (1.701 n 2) of particles are given, they are always expressed in the form of verbal nouns, i.e. of grammatical 'actions' (=functions), e.g. 'making partitive', 'asking a question', 'negating' etc. etc.

Zero is a well-recognized element in Arabic grammatical analysis: there are zero morphemes (cf. inflection of agent pronouns, 7.52-57, agent pronouns 'concealed' in the verb, 7.58-59, 7.8), and there are zero operators (cf. independent form of the verb, 5.33, equational sentence structure, 9.01). See further 5.34 n 1.

(2) The immediate source for this assertion is al-Azharī, *Āj.* 18, but

لها بسبب التركيب وهو الاعراب (7a) فقال

باب اي هذا باب بيان الاعراب وهو لغة البيان تقول العرب اعرب الرجل عما
في ضميره اي بينه واصطلاحا قوله الاعراب تغيير احوال اواخر الكلم وقوله
لاختلاف العوامل متعلق بتغيير على انه علة له والمراد باختلاف العوامل تعاقبها
على الكلام الداخلة عليها اي الاواخر وهذا هو القول بان الاعراب معنوي وعلى
القول بانه لفظي هو اثر ظاهر في اللفظ او مقدر فيه يجلبه العامل المقتضي له
في اخر الكلمة التي هي اسم لم يشبه الحرف او فعل مضارع لم تتصل به نون
الاناث ولم تباشره نون التوكيد وقوله لفظا او تقديرا حالان من تغيير اواخر
الكلم تارة يكون في اللفظ وهو ما تلفظ به من حركة او حذف او سكون وما ناب
عنها وتارة يكون على سبيل الفرض والتقدير وهو ما ينوي من ذلك كما تنوي
الضمة والكسرة والفتحة في نحو الفتى وكما تنوي الواو في مسلمون رفعا وكما تنوي

in utterances, i.e. inflection *(7a)*, saying:

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 Chapter (i.e. this is a chapter) on inflection.[1] Lexically this term means 'making clear': the Arabs say *'aᶜraba r-rajulu ᶜammā fī ḍamīrihi* 'the man clearly expressed what was in his mind', i.e. explained clearly. Its technical meaning is stated by the author:

2.1 Inflection[1] is the change in the state of word-endings due to the variation of operators (this last phrase being semantically connected with the word 'change', because the variation causes the change); by 'variation of operators' he means their successive effects on speech. He goes on to say, which occur before them, i.e. the word-endings. This asserts that inflection is abstract;[2] in formal terms inflection is defined as an explicit or implicit word-final feature produced by the determining operator on nouns having no resemblance to particles[3] and on the imperfect tense verb unsuffixed by the feminine *n* or the emphatic *n*.[4]

2.101 He then says, either explicitly or implicitly.[1] Both these are circumstantial qualifiers of the word 'change', because changes in word-endings sometimes occur explicitly (i.e. as short vowels, elision, vowellessness and their substitutes)[2] and sometimes are supposed or assumed, i.e. those of the above features which are taken as understood, such as the intended *u*, *a* and *i* of the invariable noun *al-fatā* 'the boy', the *ū* in *muslimūna* 'male Muslims'[3] intended as independent and the intended *n* in *la-tublawunna* 'you shall certainly be tested'.[4]

it has not been possible to trace it in the major works of Ibn Mālik (on whom see 1.02 n 2).

2.0 (1) 'Inflection' is necessarily an approximate translation of the term *'i^{c}rāb*: originally it denoted the (orthographical?) insertion of vowels, contrasting with *'i^{c}jām*, the addition of diacritical points to distinguish otherwise identical letters (cf. *E.I.* (2), art. 'Khaṭṭ', on origins of Arabic script). There is a long-standing, but unproven view that *'i^{c}rāb* is a calque of the Greek term *hellenismos*, which, however, cannot account for their different technical meanings, nor for the term *'i^{c}jām*, which is the literal antonym of *'i^{c}rāb* and means 'making something foreign' (*barbarismos*!?) evidently referring to the fact that the diacritical point system was modelled on Syriac (cf. K. Semaan, *Linguistics in the Middle Ages*, Leiden 1968, 12). Greek influence is strongly argued by Versteegh, 61.

2.1 (1) *Jum.* 18, 260; *Muf.* #15; *Alf.* v 15; *Qaṭr* 35; Beeston 53; Fleisch 165, *Tr.* #54a; Yushmanov 41; Bateson 9, 25; *E.I.* (1) & (2), art. 'I^{c}rāb', Drozdik, *J.M.S.* 5, 71. For *'i^{c}rāb* in the sense of 'parsing' see 8.21 n 1. The antithesis of *'i^{c}rāb* is *binā'*, 'invariability', see 1.41 n 4. Note that verbal as well as nominal 'inflections' are covered by the term *'i^{c}rāb* (2.2). For 'operator', *^{c}āmil*, see 2.11.

(2) 'Abstract' and 'formal' render *ma^{c}nawī* and *lafẓī* respectively. The latter term relates to *lafẓ* 'formal utterance' in 1.11, and see 2.101; *ma^{c}nawī* relates to *ma^{c}nā* 'meaning' in 1.25 but, under philosophical influence, came to be used predominantly for 'abstract, conceptual, ideal'. In 12.911 it is contrasted with *ḥissī* 'tangible, perceptible'.

(3) Particles are by nature uninflected, cf. 1.41.

(4) For these two *n* suffixes see 3.241 n 1 and 3.241 n 2 respectively.

2.101 (1) Much paper has been consumed because of these two terms: *lafẓan*, lit. 'as a formal utterance' (1.11) creates little difficulty, but *taqdīran*, lit. 'by estimation', is tantamount to 'according to what the grammarian thinks he can see below the surface structure' (examples 5.411, 8.2, 9.74, 10.23, 11.8, 18.1, 20.23). Cf. Baalbaki, *Z.A.L.* 2, 7.

(2) On allomorphs cf. 3.0 n 3; vowellessness as an inflection 3.91 n 1.

(3) On *al-fatā* see 2.5; on *al-muslimūna* see 3.42 n 2.

(4) S. 3 v 186. In his Qur'ān Commentary, I, 259, aš-Širbīnī shows

النون في نحو لتبلونّ والمراد بالعامل ما به يحذث المعنى المحوج للاعراب سواء
اكان ذلك العامل لفظيا كجاء فانه يطلب الفاعل المقتضي للرفع ونحو رأيت فانه
يطلب المفعول المقتضي للنصب ونحو الكاف فانها تطلب المشبه به المقتضي للجر
ام معنويا كالابتداء والتجرد والمراد باواخر الكلم ما كان اخرا حقيقة كدال
زيد او مجازا كدال يد فان اصلها يدي وبدخول العوامل مجيئها لما تقتضيه من
الفاعلية وغيرها سواء اتقدمت على المعمولات كرأيت زيدا ام تأخرت كزيدا
رأيت وبالكلم هنا الاسماء المتمكنة (7b) والافعال المضارعة لان الاعراب الذي هو
التغيير لا يكون الا في اخرها وتغيير اواخرها هو الانتقال من الوقف قبل التركيب
في الاسماء والافعال ومن الرفع الى النصب في الاسماء والافعال ومن النصب الى
الخفض في الاسماء ومن النصب الى الجزم في الافعال ولما كان الانتقال من الوقف
الى ما ذكر هو الاعراب وان تلك الاحوال المنتقل اليها تسمى انواع الاعراب مجازا
لانه جعل الاعراب معنويا ولا يكون ذلك حقيقة الا اذا كان لفظيا بينها بقوله

2.11 What is meant by 'operator' is the element by which the meaning necessitating the inflection is realized.[1] It may be a formal operator, e.g. *jā'a* 'came', which demands an agent of the requisite independent form, *ra'aytu* 'I saw', which demands a direct object of the requisite dependent form, *ka* 'like', which demands a term of comparison of the requisite oblique form, or it may be an abstract operator, such as the equational sentence construction or the absence of operator.[2]

2.12 By 'word-endings' is meant either that which is literally last, such as the *d* of *zaydun* 'Zayd',[1] or figuratively, such as the *d* of *yadun* 'hand', whose original form is **yadayun*.[2]

2.13 'The occurrence of operators before words' means their presence in whatever capacity is required, e.g. as an agent etc., whether they do precede the word they operate on, e.g. *ra'aytu zaydan* 'I saw Zayd' or follow it, e.g. *zaydan ra'aytu* 'Zayd I saw'.[1]

2.14 By 'words' here is meant the fully established nouns *(7b)* and the imperfect tense verb,[1] because inflection (i.e. the change itself) occurs only on the ends of these. Their change of ending is a transition from the zero-inflected pausal form[2] they have before being in syntactical combination,[3] from independence to dependence in both nouns and verbs, from dependence to obliqueness in nouns and from dependence to apocopation in verbs.[4]

2.15 Since the transition from the pausal to the above mentioned forms itself constitutes inflection and, since those transitional states may only figuratively be referred to as 'types' of inflection (because our author treats inflection as abstract, whereas 'types' only applies literally if inflection is treated as formal),[1] he explains them in the following terms:

that *tublawūna* 'you are tested' with the emphatic suffix *anna* (q.v. at 3.241 n 2) reduces to *tublawunna* to avoid (a) the succession of 3 *n*'s (cf. 10.55 n 3) and (b) the over-long syllable *wūn* (cf. 2.5 n 3).

2.11 (1) Every inflected element is a member of a binary unit which consists of an 'operator' (*ᶜāmil*) and an 'element operated on' (*maᶜmūl fīhi*), the only exceptions being those elements which have been 'neutralized' (*mulġā*, cf. 5.431 n 3). This was the original concept as found in the *Kitāb* (cf. Carter, *J.A.O.S.* 93, 151, and 3.84 n 3), but all too often such inept Latinisms as 'governing word', 'régime' etc. occur as translations (in spite of an article by J.Weiss, *Z.D.M.G.* 64, 349, published in 1910). Even Arab grammarians unconsciously use the same metaphor: Ibn Hišām (*Qaṭr* 240) speaks of *tasalluṭu l-ᶜāmil*, 'the authority of the operator' (cf. 18.1 n 2).

(2) Verb and agent ch. 7; verb and direct object ch. 16; *ka* 1.708; equational sentence ch. 9; zero-operator 5.34 n 1.

2.12 (1) Orthographically the *un* of *zaydun* is a diacritical mark (cf. 1.4), hence *d* is the last letter of the word. We are close here to the notion of a stem (cf. 3.65 n 9).

(2) Cf. 3.42 n 1; though certainly an originally biliteral root, *yadun* must conform to the Arab notion that it has lost its third radical, hence the *d* is only figuratively (*majāzan*, 13.3 n 1) its last letter.

2.13 (1) In other words Arabic syntactical analysis recognizes inversion, called *taqdīm wa-ta'ḵīr*, lit. 'advancing and retarding' (cf. examples in 9.8, 19.73, 20.7). The problem is not only one of word order, but of how much an element may operate retro-actively, as normal operation (*ᶜamal*, cf. 2.11 n 1) is upon the following element.

2.14 (1) See 1.41 on fully established nouns; 5.02 on imperfect tense verb inflection.

(2) The 'pausal form' occurs, as its name implies, before a pause (*waqf*, lit. 'stopping'), which may be utterance-final, or simply for breath or for rhetorical reasons. The main rules are: (a) final short vowels are dropped (inc. *tanwīn*), e.g. *zaydun*⪢*zayd*. (b) dep. *tanwīn* (*an*, 1.4 n 5) becomes *ā*, e.g. *zaydan*⪢*zaydā*. (c) fem. suffix *at* becomes *ah*, e.g. *makkatu*⪢*makkah* (see 11.42 n 1). All words in Arabic are spelt in pausal form (i.e. as if isolated, cf. 11.1 n 2), which Rabin, *Stud. Isl.* 4, 26, ascribes to slow dictation. *Muf.* #640; *Alf.* v 881; Beeston 21; Fleisch 28; Bateson 8; Yushmanov 15.

(3) i.e. language can only be analysed in the context of utterances.

(4) The resemblance to the Latin 'casus' metaphor is quite fortuitous: under legal influences the Arabs introduced their own notions of a hierarchy of elements (cf. 11.711 n 2).

2.15 (1) This obscure comment stems from the fact that *'iᶜrāb* may be understood in two different ways, (a) as a process of change in word endings (thus 'abstract'), or (b) as a set of morphemes (thus 'formal'). Aš-Širbīnī's point (elaborated from al-Azharī, *Āj.* 22) is that if we

واقسامه اي الاعراب بالنسبة الى الاسم والفعل اربعة رفع ونصب يشتركان في
اسم وفعل فالرفع نحو زيد يقوم فزيد مرفوع بالابتداء ويقوم مرفوع بالتجرد
والنصب نحو ان زيدا لن يقوم فزيدا منصوب بان ويقوم منصوب بلن وخفض
يختص بمعنى في اسم نحو مررت بزيد فزيد اسم مجرور بالباء وجزم مختص
بمعنى في فعل نحو لم يقم فيقم فعل مجزوم بلم هذا على سبيل الاجمال اما على
سبيل التفصيل فللاسماء من ذلك المذكور من الاقسام الاربعة الرفع ظاهرا كان كجاء
زيد او مقدرا للتعذر كجاء الفتى او للاستثقال كجاء القاضي فزيد مرفوع بضمة
ظاهرة في اخره والفتى بضمة مقدرة في اخره منع من ظهورها التعذر والقاضي بضمة
مقدرة منع من ظهورها الاستثقال والنصب ظاهرا كرأيت زيدا ومقدرا كرأيت

2.2 Its subdivisions[1] (i.e. nominal and verbal inflection) are four: independence, dependence, which are common to nouns and verbs.[2] Examples of the independent form: *zaydun yaqūmu* 'Zayd stands', where *zaydun* 'Zayd' is independent because it initiates an equational sentence and *yaqūmu* 'he stands' is independent through the absence of operators.[3] Examples of the dependent form: *'inna zaydan lan yaqūma* 'verily Zayd will not stand', where *zaydan* 'Zayd' is made dependent by *'inna* 'verily' and *yaqūma* 'he (will) stand' is made dependent by *lan* 'not';[4] next obliqueness, which is peculiar to a semantic function of the noun,[5] e.g. *marartu bi-zaydin* 'I passed by Zayd', where *zaydin* 'Zayd' is a noun made oblique by *bi* 'by'; and apocopation. This is peculiar to a semantic function of the verb,[6] e.g. *lam yaqum* 'he did not stand', where *yaqum* 'he stand' is apocopated by *lam* 'not'. So much for the summary presentation: the details follow.

2.3 Of these the nouns have (i.e. of the above four subdivisions):[1]

2.31 independence, either explicitly, e.g. *jā'a zaydun* 'Zayd came' or implicitly, either because realization is impossible,[1] as in *jā'a l-fatā* 'the boy came' or due to phonetic inconvenience, as in *jā'a l-qāḍī* 'the judge came'. Here *zaydun* 'Zayd' is an agent with independent form and an explicit final *u*;[2] *al-fatā* 'the boy' is likewise an agent, but ends in an implicit *u* whose appearance is prevented by impossibility of realization;[3] *al-qāḍī* 'the judge' is also an agent, and ends in an implicit *u* whose appearance is prevented by phonetic inconvenience;[4]

2.32 dependence, either explicitly, as in *ra'aytu zaydan* 'I saw Zayd' or implicitly, as in *ra'aytu l-fatā* 'I saw the boy'. Here *zaydan*

treat inflection as a process we should not then speak of 'types' (*'anwā*[c]) or 'subdivisions' (*'aqsām*, cf. 1.2) unless metaphorically. Note that there was no specific term for 'case' in the earliest grammar, and see further 11.02 n 1.

2.2 (1) The names and functions of the cases/moods are dealt with in ch. 3, esp. 3.1, 3.5, 3.8, 3.9.

(2) Common only to nouns and imperfect tense verbs. The latter, on account of certain functional resemblances to the noun, are called *muḍāri*[c], lit. 'similar' (see 5.02), always rendered 'imperfect tense'.

(3) Contrast the word order here with that of the normal verbal sentence (see 7.12). For zero-operator see 5.34 n 1.

(4) For *'inna* see 10.4; for *lan* 5.42.

(5) The text says *yaḵtaṣṣu bi-ma*[c]*nan bi-smin*, lit. 'is peculiar to a meaning in a noun'. This cannot refer to lexical meaning, but is best interpreted in the light of the use of the term *ma*[c]*nā* to define the particle (1.25), namely as referring to grammatical functions. We may then paraphrase *ma*[c]*nā* as 'the ability of nouns to stand in certain semantic relationships with other elements', such as subject, agent, possessor etc. See next note.

(6) By the same token (n 5 above) verbs have the ability to stand in certain semantic relationships with other elements, such as combining with *lam* to indicate a non-event (5.71) or being the condition for another event (5.8), both marked by the apocopated form. See 2.34 and 2.44 for Arab views on the fact that nouns and verbs do not completely overlap in their inflection.

2.3 (1) *Jum.* 18, 260; *Muf.* #16; *Alf.* v 15; *Qaṭr* 35; Beeston 51; Fleisch 37; Bateson 9; Yushmanov 41.

2.31 (1) Though stated here as a phonological problem (see subsequent notes for details) the etymological reasons are given later in 2.5 and 2.6. From the spectator's point of view the weak radicals *w* and *y* are constantly engaged in a struggle between the demands of morphology and phonology, usually involving compromises on the morphological side. The topic has never been explored, but Fleisch, *Tr.* #24d n 1, makes a tantalizing reference to it. For the matter as a whole see *Muf.* #697.

(2) The *u* is final because the *n* of *tanwīn* (1.4), like the defining prefix *al* (1.5) with which it is in complementary distribution, are not part of the case inflection system.

(3) 'Impossibility of realization' renders *ta*[c]*aḏḏur*, lit. 'extreme difficulty, impossibility', viz. of the long diphthongs **āu*, **āi*, and an overlong **āa*. These are reduced to *ā* both on nouns, as here, and on verbs, e.g. *yaḵšā*, q.v. in 2.41.

(4) 'Phonetic inconvenience' renders *istiṯqāl*, lit. 'regarding as too heavy', viz. the non-canonical sequences **iyu*, **iyi*, **iwu*, **iwi* (cf. 2.6 n 1), which are always reduced to *ī*. The role of ease of

الفتى فزيدا منصوب بفتحة ظاهرة في اخره والفتى بفتحة مقدرة في اخره منع من
ظهورها التعذر والخفض ظاهرا كمررت بزيد (8a) ومقدرا كمررت بالفتى والقاضي
فزيد مجرور بكسرة ظاهرة والفتى بكسرة مقدرة في اخره منع من ظهورها التعذر
والقاضي بكسرة مقدرة منع من ظهورها الاستثقال ولا جزم فيها اي الاسماء لانه لا
يدخل الا على الافعال وللافعال المعربة من ذلك المذكور الرفع ظاهرا كيقوم او
مقدرا كيخشى فيقوم مرفوع بضمة ظاهرة ويخشى بضمة مقدرة في اخره منع من
ظهورها التعذر والنصب ظاهرا نحو لن يقوم او مقدرا نحو لن يخشى فيقوم منصوب
بفتحة ظاهرة في اخره ويخشى بفتحة مقدرة في اخره والجزم بالسكون اذا كان
صحيح الاخر كيضرب او بحذف حرف العلة اذا كان اخره حرف علة وهو الف او واو

'Zayd' has dependent form with an explicit final *a* and *al-fatā* 'the boy' has an implicit final *a* whose appearance is prevented by impossibility of realization;[1]

2.33 <u>and obliqueness,</u> either explicitly, as in *marartu bi-zaydin* 'I passed by Zayd' *(8a)* or implicitly, as in *marartu bi-l-fatā wa-l-qāḍī* 'I passed by the boy and the judge'. Here *zaydin* 'Zayd' has oblique form with an explicit final *i*; *al-fatā* 'the boy' likewise has oblique form but ends in an implicit *i* whose appearance is prevented by impossibility of realization; *al-qāḍī* 'the judge' also has oblique form but ends in an implicit *i* whose appearance is prevented by phonetic inconvenience;[1]

2.34 <u>but they have no apocopation.</u> That is, the nouns have none because it is found only in verbs.[1]

2.4 <u>Verbs</u>[1] (i.e. those which are fully inflected) <u>have of these</u> (i.e. of the above-mentioned subdivisions):

2.41 <u>independence,</u> either explicitly, as in *yaqūmu* 'he stands'[1] or implicitly, as in *yakšā* 'he fears'. Here *yaqūmu* 'he stands' has independent form with an explicit final *u* and *yakšā* 'he fears' likewise has independent form but the *u* is implicit because its appearance is prevented by impossibility of realization;[2]

2.42 <u>dependence,</u> either explicitly, as in *lan yaqūma* 'he will not stand' or implicitly, as in *lan yakšā* 'he will not fear'.[1] Here *yaqūma* 'he (may) stand' has dependent form with an explicit final *a* and *yakšā* 'he (may) fear' also has dependent form but ends in an implicit *a*;

2.43 <u>and apocopation,</u>[1] shown by vowellessness if the final consonant is sound (such as *yaḍribu* 'he strikes'), or by elision of the defective consonant,[2] namely *ū*, *ā* or *ī*, when the defective consonant is final

articulation in producing phonological changes has been recognized in Arabic grammar from the very beginning, cf. Troupeau, *Lexique-Index*, under *ṯ-q-l*, *ḫ-f-f*, *ᶜ-ḏ-r*.

2.32 (1) Note that the word *qāḍī* is omitted from the examples here. This is because the dep. forms of *qāḍī* are completely regular, viz. *qāḍiyan*, *al-qāḍiya*, as there is no 'phonetic inconvenience' in the sequence *iya*. The same applies to verbs, see 2.42 n 1.

2.33 (1) Thus **al-qāḍiyi* is reduced to *al-qāḍī* (= *al-qāḍiy*) as in 2.31 n 4. The grammarians offer long and detailed explanations of this and related phenomena (e.g. 8.2 n 5), but it can never be assumed that the phonological changes described correspond to any actual historical developments. Indeed it is more likely that the Arabs had no intention of offering other than a synchronic analysis: in other words, the changes are not the result of a long process but happen almost instantaneously with each new occurrence of the word.

2.34 (1) There are various theories as to why apocopation is not found in nouns (and cf. 2.44 for the problem of why verbs do not have an oblique form). The purely formal explanation of Sībawayhi is that, since nouns must bear the suffix *n* of *tanwīn* (1.4) there must be an intervening vowel between the last radical and the *n* (because there cannot be two consonants at the end of a syllable, 2.5 n 3). He also argues that, since verbs are morphologically more cumbersome (*'aṯqal*, related to *istiṯqāl* in 2.31 n 4), they may have subtractive endings (*Kitāb* I, 2 and 6 respectively). Another theory, ascribed to the 'Kūfans' (9.4 n 3), is that nouns cannot be operated on by apocopating elements because these denote negation, prohibition, condition, the giving of orders etc., which are not qualities proper to nouns (az-Zajjājī, *Īḍāḥ*, 106, and cf. 2.2 nn 5, 6).

2.4 (1) *Jum.* 22; *Muf.* #404; *Alf.* v 677; *Qaṭr* 21; Beeston 83; Fleisch 106; Yushmanov 52; Bateson 25. See 5.02.

2.41 (1) This is an example of a so-called 'hollow verb', i.e. one whose middle radical is *w* or *y* (see 10.23 n 2), but the indep. ending *u* is unaffected by this.

(2) The weak 3rd rad. verbs on the whole follow the same principles as the nouns in reducing non-canonical sequences (cf. 2.31 nn 3, 4). Thus the three typical verbs in this class behave as follows: **yarmiyu* ⪢ *yarmī*, **yaǧzuwu* ⪢ *yaǧzū*, **yaḵšayu* ⪢ *yaḵšā*. Paradigms 4.81 n 2.

2.42 (1) On *lan* see 5.42. Note that *yaḵšā*, like *al-fatā* (2.7) is virtually invariable (except for its apocopated form, 2.43). The other weak 3rd rad. verbs are not mentioned here because they are quite regular, as no non-canonical sequences are generated, thus *yarmiya*, *yaǧzuwa* (the 'five verbs' (3.45) set of the weak 3rd rad. verbs are also regular in that they elide the final *n* for their dep. and apocopated forms, cf. paradigms at 4.82 n 1 and 3.92 n 1).

2.43 (1) See 3.9 on 'apocopation'. Regular paradigm 4.82 n 2.

(2) Consonants are either 'sound' (*ṣaḥīḥ*, lit. 'healthy') or else

او يـاء كيخشى ويغزو ويرمي فتقول لم يضرب ولم يخش ولم يغز ولم يـرم
فيضرب مجزوم بالسكون والباقي مجزوم بحذف حرف العلة نيابة عن السكـون ولا
خفض فيها اي الافعال لانه لا يدخل الا على الاسماء والحاصل ان هذه الاقسـام
الاربعة ترجع الى قسمين قسم مشترك وقسم مختص فالمشترك شيئان الرفع والنصـب
والمختص شيئان الخفض والجزم وبيان ذلك ان الرفع والنصب يشترك فيهما الاسـم
والفعل وان الخفض مختص بالاسم وان الجزم مختص بالفعل وذلك مستفاد من كلامـه
لانه كرر الرفع والنصب مع الاسماء والافعال فعلمنا انه مشترك بينهما وخـص
الاسماء بالخفض ونفى عنها الجزم (8b) وخص الافعال بالجزم ونفى عنها الخفـض
تنبيه ما تقدم من الاعراب على الالف والياء محله اذا كانتا موجودتين فـان
كانت الالف محذوفة نحو جاء فتى ورأيت فتى ومررت بفتى تقول في الرفـع

(such as *yakšā* 'he fears', *yaġzū* 'he raids', *yarmī* 'he throws'). Thus you say *lam yaḍrib* 'he did not strike', *lam yakša* 'he did not fear', *lam yaġzu* 'he did not raid', *lam yarmi* 'he did not throw', in which *yaḍrib* 'he (might) strike' has apocopated form ending in vowellessness and the remainder are also apocopated but with elision of the defective consonant instead of vowellessness;

2.44 but they have no obliqueness.[1] That is, the verbs have none because it is found only in nouns.

2.45 To sum up, these four subdivisions reduce to two groups, one common and one peculiar, the common comprising two, viz. independence and dependence, and the peculiar likewise two, viz. obliqueness and apocopation.[1] What this means is that independence and dependence are common to both nouns and verbs while obliqueness is peculiar to nouns and apocopation to verbs. All this is inferred from what our author says, because he repeats independence and dependence under nouns and verbs so that we know they are common to both, and he restricts obliqueness particularly to nouns (denying them apocopation) *(8b)* and apocopation particularly to verbs (denying them obliqueness).

2.5 Note: The inflection of *ā* and *ī* described above applies only when *ā* or *ī* are actually present:[1] if *ā* has already been elided,[2] as in the case of *jā'a fatan* 'a boy came', *ra'aytu fatan* 'I saw a boy', *marartu bi-fatan* 'I passed by a boy', you must say of the independent form that

'defective' (*mu^c^tall*, lit. 'ailing', v. 23.62 n 2). All consonants are 'sound' except the semi-vowels *w* and *y* and the consonant known as *'alif* which is realized as a glottal stop but also acts as lengthening marker for *ā* (historically some cases of *ā* were originally *a'*, from which the function of *'* as a lengthening marker was undoubtedly generalized; cf. Beeston 26). The prosodic structure of Arabic is very limited: it comprises only the short syllable CV, the long closed syllable CVC (e.g. *man* 'who'), the long open syllable C$\bar{V}$ (e.g. *fī* 'in') and a highly restricted over-long syllable C$\bar{V}$C (q.v. 21.22 n 4). Both CVC and C$\bar{V}$ are prosodically identical (*fī* = *fiy*) because the lengthening marker is a (weak) consonant: hence shortening a long vowel is orthographically the same as removing the final consonant of a closed syllable and both processes are termed *ḥaḏf* 'elision' (3.9 n 2). For general references to syllable structure see 2.5 n 3. Note variable transcription of weak consonants: *'*, *w*, *y* when consonantal, *ā*, *ū*, *ī* when vowel lengtheners, *aw*, *ay* when diphthongs, as the context requires (cf. 3.5 n 2).

2.44 (1) According to az-Zajjājī, *Īḍāḥ* 107 (based on *Kitāb* I, 2) verbs have no oblique form because oblique elements are in complementary distribution with *tanwīn* (see 26.93 n 1) and verbs do not have *tanwīn*. It is also argued that elements cannot be annexed to verbs: this is not refuted by such structures as *yawma jā'a* 'on the day he came' because, as az-Zajjājī (loc. cit. 112) points out, the space/time qualifier here is annexed to a sentence (cf. 1.441 n 2).

2.45 (1) Another example of the 'rational dichotomy' (1.2 n 2) which is so prominent in pedagogical grammars, where it functions more as a mnemonic device than an analytical tool. In the long history of Arabic grammar the genuine elementary textbook (i.e. aimed principally at children) does not emerge until relatively late, perhaps no earlier than the eleventh century, with such works as the *Mi'at ^c^āmil* (*'The Hundred Operators'*) of al-Jurjānī (d. 1078) and the *Unmūḏaj* (*'The Model'*) of az-Zamaḵšarī (d. 1144). By the thirteenth century, however, when all debate over the subject-matter of grammar textbooks was ended (in other words, when the community had settled upon its concept of the ideal language), pedagogical grammars begin to appear in greater numbers, e.g. the *Miṣbāḥ* (*'The Lamp'*) of al-Muṭarrizī (d. 1213) and the *Kāfiya* (*'The Adequate'*) of Ibn al-Ḥājib (d. 1249). Once the contents of Arabic grammar had been established, only the form left any opportunities for innovation, and from the twelfth century (and probably earlier) grammatical textbooks begin to appear in verse. By far the most famous of these versified grammars is the *Alfiyya* of Ibn Mālik (see 21.61 n 6); the use of poetry as a teaching medium has continued into the twentieth century, in other subjects besides grammar.

2.5 (1) Apart from the special case of the 'five nouns' (3.42) and some foreign words (see 3.422 n 1 for examples), there are no nouns whose singular ends in *ū*.

(2) For the significance of 'elided' (*maḥḏūfa*) in this context see

علامة رفعه ضمة مقدرة على الالف المحذوفة لالتقاء الساكنين وهما الالف والتنوين
لان اصله فتي فحركت الياء وانفتح ما قبلها وقلبت الفا فالتقى ساكنان الالف
والتنوين فحذفت الالف وفي النصب علامة نصبه فتحة مقدرة على الالف المحذوفة
لالتقاء الساكنين وفي الجر علامة جره كسرة مقدرة على الالف المحذوفة لالتقاء
الساكنين او الياء المحذوفة نحو جاء قاض ومررت بقاض فانك تقول في الرفع
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وقس على هذه الامثلة ما اشبهها فحيث كان في اخر الاسم المعرب حرف صحيح او
حرف يشبه الصحيح كالواو والياء الساكن ما قبلهما كدلو وظبي فالاعراب ظاهر فيه
وحيث كان في اخره الف كالفتى او ياء مكسورة ما قبلها كالقاضي فالاعراب مقدر
فيه الا ان الالف تقدر فيها الحركة تعذرا لكونها لا تقبل التحريك والياء تقدر
فيها الحركة استثقالا لكونها تقبل الحركة ولكنها ثقيلة عليها والمراد بالالف

its independence marker is an implicit *u* on the *ā* which has previously been elided to prevent the clash of two unvowelled consonants[3] (in this instance *ā* and the *n* of *tanwīn*), the original form having been **fatayun*, with *ayu* changing to *ā* which is in turn elided to prevent the resulting clash of two unvowelled consonants. Similarly you must say of the dependent form that its dependence marker is an implicit *a* on the *ā* which has been elided to prevent the clash of two unvowelled conconants, and of the oblique form that its obliqueness marker is an implicit *i* on the *ā* which has been elided to prevent the clash of two unvowelled consonants.

2.6 In the case of elided *ī*, as in *jā'a qāḍin* 'a judge came', *marartu bi-qāḍin* 'I passed by a judge', you say of the independent form that its independence marker is an implicit *u* on the *ī* which has previously been elided to prevent the clash of two unvowelled consonants,[1] and of the oblique form you say that its obliqueness marker is an implicit *i* for the same reason. Use these examples as an analogy for all similar cases[2].

2.7 Where the inflected noun ends in a sound or quasi-sound consonant[1] (i.e. *w* and *y*) immediately preceded by an unvowelled consonant, e.g. *dalwun* 'bucket', *ẓabyun* 'gazelle', all the inflection is explicit.[2] Where the noun ends in *ā*, e.g. *al-fatā* 'the boy' or in *ī*, e.g. *al-qāḍī* 'the judge', the inflection is implicit, except that with *ā* the inflection has to be implicit due to impossibility of realization (since *ā* cannot be followed by a vowel), while with *ī* it has to be implicit because of phonetic inconvenience (since *ī* can be followed by a vowel but is awkward to pronounce). By *ā* here is meant that which is

3.9 n 2, and below, n 3.

(3) 'The clash of two unvowelled consonants' translates *iltiqā' as-sākinayn*, lit. 'the meeting of two unvowelled letters' (see 4.01 n 1 on *sākin* 'unvowelled', lit. 'not moving', from *sukūn* 'vowellessness, motionlessness'). The avoidance of this particular collocation is the reason for many phonological intrusions into the regular patterns generated by the morphology (cf. 2.31). Briefly, no syllable may either begin (11.1 n 2) or end with two consonants (except in 'doubled verbs', 21.22 n 4, and pausal forms, 2.14 n 2, examples in 4.13 n 2, 4.5 n 1, 4.6 n 1). When *fatā* (= **fatayu*, 2.31 n 3) acquires *tanwīn* an assumed form **fatayn* is generated, which is reduced to *fatan* for the reason given, because **fatayn* contains the non-canonical sequence CVCC (cf. 2.43 n 2 on consonantal value of *y* here). Whether this explanation is valid diachronically is an open question (2.33 n 1); *Muf.* #663; Beeston 19; Fleisch *Tr.* #24; Bateson 10; Yushmanov 44; Bohas, *Bull. Ét. Or.* 29, 73. On syllable structure in general: Beeston 20; Fleisch 21, *Tr.* #34; Bateson 6; Yushmanov 14. Other consonant cluster problems: initial, 11.1 n 2, 13.12 n 1, final 3.53, 7.60.

2.6 (1) The lengthening marker in *qāḍī* is also *y*, which is thus 'elided' according to the same principle as the *y* in *fatā* (2.5), thus **qāḍiyu*>*qāḍī* (= *qāḍiy*), and **qāḍiyn*>*qāḍin*. Here, too, we cannot say whether the reconstructed phonological process reflects an actual historical sequence, though it is certainly likely that the reduction of **iyu* to *ī* is independent of the suffixation of *tanwīn*, since the change **iyu*>*ī* also occurs in verbs (e.g. **yarmiyu*>*yarmī*, 2.41 n 2). Note that the dep. form *qāḍiyan* is regular, 2.32 n 1.

(2) Paradigms of *qāḍī* and *fatā* are in 4.2 n 2. Among 'similar cases' we may mention those nouns whose third radical is *w*: these have become completely assimilated to *fatā* and *qāḍī*, according to whether the *w* is preceded by *a* or *i*, thus *ᶜaṣan, al-ᶜaṣā* 'stick' (but spelt with *'alif* replacing the *w*, cf. 2.43 n 2), from **ᶜaṣawn*, **al-ᶜaṣawu*, and *ġāzin, al-ġāzī* 'raider', from **ġāziwn*, **al-ġāziwu*. The 'compensatory *tanwīn*' in *jawārin* etc. (1.44) is also formed on the analogy of *qāḍin* (see 8.3 n 2 on 'analogy', *qiyās*).

2.7 (1) Because in this position the *w* and *y* are consonantal (2.43 n 2) and syllable-initial, and are said to 'resemble the sound consonant' (*yušbihu ṣ-ṣaḥīḥ*). The paradigm is thus the same as for *rajulun* in 4.11 n 1, *ad-dalwu, dalwu, dalwun, dalw* etc.

(2) The terminology of 'explicit' and 'implicit' shows a slight overlap in the various Arabic equivalents: for 'implicit' we have here *muqaddar*, related to *taqdīr* 'estimation', q.v. at 2.101 n 1. But there it is opposed to *lafẓ*, 'formal expression', while here it is opposed to *ẓāhir*, lit. 'manifest, apparent'. But elsewhere *ẓāhir* is opposed to *muḍmar* 'pronominalized' (e.g. 7.2, and see further 11.71). For translation purposes the appropriate word has been chosen from a basic set, 'formal, explicit, overt' against 'implicit, implied, assumed' on the one hand and 'pronominalized, suppressed' on the other.

الالف في اللفظ ولا عبرة بكونها تكتب ياء في مثل يخشى والفتى ثم لكل من
الرفع والنصب والخفض والجزم علامات اصول وعلامات فروع نيابة عن الاصول يحتاح
الى معرفتها وقد شرع المصنف في بيان (9a) ذلك مترجما له بباب فقال

باب بيان معرفة علامات اقسام الاعراب فالعلامات الاصول اربعة وهي الضمة للرفع
والفتحة للنصب والكسرة للخفض وحذف الحركة للجزم هذه هي العلامات الاصول والعلامات
الفروع النائبة عنها عشرة ثلاثة تنوب عن الضمة وهي الواو والالف والنون واربعة
تنوب عن الفتحة وهي الكسرة والالف والياء وحذف النون واثنان ينوبان عن الكسرة
وهما الفتحة والياء وواحد ينوب عن حذف الحركة وهو حذف حرف العلة او حذف
النون اذا علمت ذلك فنقول للرفع اي من حيث هو اربع علامات علامة اصلية وهي
الضمة وثلاثة فروع وهي الواو والالف والنون نيابة عن الضمة وقدم الضمة في اللفظ
لاصالتها وثنى بالواو لكونها تنشأ عن الضمة اذا اشبعت فهي ابنتها وثلث بالالف

pronounced *ā* irrespective of whether it is spelt with a *y* as, for example, in *yakšā* 'he fears', *al-fatā* 'the boy'.[3]

2.8 Now, independence, dependence, obliqueness and apocopation all have basic markers and secondary markers which replace them, and it is necessary to find out about them. Our author has dealt with them *(9a)* in a separate chapter, entitled:

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 Chapter on (i.e. explaining) the recognition of the markers of the various kinds of inflection.[1] The basic markers[2] are four: *u* for independence, *a* for dependence, *i* for obliqueness and elision of the short vowel for apocopation. These are the basic markers; the secondary markers which replace[3] them are ten, three replacing *u*, viz. *ū*, *ā* and *n*, four replacing *a*, viz. *i*, *ā*, *ī* and elision of *n*, two replacing *i*, viz. *a* and *ī*, and one replacing elision of the short vowel, viz. elision of the defective consonant or of *n*. Once you have grasped this we may proceed.

3.1 Independence[1] (as such) has four markers, one the basic marker, namely *u*, and three secondary markers, namely *ū*, *ā* and *n*; (replacing *u*). The author puts *u* first because it is the basic form, secondly *ū* because it derives from *u* by prolongation, so that *ū* is the offspring[2] of *u*, thirdly *ā* because it is closely related to *ū* in being a long semi-vowel and lastly *n* because it faintly resembles the defective

(3) The final *ā* sound, then, may be spelt either with *'alif* (2.43 n 2) or with *y*. The former may represent either a true *ā* (e.g. the dual suffix, 3.43) or a former weak radical, mostly *w* (2.6 n 2). The latter may represent a former weak radical *y* as in the examples given, and cf. 1.702 n 1, 3.92 n 2, or the fem. suffix *ā* known as the *'alif maqṣūra*, q.v. at 3.89 n 2 (the term *'alif maqṣūra* tends to be applied to all the forms of final *ā* except the true *'alif*).

3.0 (1) *Jum.* 18; *Muf.* #16; *Alf.* v 25; *Qaṭr* 36; Beeston 51; Fleisch 37. 'Markers' renders literally ^{c}*alāmāt* (sing. ^{c}*alāma*), which also means 'signs, marks, symptoms' etc. From the same root is ^{c}*alam* 'proper name', q.v. at 11.72. For inflection, *'i*^{c}*rāb*, see 2.0 n 1.

(2) Arabic *'uṣūl*, plur. of *'aṣl*, lit. 'base, root, stock', in all the Islamic sciences used figuratively for 'basic norm' or 'archetype'. In grammar it denotes (a) a basic norm, as in this paragraph, (b) a regular form or structure, e.g. 4.01, 9.8 and cf. 8.3 n 2, (c) an underlying form, e.g. 8.2 n 3. The same metaphor supplies the term *far*^{c} (plur. *furū*^{c}), lit. 'branch', i.e. secondary or derivative form, e.g. 'secondary markers' in this para. More examples 11.7, 11.717.

(3) 'Replace' is literal for *nāba* 'to deputize, stand in for', which clearly corresponds to the modern notion of allomorphs (but see 8.0 n 3). A synonym of *nāba* is *k̲alafa*, cf. 5.51 n 2.

3.1 (1) The case/mood names are part of the earliest grammatical vocabulary and their origins are entirely obscure. It is only certain that they cannot be equated with any other system. They belong to a group of terms whose literal meanings are associated with building (see 3.8 n 1), but no clear relationship is discernible between their technical meaning and the form or function they denote. 'Independence' is thus only a free translation of *raf*^{c}, lit. 'raising', no more than a convenient label for the function of 'independent elements' (ch. 6). Perhaps this set of 'building' terms originally described only orthographical or phonological features, cf. Carter, *R.E.I.* 40, 80.

(2) Lit. 'the daughter of u', an extremely common anthropomorphism (see 6.4 n 2). That the short vowels *a, i, u* are homorganic with the consonants *', y, w* has been an axiom of Arabic phonology from the first (cf. *Kitāb* II, 270, 342), hence the translation 'semi-vowels' here for *ḥurūf al-madd wa-l-līn*, lit. 'letters of stretching and softness'. See Fleisch, *Z.D.M.G.* 108, 74-105, esp. 90f.

(3) The arrangement is purely pedagogical: source al-Azharī, *Āj.* 19.

لانها اخت الواو في المد واللين وختم بالنون لضعف شبهها بحروف العلة في الغنة عند سكونها وان كانت الواو لا تقتضي ترتيبا ولكل واحد من هذه العلامات الاربعة مواضع تختص بها فاما الضمة فتكون علامة للرفع في اربعة مواضع الموضع الاول في الاسم المفرد سواء اكان لمذكر ام لمؤنث كقام زيد والفتى والقاضي واحمد ورجل وفرس وكقامت هند وحبلى فقام فعل ماض وزيد فاعل مرفوع بقام وما بعده معطوف عليه مشارك له في رفعه بقام وعلامة الرفع في كل واحد الضمة الظاهرة الا في الفتى والقاضي وحبلى فمقدرة والموضع الثاني (9b) في جمع التكسير سواء اكان لمذكر ام لمؤنث كجاء الرجال والاسارى والهنود والعذاري وسمي هذا الجمع جمع التكسير لان التكسير في اللغة التغيير وهو اما بالزيادة على المفرد من غير تغيير شكل كصنو وصنوان واما بتبديل الشكل من غير زيادة ولا نقص كاسد واسد واما بالنقص عن المفرد مع تغيير الشكل كرسول ورسل واما بالنقص عن المفرد من غير تغيير الشكل كتخمة وتخم واما بالزيادة والنقص وتغيير الشكل كغلام وغلمان واما بالزيادة على المفرد مع تغيير الشكل كرجل ورجال فهذه كلها ترفع بالضمة والموضع الثالث في جمع المؤنث السالم وهو ما جمع بالف وتاء مزيدتين كجاءت الهندات

consonants in being nasalized when vowelless. None of this arrangement, however, is determined by the nature of *u*.[3] Each of the four markers has its own particular functions:[4]

3.2 <u>*u* is the marker of independence in four places,</u>

3.21 (1) <u>on the singular noun,</u>[1] whether masculine or feminine, e.g. *qāma zaydun wa-l-fatā wa-l-qāḍī wa-'aḥmadu wa-rajulun wa-farasun* 'Zayd, the boy, the judge, Aḥmad, a man and a horse stood up', and *qāmat hindun wa-ḥublā* 'Hind and a pregnant woman stood up'. Here *qāma* 'stood' is a past tense verb, *zaydun* 'Zayd' is an agent made independent by *qāma* 'stood', and what follows is coordinated with *zaydun* and shares in its independence through *qāma*. The independence marker in all of them is an explicit *u*,[2] except in *al-fatā* 'the boy', *al-qāḍī* 'the judge' and *ḥublā* 'pregnant', where the *u* is implicit.[3]

3.22 (2) *(9b)* <u>on the broken plural,</u>[1] whether of masculines or feminines, e.g. *jā'a r-rijālu wa-l-'asārā wa-l-hunūdu wa-l-ᶜaḏārī* 'the men, the prisoners, the Hinds and the virgins came'.[2]

3.221 This kind of plural is called the 'broken plural'[1] because 'breaking' lexically means 'changing'. It is brought about by lengthening the singular with no change of pattern,[2] e.g. *ṣinwun* 'male relative', *ṣinwānun* 'male relatives', or by changing the pattern without lengthening or shortening, e.g. *'asadun* 'lion', *'usudun* 'lions', or by shortening the singular together with a change of pattern, e.g. *rasūlun* 'messenger', *rusulun* 'messengers', or by shortening the singular without a change of pattern, e.g. *tuḵamatun* 'indigestion', *tuḵamun* 'indigestions', or by simultaneously lengthening, shortening and changing the pattern, e.g. *ḡulāmun* 'boy', *ḡilmānun* 'boys', or by lengthening the singular together with a change of pattern, e.g. *rajulun* 'man', *rijālun* 'men'. All these have *u* in the independent form.[3]

3.23 (3) <u>on the sound feminine plural,</u>[1] which is formed by suffixing *āt*,

(4) Arabic *mawāḍi*^{c} (sing. *mawḍi*^{c}, lit. 'places', but clearly to be identified with 'functions', cf. Carter, *J.A.O.S.* 93, 48, and also *maḥall* at 5.81 n 3. In spite of such available terms a recent Tunisian textbook renders 'function' by *waẓīfa*, lit. 'job, employment'. (See Borrmans, *I.B.L.A.* 32, 363-372 for this and other neologisms.)

3.21 (1) On *mufrad*, variously 'single, singular, simple', see 23.431 n 1.

(2) Paradigms: fully declinable noun 4.11 n 1; defective nouns *al-fatā* and *al-qāḍī* 4.2 n 2; semi-declinable noun 4.32 n 1; invariable noun 4.2 n 2 (c).

(3) Thus *ā* and *ī* on these words are not to be confused with the overt case markers *ā* (3.43) and *ī* (3.71) of other environments.

3.22 (1) *Jum.* 346; *Muf.* #234; *Alf.* v 791; Beeston 38; Fleisch 43, 92, *Tr.* #101, Yushmanov 42; Bateson 13; A.Murtonen, *Broken Plurals*, Leiden 1964; *E.I.* (2), art. 'Djam^c'. See also 4.12.

(2) The *ā* of *'asārā* is the same invariable fem. suffix as is found on *ḥublā* (4.2 n 2 (c)). The *ī* of ^{c}*aḏārī* is not so easily explained. Fleisch (*Tr.* #102j) can only point out that nouns whose sing. bears the fem. suffixes *ā* or *ā'* (thus ^{c}*aḏrā'* in the present case) have fallen together with those whose final *ā* or *ā'* is a remnant of a weak 3rd radical *w* or *y* and which have plurals like *al-jawārī* (q.v. at 1.44). To add to the confusion, there is also a completely invariable plur. ^{c}*aḏārā*, like *ḥublā* and *'asārā* above!

3.221 (1) *jam*^{c} *al-taksīr*, lit. 'pluralization by breaking', i.e. changing the pattern (10.37 n 1) of the sing. It is the change, and not the absolute pattern, which marks the plural: *kitāb* 'book' and *rijāl* 'men' both have the same pattern, but the latter contrasts with sing. *rajul* 'man'.

(2) Over thirty patterns are found with plur. meaning (Wright I, 199) and many nouns may take more than one pattern, e.g. *nahr* 'river' has plur. *'anhur, 'anhār, nuhur* and *nuhūr*. Sometimes a pattern becomes restricted to smaller numbers, e.g. *'aklub* '(10 or less) dogs', but *kilāb* '(more than 10) dogs'. Cf. Fleisch 44; 13.31 n 5.
The choice of plur. pattern can occasionally distinguish literal from figurative meanings: *bayt*, lit. 'house', fig. 'line of verse', has the plurals *buyūt* and *'abyāt* respectively in these two meanings.
The 'plural of the plural' (*jam*^{c} *al-jam*^{c}) is also possible: *buyūt* 'houses', *buyūtāt* 'noble families'; cf. Fleisch, *Tr.* #103b; 17.65 n 3.

(3) Broken plurals have the same inflections as sing. nouns, according to pattern. Most are fully declinable (4.12 n 2), some defective as in 3.22 n 2. For semi-declinable patterns see 3.89 (1).

3.23 (1) *Muf.* #234; *Alf.* v 41; *Qaṭr* 43; Beeston 39; Fleisch 41 (*Tr.* 283, 291); Yushmanov 42; Bateson 12; *E.I.* (2), art. 'Djam^c'. Origins 4.31 n 1; paradigm 4.13 n 2; syntax 7.22 n 1, 7.28.
The English is a literal translation of *jam*^{c} *al-mu'annaṯ as-sālim*.

فجاء فعل ماض والتاء علامة التأنيث والهندات فاعل مرفوع بجاء وعلامة رفعه الضمة
وسمي هذا الجمع مؤنثا لان مفرده مؤنث وسمي سالما لان مفرده سلم من التغيير
والتقييد بالتأنيث والسلامة جرى على الغالب والا فقد يكون لمذكر كاصطبلات جمع
اصطبل وقد يكون مكسرا كحبليات جمع حبلى والموضع الرابع في الفعل المضارع الذي
لم يتصل باخره شيء كيضرب ويخشى ويغزو ويرمي فكل واحد من هذه الامثلة فعل
مضارع مرفوع بالتجرد عن الناصب والجازم وعلامة رفعه ضمة ظاهرة في يضرب ومقدرة
في الباقي لانه فعل مضارع لم يتصل باخره شيء فان اتصل باخره شيء فذلك الشيء
اما ان يكون نون الاناث نحو النسوة يضربن فيبنى اخره على السكون لاتصاله بنون
الاناث واما ان يكون نون التوكيد نحو هل يضربن فيبنى اخر (10a) الفعل على الفتح
لاتصاله بنون التوكيد واما ان يكون ضمير تثنية وهو الالف كيضربان او ضمير
جمع وهو الواو نحو يضربون وتضربون او ضمير المؤنثة المخاطبة وهو الياء نحو
تضربين لم يكن مبنيا بل معربا وهو مرفوع بالتجرد وعلامة رفعه ثبوت النون
نيابة عن الضمة والالف والواو والياء فاعل في محل رفع بالفعل الذي قبله فان قيل

e.g. *jā'at il-hindātu* 'the Hinds came', where *jā'a* 'came' is a past tense verb, the *t* is the feminine marker[2] and *al-hindātu* 'the Hinds' is an agent made independent by *jā'a* 'came' with *u* as its independence marker.

3.231 This kind of plural is called 'feminine' because its singular is feminine, and 'sound' because its singular is free from any change of pattern.[1] To qualify it as sound and feminine is only a generalization as it is, in fact, also found with masculines,[2] e.g. *iṣṭablātun* 'stables', plural of *iṣṭablun* 'stable', and with broken plurals, e.g. *ḥublayātun* 'pregnant', plural of *ḥublā* 'pregnant'.[3]

3.24 (4) on the imperfect tense verb without personal suffixes;[1] as in *yaḍribu* 'he strikes', *yakšā* 'he fears', *yaḡzū* 'he raids', *yarmī* 'he throws'. Each of these is an imperfect tense verb made independent by freedom from the operators of dependence and apocopation;[2] the independence marker is an explicit *u* in *yaḍribu* 'he strikes' and implicitly in the others because they are all imperfect tense verbs without personal suffixes.[3]

3.241 Should any suffix be found on these verbs it will either be the feminine *na*,[1] e.g. *an-niswatu yaḍribna* 'the women strike' (in which case the end of the verb is invariable and vowelless because of the suffixed feminine *na*), or it will be the emphatic *anna*,[2] e.g. *hal yaḍribanna* 'will he indeed strike?' (in which case the end of *(10a)* the verb is invariable in *a* because of the suffixed emphatic *anna*). Or else it will be a dual pronoun, viz. *ā* as in *yaḍribāni* 'they two (masc.) strike', a plural pronoun, viz. *ū* as in *yaḍribūna* 'they (masc.) strike' and *taḍribūna* 'you (masc. plur.) strike', or a second person feminine singular pronoun, viz. *ī* as in *taḍribīna* 'you (fem. sing.) strike', the verb here being not invariable but inflected: all are independent through the absence of operator, with retention of *n* as their independence marker instead of *u*, while the *ā, ū* and *ī* are agents[3] with independent status through their preceding verb.

(2) i.e. it is not the agent pronoun but only the sign that the agent is fem. (7.58 n 1).

3.231 (1) i.e. it is a suffix plural, described in 3.23 as *mazīd*, lit. 'augmented'. The related term *ziyāda* is used variously for 'lengthening' (3.221), 'augment' (3.89 (7), 5.3, 8.51 etc.), and to denote a 'redundant element' (5.413 n 1).

(2) Distribution of sound fem. plur. Fleisch, *Tr.* #63; *E.I.* (2), art. 'Djam^{c}'. Those masc. nouns which regularly take this plural are interesting for their own sake: (a) diminutives (3.421 n 1), (b) abstract participial and verbal nouns, e.g. *taṣlīḥāt* 'repairs', lit. 'acts of repairing', *mašrūbāt* 'drinks', lit. 'things drunk', (c) foreign words, especially when they do not fit into the simpler patterns: contrast the broken plur. *'aflām* 'films' and the sound fem. plur. *tilifūnāt* 'telephones'.

(3) This remark, like the whole paragraph, is copied from al-Azharī, *Āj.* 26 (expanded in *Taṣr.* I, 79), and only makes sense if we assume that the change from *ḥublā* to *ḥublay-* is 'breaking' as defined in 3.221, though a more natural explanation is that the *ā* is restored intervocalically to its original *ay* value (1.702 n 1). There are also genuine broken plurals of *ḥublā*, cf. Fleisch, *Tr.* #102j.

3.24 (1) See 3.44 for the personal suffixes.

(2) Zero-operator: 5.34 n 1. In the artificial rivalry between 'Kūfans' and 'Baṣrans' (9.4 n 3) the concept of the zero-operator was credited to the Kūfans, cf. *Inṣāf.* prob. 74. This view was shared by Ibn Mālik (*Alf.* v 676) and Ibn Hišām (*Qaṭr* 54), but not by az-Zamak̲šarī (*Muf.* #408).

(3) Paradigms at 4.4 n 5 and 4.81 n 2. On *yak̲šā* etc. cf. 2.41 n 2.

3.241 (1) Arabic *nūn al-'ināṯ* 'the *n* of females', conventionally naming only the characteristic consonant (see 3.5 n 2). Since it is always realized as *na* it will always be so transcribed, except at 2.1. See further at 7.62.

(2) The transliteration problem for *nūn at-tawkīd* 'the *n* of emphasis' is the same as for the fem. plur. *na* in the previous note. It is realized in a 'light' form *an* and a 'heavy' form *anna* (q.v. 26.34 n 2), the latter being preferred for transcription, except at 2.1. See *Muf.* #610; *Alf.* v 635; Fleisch 108. Arab segmentation is into *a-*, invariable verb ending, and *-n, -nna,* cf. 5.32 n 4.

(3) See 3.44 on these agent pronouns; on 'status' 5.81 n 3. The superficial similarity between the noun suffixes *āni/ayni* (dual, 3.43), *ūna/īna* (masc. plur., 3.4) and the verb suffixes *īna/āni/ūna* listed here probably reflects a common origin (cf. 5.02 for the overall similarities between nouns and imperfect tense verbs). But the two sets of elements are, correctly, segmented quite differently by the Arab grammarians: the noun suffixes are analysed into case morphemes *ā/ay, ū/ī* (see ensuing paragraphs) and definition morphemes *ni, na*

ما الفرق بين العلامة وصاحبها في قوله بالضمة رفعا الى اخره اجيب بان العلامة
هي الحركات والسكنات البنائية وهي الضم والفتح والكسر والسكون وذا العلامات هو
الحركات والجزمات الاعرابية وهي الرفع والنصب والجر والجزم فافترقا وان اتحدا في
الخارج كالحد والمحدود والحاصل ان العلامة وصاحبها متحدان ذاتا مختلفان اعتبارا
كالكسرة والانكسار ولما فرغ المصنف من الضمة التي هي الاصل في علامات الرفع شرع
فيما ينوب عنها فقال فاما الواو فتكون علامة للرفع في موضعين الموضع الاول في
جمع المذكر السالم كجاء الزيدون من الاسماء والمسلمون من الصفات فجاء فعل ماض
والزيدون والمسلمون فاعل مرفوع بجاء وعلامة رفعه الواو نيابة
عن الضمة وسمي سالما لسلامة المفرد مع قطع النظر من زيادة الواو والنون
او الياء والنون ويشترط في كل ما جمع هذا الجمع من اسم او صفة ثلاثة
شروط الاول الخلو من تاء التأنيث فلا يجمع هذا الجمع من الاسماء
نحو طلحة ولا من الصفات نحو علامة لئلا يجتمع فيهما علامة
(10b) التأنيث والتذكير الشرط الثاني ان يكون لمذكر فلا يجمع هذا

3.3 It might be asked, what is the difference between the marker and the case it denotes (as, for example, when one says 'with *u* in independence' etc.)?[1] The answer is that the markers consist of the short vowels and vowellessness used in constructing words, namely *u, a, i* and *Ø*, while the cases[2] denoted by the markers consist of the vowels of inflection and apocopation, namely independence, dependence, obliqueness and apocopation. The two are different even if they appear on the surface to be identical, just as the definition differs from the thing defined: in short, the marker and the case it denotes are identical in essence but different in reference, just as the vowel *i* differs from the occurrence of an *i*.[3]

3.4 Having finished with *u*, which is the basic independence marker, the author now turns to its replacements:[1] <u>*ū* is the marker of independence in two places:</u>

3.41 (1) <u>in the sound masculine plural,</u>[1] e.g. *jā'a z-zaydūna* 'the Zayds came' among nouns and *(jā'a) l-muslimūna* 'the Muslims (came)' among adjectives.[2] Here *jā'a* 'came' is a past tense verb and *az-zaydūna* 'the Zayds' and *al-muslimūna* 'the Muslims' are agents made independent by *jā'a* 'came', with *ū* as their independence marker instead of *u*.

3.411 This kind of plural is called 'sound' because its singular remains unaltered except for the suffixing of *ūna* and *īna*. Everything, whether noun or adjective, which takes this kind of plural must fulfil three conditions: (a) there should be no feminine *t*,[1] for such nouns do not form this kind of plural, cf. *ṭalḥatu* 'Ṭalḥa', nor do adjectives, cf. *ᶜallāmatun* 'very learned (man)', lest *(10b)* they should contain the masculine and feminine markers simultaneously; (b) that it should refer to a male,[2] for such feminine proper names as *zaynabu*

(but see 23.41 n 4), the verb suffixes into agent pronouns *ī, ā, ū,* and 'case' (= mood, 5.02) morphemes *ni, na, Ø*. See 7.8 n 1 for Arab segmentation of imperfect tense verb.

3.3 (1) The problem raised here is the difference between phonemes and morphemes, a distinction which is implicit in the earliest grammar *Kitāb* I, 1). The comment of al-Ušmūnī on *Alf.* v 25 seems by comparison rather careless: 'there is no contradiction in calling these (vowels) both actual inflections and markers of inflection, as they are in the broad sense inflection by being a feature produced by the operator, and in the narrow sense markers of inflection'. This tends to blur a very important distinction which is hardly a 'terminological nicety' as suggested by Drozdik, *J.M.S.* 5, 73.

(2) This translates *ḏā l-ᶜalāmati*, lit. 'what the marker belongs to'. The criticism that the Arabs had no abstract concept of case, mood and declension (e.g. Fleisch, in *E.I.* (2), art. 'Iᶜrāb') is not relevant to the descriptive aims of their grammar, which has achieved a high level of adequacy precisely through the 'purely formal manner' that Fleisch deplores. See also 11.2 n 1.

(3) i.e. the phoneme and morpheme respectively; cf. 22.12 n 1.

3.4 (1) See 3.1 n 4; 'replacements', i.e. allomorphs, are dealt with distributionally, i.e. in terms of their function.

3.41 (1) *jamᶜ al-muḏakkar as-sālim*, translated literally.
Jum. 19; *Muf.* #234; *Alf.* v 35; *Qaṭr* 41; Fleisch 41 (*Tr.* #59); Yushmanov 42; Bateson 12; *E.I.* (2), art. 'D̲jamᶜ'.
Paradigm 4.6 n 1; syntax 7.23 n 1; whether a genuine inflection 3.42 n 2. See also 23.41 n 4.
The origin of the sound masc. plur. *ū* is said to be a lengthening of the sing. *u*, opposing a common dep./obl. ending *i* which has also been lengthened (Moscati #12.37), but this may be an oversimplification (Fleisch, *Tr.* #60d, e).

(2) Morphologically nouns and adjectives are almost identical (cf. Beeston 34) and can usually only be distinguished by function: thus any adjective may stand alone as a noun, and there is a clear similarity between the attributive adjective (11.1 etc.) and the various appositional noun structures (chs. 12-14). But see 11.61 n 1.

3.411 (1) See 11.42 n 1 for fem. *t*. The nouns cited here always denote males, either as proper names (and therefore semi-declinable, 3.89 (4)), or intensives (others: *nassābatun* 'great genealogist', *raḥḥālatun* 'great traveller' etc.). Plur. is rare, sound fem. is mostly used. One common word in this class is *ḵalīfatun* 'caliph', which has broken plur. *ḵulafā'u*. See Fleisch, *Tr.* #98; *Inṣāf*, prob. 4.

(2) Here natural gender triumphs over grammatical gender, and sound fem. or broken plurals are used. Note that fem. adjectives of the type *ḥā'iḍun* 'menstruating', if used participially, do take the fem. marker, scil. 'is now menstruating' (Fleischer, *Kl. Schr.* I, 250, Nöldeke 20). In addition, there is a sizable class of adjectives which never vary

الجمع علم المؤنث نحو زينب ولا صفة مؤنث نحو حائض لئلا يلتبس جمع المذكر
بجمع المؤنث الشرط الثالث ان يكون لعاقل فلا يجمع هذا الجمع نحو واشق علما
للكلب وسابق صفة لفرس ثم يشترط في انفراد كل منها عن الاخر ان يكون علما
غير مركب تركيبا اسناديا ولا مزجيا فلا يجمع المركب الاسنادي نحو برق نحره
علما ولا المزجي نحو معدي كرب واما صفة تقبل التاء كقائم فتقول قائمة او لا
تقبل التاء ولكنها تدل على التفضيل نحو افضل فتقول افضلون فلا يجمع هذا الجمع
نحو جريح بمعنى مجروح وصبور بمعنى صابر وسكران واحمر لانها لا تقبل التاء ولا
تدل على تفضيل تنبيه حملوا على هذا الجمع السالم المذكر اربعة انواع اعربت
بالحروف وليست جمع تصحيح الاول اسماء جموع نحو اولو بمعنى اصحاب اسم جمع
وعالمون اسم جمع عالم بفتح اللام فيهما وعشرون وبابه الى التسعين والثاني جموع

'Zenobia' do not form this kind of plural, nor do feminine adjectives such as *ḥā'iḍun* 'menstruating', lest the masculine and feminine plural become confused, and (c) it must denote a rational being,[3] for names of dogs such as *wāšiqun* 'Darter' do not form this kind of plural, nor do adjectives such as *sābiqun* 'Racer' when applied to horses. There is one final condition regarding their being separate words, and that is that they must not be compound proper names, neither predicative nor mixed compounds. The predicative compound[4] proper name, such as *baraqa naḥruhu* 'His chest gleamed' does not form this kind of plural, nor does the mixed compound[5] proper name, such as *ma^{c}dī karibu* 'Ma^{c}dīkarib'. Adjectives which take the feminine *t*, e.g. *qā'imun* 'standing' (masc.) from which you can say *qā'imatun* 'standing' (fem.), or those which do not take the feminine *t* but denote a superior quality,[6] e.g. *'afḍalu* 'most virtuous', have the plural *qā'imūna* 'standing' (masc.), *'afḍalūna* 'most virtuous' (masc.). But this kind of plural is not formed by such words as *jarīḥun* 'wounded' in the meaning of *majrūḥun* 'wounded', *ṣabūrun* 'very patient' in the meaning of *ṣābirun* 'patient', *sakrānu* 'intoxicated' and *'aḥmaru* 'red' because they do not take the feminine *t* nor do they denote any superiority.[7]

3.412 Note:[1] They have treated as sound masculine plurals four other kinds of word which, even though they are inflected with long vowels, are not sound plurals, viz.

(a) certain plural nouns such as *'ulū* 'possessors of'[2] in the meaning of the plural noun *'aṣḥābu* 'owners of', *^{c}ālamūna* 'worlds' (plural of *^{c}ālamun* 'world',[3] in both cases spelt with *a* after the *l*), and *^{c}išrūna* 'twenty' (and other words in this category up to *tis^{c}ūna* 'ninety');[4]

for gender, e.g. *qatīlun* 'dead' (masc. or fem.), perhaps because they have never lost their nominal character, scil. 'something dead' (but see further 3.411 n 7).

(3) Explained by Ibn Ya^{c}īš on *Muf.* #4 as denoting 'human persons' (*'ašḵāṣ 'ādamiyya*, lit. 'persons related to Adam'). Creatures of other genealogies take broken plurals, if at all (cf. Lane s.v. *sābiqun*).

(4) *murakkab 'isnādī*: see 1.12 n 1 on 'compound'; for 'predicative' cf. 9.1 n 1. These compounds are so named because their constituents are in a predicative relationship, though this is widened by some grammarians to a 'sentence' (*jumla*) relationship so as to include such non-predicative compounds as *ta'abbaṭa šarran* 'he bore evil under his arm' (name of a poet: *šarran* 'evil' variously explained as a sword or a snake). It is unlikely that these names ever did have a plural; they are probably examples of nominalization by 'verbatim quotation' (see *ḥikāya* 1.45 n 3 (c)). Another specimen, though not a proper noun, is at 1.13.

(5) *murakkab mazajī*, translated literally, and denoting compounds of constituents with no grammatical relationship to each other. The many names ending in *wayhi* (e.g. *sībawayhi*, 1.42) are in this category; plurals are excessively improbable, though Wright (I, 196) offers a sound plur. of *ma^{c}dīkaribu*! The third type of compound proper name, the 'annexed compound' (11.723), pluralizes the first element only: *^{c}abīdu llāhi* 'the ^{c}Abdullāhs' (see further 3.65 n 7).

(6) These combine both comparative and superlative functions: 20.4

(7) The four classes of adjectives represented here have (a) active form with passive meaning, unmarked for gender (*Muf.* #269; *Alf.* v 762; Nöldeke 20); (b) intensive form with active meaning, also unmarked for gender (*Muf.*, Nöld. ibid; *Alf.* v 760); (c) suffix *ān* (Fleisch 88, *Tr.* #97) but with a separate fem. pattern, e.g. *sakrā* (*Muf.* #272; *Alf.* v 765); (d) the pattern *'af^{c}alu* (fem. *fa^{c}lā'u*) denoting colours or physical defects (*Muf.* #272; *Alf.* v 763). This last class is now closed, unlike the formally very similar 'elative' (20.4), and a common origin is assumed for both, with reservations (H. Wehr, *Der arabische Elativ*, Wiesbaden 1952, 6; W. Fischer, *Farb- und Formenbezeichnungen in der Sprache der altarabischen Dichtung*, Wiesbaden 1965, esp. 6, 64, 142).
All the above (except 'elatives') thus have broken plur., e.g. *jarḥā* 'wounded', *ṣuburun* 'very patient', *sukārā* 'drunk', all common gender.

3.412 (1) *Alf.* v 36; *Qaṭr* 41; but here from al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* I, 72.

(2) *'ulū* functions as a plur. of *ḏū* (3.42) and in that sense is not a true suffix plural; being always annexed, it is never **'ulūna*. It is probably related to the demonstratives at 11.734.

(3) Evidently a loan-word from Aramaic or Syriac (A. Jeffreys, *The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'ān*, Baroda 1938, 208). The grammarians regard it as a collective rather than a plural.

تكسير وهي بنون جمع ابن وقياس جمعه جمع السلامة ابنون واحرون بفتح الهمزة
وفتح الحاء وتشديد الراء جمع حرة بفتح الحاء وارضون بفتح الراء جمع ارض بسكونها
وسنون بكسر السين جمع سنة بفتحها وبابه الجاري على سننه نحو عضة وعضون
والثالث جموع تصحيح لم تستوف الشروط المتقدمة في الاسم والصفة كاهلون جمع
اهل ووابلون جمع وابل لان اهلا ووابلا ليسا علمين ولا صفتين والرابع ما سمي به
من هذا الجمع وما الحق به نحو زيدون (11a) وعليون فيعربان بالحروف اجراء لهما
على ما كانا عليه فبل التسمية بهما والموضع الثاني في الاسماء الخمسة المعتلة
المضافة وهي ابوك واخوك وحموك وفوك وذو مال تقول جاء ابوك فجاء فعل ماض
وابوك فاعل مرفوع بجاء وعلامة رفعه الواو نيابة عن الضمة وكذا الحكم في الباقي
والكاف في الخمسة مجرورة بالاضافة تنبيه يشترط لاعراب هذه الاسماء ان تكون

(b) certain broken plurals, namely *banūna* 'sons',[5] plural of *ibnun* 'son' (whose regular sound plural should be **ibnūna*), *'aḥarrūna* 'stony places'[6] (spelt with *a* after the *'* and *ḥ*, and double *r*) plural of *ḥarratun* 'stony place', *'araḍūna* 'lands'[7] (spelt with *a* after the *r*) plural of *'arḍun* 'land' (spelt with unvowelled *r*), *sinūna* 'years'[8] (spelt with *i* after the *s*) plural of *sanatun* 'year' (spelt with *a* after the *s*), and other words of the same category and behaviour such as *ᶜiḍatun* 'piece', plural *ᶜiḍūna* 'pieces';[9]

(c) the genuine sound plurals which do not fulfil the above conditions for nouns and adjectives, e.g. *'ahlūna* 'peoples', plural of *'ahlun* 'people', and *wābiluna* 'pouring rains', plural of *wābilun* 'pouring rain', for neither *'ahlun* nor *wābilun* are proper names, nor are they adjectives;[10]

(d) those which are used as singular proper names in this plural form or have become attached to this category, such as *zaydūna* 'Zaydūn'[11] *(11a)* and *ᶜilliyyūna* 'ᶜIlliyyūn',[12] which are inflected with long vowels and are thus allowed to behave as they did before they came to be used as names.

3.42 (2) in the five nouns,[1] i.e. the defective nouns, when in annexation, viz. *'abūka* 'your father', *'aḵūka* 'your brother', *ḥamūka* 'your father-in-law', *fūka* 'your mouth' and *ḏū mālin* possessor of wealth'. Thus in *jā'a 'abūka* 'your father came' *jā'a* 'came' is a past tense verb and *'abūka* 'your father' is an agent made independent by *jā'a* 'came', with ū as its independence marker instead of u.[2] The same rule applies to all the others, and the *ka* 'your' in all five is made oblique by annexation.

3.421 Note: It is a condition for the inflection of these five nouns

(4) These are formally the plurals of their respective units, with twenty, originally a dual of ten (*ᶜàšrā) assimilated to the plurals of the other decades (Fleisch 97, *Tr.* #106r); see also 20.22 n 1.

(5) This seems more like a genuine sound plur. with dissimilation of the initial consonant cluster. For 'regular' cf. 8.3 n 2.

(6) There is also a regular sound masc. plur. *ḥarrūna*.

(7) There are also broken and sound fem. plurals of this word, as well as a regular sound masc. *'arḍūna* (Fleisch, *Tr.* #61h). The singular is grammatically feminine! (Cf. 11.43 n 3).

(8) A sound fem. plur. *sanawātun* exists in free variation.

(9) According to Fleisch, 90 (*Tr.* #98a) the 1st rad. *w* of these words has been lost, and is compensated by the fem. sing. and sound masc. plur. suffixes, in order to retain the appearance of having three radicals. Cf. Ibn Yaᶜīš on *Muf.* #234, al-Ušmūnī on *Alf.* v 38.

(10) The distribution of the sound masc. plur. is very restricted in Arabic: in effect it is confined to two classes of words, (a) proper names (but these often have broken plurals as an alternative, cf. 4.12 as against 4.6, and, for the sound fem. plur., 4.12 against 4.31), and (b) participles (which are often of a form which could not be fitted into a broken plur. pattern anyway), with the added condition that both must denote rational beings. Otherwise the sound masc. plur. has been largely displaced by the broken plur. in the South Semitic group of languages (cf. Moscati #12.44).

(11) The *ūn* here is an ancient suffix not cognate with the masc. plur. suffix (Fleisch, *Tr.* #97d), nor is it common (as suggested here) for nouns with *ūn* to inflect like sound masc. plurals: they usually take the same endings as nouns in *ān* (3.89 (7)), viz. *zaydūnu, zaydūna*.

(12) A loan word from Hebrew, found in Qur'ān S. 83 vv 18, 19, and explained as meaning 'highest part of heaven' (but see *E.I.* (2), art. 'ᶜIlliyyūn').

3.42 (1) *Jum.* 18; *Muf.* #16; *Alf.* v 27; *Qaṭr* 36; paradigm 4.71 n 1. These are 'defective' (*muᶜtalla*, 2.43 n 2) only in the artificial sense that they appear to lack a third radical. In fact, they probably never had one, but are part of the small stock of primitive biliteral roots which survive (others include *yad* 'hand', *ism* 'name', *dam* 'blood', *mā'* 'water', cf. Fleisch, *Tr.* #52). By Systemzwang they do acquire third radicals in dual and plur., cf. 3.65 n 9.

(2) There has been some debate as to whether the long vowel inflections here, and those of the dual (*ā/ay*) and masc. plur. (*ū/ī*) are real inflections (cf. *Inṣāf*, prob. 2). The 'Kūfan' position is that, since such words already bore short vowel inflections *u, a, i,* the subsequent lengthening markers duplicated the inflections and were thus not themselves true inflection markers. The 'Baṣrans' replied that the lengthening elements were simply prolongations of inflection, not duplications of it.

مفردة مكبرة مضافة وان افردت عن الاضافة اعربت بالحركات نحو وله اخ في الرفع
وفي النصب ان له ابا وفي الجر وبنات الاخ وان تكون الاضافة لغير الياء والا اعربت
بالحركات المقدرة نحو هذا اخي ورأيت اخي ومررت باخي واستغنى المصنف عن ذكر
هذه الشروط لكونها ذكرها كذلك واسقط من الاسماء الهن لان الاحسن فيه النقص فيعرب
بالحركات الثلاث فتقول هذا هنك ورأيت هنك ونظرت الى هنك بضم الاول وفتح
الثاني وكسر الثالث ويجوز ان يعرب بالحروف فتقول هذا هنوك ورأيت هناك
ونظرت الى هنيك ضابط ليس في الاسماء المعربة اسم اخره واو قبلها ضمة الا
الاسماء الستة حالة الرفع واما الالف فتكون علامة للرفع في تثنية الاسماء خاصة
نحو قال رجلان فقال فعل ماض ورجلان فاعل مرفوع بقال وعلامة رفعه الالف نيابة
عن الضمة واما النون فتكون علامة للرفع في الفعل المضارع اذا اتصل به ضمير تثنية
وهو الالف كيضربان بالتحتانية وتضربان بالفوقانية او ضمير جمع وهو الواو لجمع

that they should be singular, non-diminutive and annexed.[1] If separated from annexation they are then inflected with short vowels, e.g. *wa-lahu 'akun* 'and he has a brother' in the independent form, *'inna lahu 'aban* 'verily he has a father' in the dependent form and *wa-banātu l-'aki* 'and the daughters of the brother' in the oblique form.[2] It is also a condition for these nouns that they should not be annexed to *ī* 'my',[3] otherwise they are inflected with implicit short vowels, e.g. *hādā 'akī* 'this is my brother', *ra'aytu 'akī* 'I saw my brother', *marartu bi-'akī* 'I passed by my brother'. The author dispenses with mentioning these conditions by the way he has listed the nouns above. He has left out the noun *al-hanu* 'the thing' because it is best treated as an incomplete noun and inflected with the short vowels, e.g. *hādā hanuka* 'this is your thing', *ra'aytu hanaka* 'I saw your thing', *naẓartu 'ilā hanika* 'I looked at your thing', with *u*, *a* and *i* respectively. But it may also be inflected with long vowels, in which case you say *hādā hanūka* 'this is your thing', *ra'aytu hanāka* 'I saw your thing', *naẓartu 'ilā hanīka* 'I looked at your thing'.[4]

3.422 Axiom: There are no inflected nouns ending in *ū* other than the six nouns in the independent state.[1]

3.43 *ā* is the marker of independence especially in the dual of nouns,[1] e.g. *qāla rajulāni* 'two men said', where *qāla* 'said' is a past tense verb and *rajulāni* 'two men' is an agent made independent by *qāla* with *ā* as its independence marker instead of *u*.

3.44 *n*[1] is the marker of independence in the imperfect tense verb when suffixed with the dual pronoun (which is *ā*), as in *yaḍribāni* 'they two (masc.) strike' (spelt *y*, with two dots below),[2] *taḍribāni* 'you two (masc. & fem.) strike, they two (fem.) strike' (spelt *t*, with two dots above), or the plural pronoun (namely *ū* for the masculine plural), as

3.421 (1) Annexation 26.7. 'Non-diminutive' renders *mukabbara*, lit. 'enlarged', antonym of *muṣaġġar(a)* 'made small', i.e. 'diminutive'. A noun is made diminutive by converting it into one of a special range of patterns all showing the characteristic vowel sequence *u-ay*, e.g. *kulayb* 'small dog' (from *kalb*), *šuwayᶜir* 'poetaster' (from *šāᶜir*). Diminutives of the 'five nouns' are regular, but rare, e.g. *'ubayy* 'little father', *fuwayh* 'little mouth'. *Jum.* 247; *Muf.* #274; *Alf.* v 833; Fleisch 70 (and index), *Tr.* #71f. The name Sulaymān (1.701) is a diminutive of Solomon in the Arab view (but see Jeffrey, op. cit. 3.412 n 3, 178). Cf. also Buṯayna in 13.13.

(2) The examples are from Qur'ān S. 4 v 12; S. 12 v 78; S. 4 v 23.

(3) Possessive suffixes 4.72 n 2. The suffix *ī* 'my' displaces all the short vowel inflections, e.g. *kitābī* 'my book' (**kitābu-ī*), *kitābatī* 'my writing' (**kitābatu-ī*). The case of *'aḵī* 'my brother' etc. is peculiar in that, for total symmetry, a long vowel must be assumed to have been displaced by *ī*, parallel to the long vowels which occur before the other possessive suffixes (*'aḵūka* 'your brother' etc., see 3.42), and which is still found in colloquial *'aḵūya* 'my brother'. An allomorph of this *ī* is *ya*, which occurs after vowels *ā, ī,* (except the 'five nouns'), and diphthong *ay*, e.g. *fatāya* 'my boy' (see 23.62 n 3). Note *ḵādimiyya* 'my servants', all cases (**ḵādimūya* changed to avoid non-canonical sequence *ūy*), and *'ilayya* 'to me' in 5.411 (see *'ilā*, 1.702), *ᶜalayya* 'upon me' in 13.13, 14.62 (see *ᶜalā*, 1.704).

(4) Hence 'six nouns' in 3.422. This one differs from the others in that its third radical is felt to be entirely lacking: that of the 'five nouns', though phonologically defective (*muᶜtall*, 2.43 n 2) is still a psychological reality even when absent.

3.422 (1) Some obviously foreign words, e.g. *samandū* 'salamander' (?) (from as-Suyūṭī, *Ašbāh* II, 27) are probably invariable, as also such proper names as Ibn Hindū etc. The name *ᶜamrun* 'ᶜAmr', spelt in its indep. and obl. forms with final *ū* is unique; it is apparently a Nabatean survival (Fleisch, *Tr.* #54e n 1). Contrast *dalwun* etc., 2.7.

3.43 (1) *Jum.* 23; *Muf.* #228; *Alf.* v 32; *Qaṭr* 39; Beeston 38; Fleisch 41; Bateson 12; Yushmanov 41. The dual suffixes are Proto-Semitic, showing vowel dissimilation **āna*> *āni* etc. (Moscati #12.62). Syntax cf. 7.22 n 1; paradigm 4.5 n 1; distribution 3.65; definition 3.63; whether *ā/ay* are true inflections 3.42 n 2.

3.44 (1) This *n* is realized as *na* or *ni*, see 4.81 n 1.

(2) Spelling instructions: Arabic orthography has two peculiarities, (a) in normal circumstances only consonants are written, the short vowels being added as diacriticals only when necessary, (b) several consonants are distinguished from each other only by the number and position of their dots. Consequently explicit instructions are often included during dictation of the text and remain part of it thereafter. The present case is typical: *y* and *t* differ only in the position of the two dots (others passim, and see also 1.92, 10.15). Vowels are

الذكور نحو يضربون بالتحتانية وتضربون بالفوقانية او ضمير المؤنثة المخاطبة وهو
الياء التحتانية نحو تضربين وتسمى الامثلة (11b) الخمسة سميت بذلك لانها ليست
افعالا باعيانها كما ان الاسماء الستة اسماء باعيانها وانما هي امثلة يكنى
بها عن كل فعل كان بمنزلتها كيذهبان قال ابن هشام في شرح اللمحة وسميت
خمسة على ادراج المخاطبتين تحت المخاطبين والاحسن ان تعد ستة وهي مرفوعة
وعلامة رفعها ثبوت النون في اخرها لخلوها عن الناصب والجازم نيابة عن الضمة
ولما فرغ من علامات الرفع شرع في علامات النصب فقال وللنصب خمس علامات
الاولى الفتحة وهي الاصل ولذلك قدمها والثانية الالف وقدمها على ما بعدها لانها
تنشأ عن الفتحة والثالثة الكسرة وقدمها على ما بعدها لانها اخت الفتحة في
التحريك والرابعة الياء وقدمها على النون لانها بنت الكسرة والخامسة حذف النون
وختم بها لبعد الشبه فيها ولكل من هذه العلامات مواضع تخصها وبدأ منها
بالفتحة لانها الاصل كما مر فقال فاما الفتحة فتكون علامة للنصب في ثلاث مواضع
الاول في الاسم المفرد نحو رأيت ريدا واحمد والفتى وعبد الله فرأيت فعل

in *yaḍribūna* 'they strike' (spelt *y*, with two dots below) and *taḍribūna* 'you strike' (spelt *t*, with two dots above), or the pronoun of the second person feminine singular. This is *ī* (spelt *y*, with two dots below), as in *taḍribīna* 'you strike'.[3]

3.45 These are known as 'the five patterns',[1] *(11b)* being so called because they are not in themselves verbs (as 'the six nouns' are in themselves nouns), but are simply patterns used to allude to all verbs of the same status,[2] e.g. *yaḏhabāni* 'they two (masc.) go'. Ibn Hišām said in his *Commentary on the Lumḥa* that 'they are called five by subsuming the second person feminine dual under the second person masculine dual, but it would be better to count tham as six'.[3] The verbs here are all independent, their independence marker being the retention of their final *n* instead of *u* because they are free from any operator of dependence or apocopation.[4] Having finished with the independence markers the author next turns to the markers of dependence.

3.5 There are five markers of dependence:[1] (1) *a*, which is the basic one and for that reason placed first, (2) *ā*, which he puts before the next because it derives from *a*, (3) *i*, which he puts before the next because it is related to *a* in being a short vowel, (4) *ī/ay*,[2] which he puts before *n* because it is related to *i*, and (5) elision of *n*. This he puts last because it least resembles the others.[3] Each of these has its own particular functions and the author begins with *a* because it is the basic marker (as has already been pointed out):

3.51 *a* is the marker of dependence in three places: (1) on the singular noun, e.g. *ra'aytu zaydan wa-'aḥmada wa-l-fatā wa-ᶜabdallāhi* 'I saw Zayd, Aḥmad, the boy and ᶜAbdullāh',[1] where *ra'aytu* 'I saw' is a verb

indicated by their names, *fatḥa* 'a', *kasra* 'i', *ḍamma* 'u' (0.4 n 3), cf. chs. 7, 8, where active and passive verbs differ only in vowels. Difficult words are spelt out more or less completely, e.g. 0.4, 11.61, 11.731-732. Cf. Wright I, pp 4, 7f.

(3) On the segmentation of these verbs cf. 3.241 n 3 and 5.3.

3.45 (1) *al-'amṯila l-ḵamsa*, translated literally. From the very earliest grammar it has been the practice to symbolize the pattern of a word (see 10.37 n 1) by using the radicals *f-ᶜ-l*: thus in the present paragraph *yaḏhabāni* 'they two go' has the pattern *yafᶜalāni*, which stands for any active, imperfect tense, indep. 3rd masc. dual verb. Similarly *taḍribīna* 'you (fem. sing.) strike' in 3.44 has the pattern *tafᶜilīna*, and so on for all words.

(2) This quibble arises because *f-ᶜ-l* is also a root in its own right, meaning 'do', but the writer here intends its symbolic function, not its literal meaning, in other words, as the name of a category which is not identical with the members of that category (cf. 1.23). The 'six nouns', however, are genuine nouns. Cf. also 5.1 n 2 on radicals.

(3) Ibn Hišām 1.02 n 1; Commentary on the *Lumḥa* (unpubl.) *G.A.L.* II, 110. But aš-Širbīnī is undoubtedly quoting indirectly, from al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* I, 85. Curiously Ibn Hišām does not express these views in his more widely known works, but speaks only of 'five verbs'. Yāsīn, in his commentary on *Taṣr.* I, 85, offers an additional choice of seven, eight, nine and ten verbs, by devious arguments!

(4) Zero-operator 5.34 n 1; *n* realized as *na* or *ni* 4.81 n 1.

3.5 (1) The term 'dependence' is a free translation of the Arabic *naṣb*, lit. 'erection, setting up': like all the case/mood nomenclature, its origins and precise technical application are obscure (cf. 3.1 n 1). It may be significant that the most obvious orthographical feature of many dependent forms is word-final *ā* or *an*, both written with a character which is essentially a vertical stroke (cf. 1.4 n 5), and it is just possible that *naṣb* may be descriptive of this. Cf. 3.8 n 1. The English 'dependent' is merely an attempt to reproduce the general function of *manṣūb* elements (cf. ch. 15).

(2) There are transliteration problems here: the Arabic convention is to name only the characteristic consonant, or in this case, semi-vowel, leaving the vocalization to be determined by context. Here *y* stands for the sound masc. plur. *ī* (= *iy*, cf. 2.43 n 2) and the dual *ay*, which in the present paragraph can only be covered by the ad hoc transliteration *ī/ay*. Where relevant, only one of these is used, e.g. *ī* at 3.71, *ay* at 3.63.

(3) Cf. 3.1 n 3.

3.51 (1) The examples string together specimens of the fully declinable proper noun (11.721), semi-declinable proper noun (3.89 (6)), invariable noun (2.31) and annexed proper noun (11.723), all masc. Fem. nouns behave likewise, according to category. Note that in

وفاعل والتاء التي هي الفاعل اسم لاسناد الفعل اليها وزيدا مفعول به واحمد وما
بعده معطوف عليه مشارك له في نصبه والموضع الثاني في جمع التكسير نحو اكرمت
الرجال والهنود والاسارى والعذاري فاكرمت فعل وفاعل مرفوع باكرم والتاء اسم
لاسناد الفعل اليها والرجال مفعول به منصوب باكرم وما بعدهم معطوف عليهم
والموضع الثالث الفعل المضارع اذا دخل عليه ناصب (12a) ولم يتصل باخره شيء من
نون الاناث ونون التوكيد ولا الضمائر في الافعال الخمسة فمثال المضارع الذي لم
يتصل باخره شيء من ذلك نحو لن يبرح زيد فلن حرف نفي ونصب وهي بسيطة على
وضعها الاصلي وليس اصلها لا النافية فابدلت الالف نونا ولا اصلها لا ان فحذفت
الهمزة تخفيفا والالف للساكنين ولا تقتضي تأبيد النفي اذ لو كانت للتأبيد لزم
التناقض بذكر اليوم في قوله تعالى فلم اكلم اليوم انسيا ولزم التكرار بذكر
ابدا في قوله تعالى ولن يتمنوه ابدا واما تأبيد النفي في قوله تعالى لن

and agent, *tu* 'I' (which is the agent) is a noun because the action is predicated of it, and *zaydan* 'Zayd' is a direct object with *'aḥmada* 'Ahmad' etc. coordinated with *zaydan* and sharing in its dependence;[2]

3.52 (2) on the broken plural,[1] e.g. *'akramtu r-rijāla wa-l-hunūda wa-l-'asārā wa-l-ᶜaḏāriya* 'I honoured the men, the Hinds, the prisoners and the virgins',[2] where *'akramtu* 'I honoured' is a verb with an agent made independent by *'akrama* 'to honour',[3] *tu* 'I' is a noun because the action is predicated of it, and *ar-rijāla* 'the men' is a direct object made dependent by the verb, the nouns following being coordinated with *ar-rijāla*;

3.53 (3) on the imperfect tense verb when preceded by an operator of dependence *(12a)* and without suffixes;[1] (such as the feminine plural *na*, the emphatic *anna*, or the pronouns in the case of the 'five verbs').[2] An example of the unsuffixed imperfect tense verb is *lan yabraḥa zaydun* 'Zayd will not go forth', where *lan* 'not' is a particle of negation and dependence.[3] By the way, *lan* is in origin a simple word: it is not the negative *lā* 'not' with a change of *ā* to *n*, nor does it originate from *lā 'an* 'not that' with elision of *'* for ease of pronunciation and consequent elision of *ā* to prevent the clash of two unvowelled consonants. Moreover *lan* does not make the negation necessarily perpetual, since this would entail a contradiction in mentioning the word *al-yawma* 'today' in the Qur'anic *fa-lan 'ukallima l-yawma 'insiyyan* 'I shall not speak to anyone today',[4] and also tautology in mentioning *'abadan* 'ever' in the Qur'anic *wa-lan yatamannawhu 'abadan* 'and they shall not desire it ever'.[5] The alleged perpetual negation in the

the annexed proper name only the first element inflects, the second being fixed in oblique form by annexation (ch. 26, and cf. 3.65 n 7).

(2) Parsing in general 8.21 n 1; verb and pronoun agent 7.5; predicate as nominal marker 1.6; direct object ch. 16; coordination ch. 12.

3.52 (1) Broken plur. 3.22, 3.221; paradigm 4.12 n 2.

(2) The first two examples show that *a* is common to both genders of broken plural; *al-'asārā* 'the prisoners' is completely invariable, like *al-fatā* in 2.31; *al-ᶜaḏāriya* 'the virgins' is, in the dep. form only, entirely regular, like *al-qāḍī* in 2.6 (the other plural form, *al-ᶜaḏārā*, is completely invariable, cf. 3.22 n 2, but is clearly not intended in the present context, even though, in the absence of vowel signs, either could be read here).

(3) It is the custom in the metalanguage to refer to verbs in their active, past tense, 3rd masc. sing. form, principally because this is simplest (cf. 5.1). Though it may seem possible here that *'akramtu* has been segmented into a stem *'akram-* and suffix *-tu*, this is ruled out by, for example the case of *marartu* 'I passed' in 21.33, where it is not the dissimilated stem *marar-* (cf. 11.3 n 1) which is quoted in the parsing, but the 3rd masc. sing. *marra*, lit. 'he passed' but here clearly 'to pass'. Similar examples in 3.61, 4.11 etc. Occasionally the convention lapses (cf. *ra'aytu* 'I saw' in 4.11 and 4.12), and sometimes the reference is clearly to a *past* stem, e.g. 7.51, 8.61 rather than an infinitive.

3.53 (1) Paradigm 4.82 n 1.

(2) For fem. *na* see 3.241 n 1; emphatic *anna* 3.241 n 2; the 'five verbs' 3.44, 45.

(3) Note that *lan* is defined by its functions, and cf. 5.42. The etymology of *lan* has been a matter of dispute from the earliest times, though curiously it is not dealt with in the *Inṣāf*. The source for aš-Širbīnī is mainly al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* II, 229-30, and the neatest discussion of the whole issue is in Ibn Hišām, *Muġnī* I, 221. The etymology **lā+'an* goes back as far as al-Ḵalīl (*Kitāb* I, 361), and is also the one favoured by Brockelmann (*Grundr.* II, 603) and most Western scholars (e.g. Fleisch 201 n 1), but see Aartun, *Oriens* 25-26, 187, for *lan* = *lā* + emphatic *n* suffix.

(4) S. 19 v 26.

(5) S. 2 v 95, being Muḥammad's answer to his opponents' claim that heaven was reserved exclusively for them: if true, 'they shall never desire (scil. death)'. According to az-Zamaḵšarī (see next note) *lan* denotes perpetual negation (so in his *Unmūḏaj*, ed. de Sacy in *Anthologie grammaticale arabe*, Paris 1829, ar. text p. 109, but note that as well as *ta'bīd* 'perpetuation', a milder variant is offered, viz. *ta'yīd*, which means no more than 'reinforcement'). This view is the result of az-Zamaḵšarī's adherence to the hyper-rationalist Muᶜtazila sect (q.v. *E.I.* (1)), one of whose aims was the removal of

يخلقوا ذبابا الذي تمسك به الزمخشري لمذهبه الباطل وهو عدم رؤية الله تعالى
في الاخرة وفسر به قوله تعالى لن تراني فلامر خارجي لا من مقتضيات لن ويبرح
فعل مضارع منصوب بلن وعلامة نصبه الفتحة وزيد فاعل مرفوع بيبرح وعلامة رفعه
الضمة ولما فرغ من الفتحة التي هي الاصل في علامات النصب شرع فيما ينوب عنها
فقال واما الالف فتكون علامة للنصب في الاسماء الخمسة المتقدمة في علامات الرفع
نحو رأيت اباك واخاك فرأيت فعل وفاعل واباك واخاك منصوبان برأى وعلامة
نصبهما الالف نيابة عن الفتحة والكاف مجرورة بالاضافة وما اشبه ذلك من نحو
رأيت حماك وفاك وذا مال واما الكسرة فتكون علامة للنصب في جمع المؤنث السالم
نيابة عن الفتحة نحو خلق الله السماوات فخلق الله فعل وفاعل مرفوع بخلق
والسماوات مفعول به وقيل مفعول مطلق وعلى كل فهو منصوب بخلق وعلامة نصبه

Qur'anic *lan yak̲luqū d̲ubāban* 'they shall not create a fly' according to the opinion of az-Zamak̲šarī[6] (because of his allegiance to that vain school of thought which denies that we shall see God in the afterlife), which he appeals to in his exegesis of the Qur'anic *lan tarānī* 'you shall not see me',[7] is due to some external factor and is not necessarily implied by *lan*. To resume: *yabraḥa* 'he (may) go forth' is an imperfect tense verb made dependent by *lan* 'not' with *a* as its dependence marker and *zaydun* 'Zayd' is an agent made independent by *yabraḥa* with *u* as its independence marker. Having dealt with *a*, which is the basic dependence marker, the author now turns to what replaces it:

3.61 *ā* is the marker of dependence in the 'five nouns',[1] mentioned above under the independence markers, e.g. *ra'aytu 'abāka wa-'ak̲āka* 'I saw your father and your brother', (where *ra'aytu* 'I saw' is a verb and agent, *'abāka* 'your father' and *'ak̲āka* 'your brother' are both made dependent by *ra'ā* 'to see'[2] with *ā* as their dependence marker instead of *a*, and *ka* 'your' is made oblique by annexation), and the like, such as *ra'aytu ḥamāka wa-fāka wa-d̲ā mālin* 'I saw your father-in-law, your mouth and the possessor of wealth';

3.62 *i* is the marker of dependence in the sound feminine plural,[1] instead of *a*, e.g. *k̲alaqa llāhu s-samāwāti* 'God created the heavens',[2] where *k̲alaqa llāhu* 'God created' is a verb and agent made independent by the verb *k̲alaqa* 'to create' and *as-samāwāti* 'the heavens' is a direct object (some say, however, that it is an absolute object),[3] made dependent in either case by *k̲alaqa*, with *i* as its dependence marker instead of *a*.

anthropomorphism from speculation about God.

(6) S. 22 v 73. Az-Zamakšarī, 1075-1144 (*G.A.L.* I, 289), is best known for his elegantly structured *Mufaṣṣal* (which formed the basis of Howell's huge work), on which he wrote his own commentary and of which the *Unmūḏaj* is itself an abridgement (see previous note). His great Qur'ān commentary, the *Kaššāf*, was felt to be too heterodox and was eventually purified and condensed in the version of al-Bayḍāwī.

(7) S. 7 v 143, God speaking to Moses (cf. *Kaššāf* I, 349). In his own Qur'ān Commentary, I, 491-2, aš-Širbīnī refutes at length the implications of az-Zamakšarī's interpretation (which effectively denies the Beatific Vision) and, for good measure, the three other verses already cited here. The 'external factor' in S. 22 v 73 is simply that man will never be able to create a fly in any case, with or without *lan*! Again aš-Širbīnī is using al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* II, 229.

3.61 (1) See 3.42. Note that 'mouth' has an alternative, completely regular biliteral set (cf. 3.42 n 1), *famun* 'a mouth', *al-famu* 'the mouth', *famī* 'my mouth', *famuka* 'your (masc. sing.) mouth' etc., dep. forms *faman, al-fama, famaka* etc., obl. *famin, al-fami, famika* etc. In the *fūka/fāka/fīka* set note *fiyya* 'my mouth' (cf. 3.421 n 3).

(2) See 3.52 n 3 for the practice of quoting verbs in the 3rd masc. sing. past tense. Verbs with a weak 3rd radical present problems similar to those of *al-fatā* in 2.5, in that the 3rd masc. sing. past tense seems to be reduced from **ra'aya* to *ra'ā* and the fem. sing. from **ra'āt* to *ra'at*. Bravmann (*Arabica* 18, 213-5) suggests, however, that the masc. *ra'ā* at one time had a short variant **ra'a*, from which the fem. *ra'at* was derived quite regularly by suffixing the fem. marker *t* (5.01). Paradigm of this verb in 10.65 nn 1, 3.

3.62 (1) See 3.23. It is suggested that the *i* vowel arose by dissimilation from **āta* to *āti* (Fleisch, *Tr.* #59d).

(2) S. 29 v 44 and S. 45 v 22. The word *samāwātun* and its singular *samā'un* show alternation of *'* and the weak radical *w*. This alternation (called *'ibdāl*, lit. 'replacement' and cognate with the syntactic term *badal* 'substitution', q.v. ch. 14) occurs in both directions: in *qaḍā'un* 'judgement', for example, the weak 3rd radical *y* is replaced by *'*, as is weak 3rd rad. *w* in *ṣafā'un* 'purity', while in the opposite direction the non-radical *'* of the fem. suffix *ā'* (3.89 (2)) is replaced by *w*, e.g. *ṣaḥrāwātun* 'deserts', to which category *samā'un/ samāwātun* belongs. *Muf.* #682; *Alf.* v 942; Fleisch, *Tr.* #50, 63d, g; for *'ibdāl* denoting etymological alternation of radicals see *E.I.* (2), art. 'Ibdāl', Yushmanov 34.

(3) We are not told in aš-Širbīnī's immediate source (al-Azharī, *Āj.* 29) whose opinion this is, but from what al-Azharī says in *Taṣr.* I, 79f, we learn that this is a theological, not grammatical matter: as the ultimate 'agent', God acts 'absolutely', and what He creates is not 'direct objects' but 'absolute objects'. See ch. 17 for the absolute object, and 5.751 n 1 for more theological intrusions.

الكسرة نيابة عن الفتحة واما الياء فتكون علامة للنصب في التثنية وهي ما وضع
لاثنين واغنى عن (12b) المتعاطفين فما وضع جنس ولاثنين فصل اول مخرج لما وضع
لاقل كرجلان او لاكثر كصنوان واغنى عن المتعاطفين فصل ثان مخرج لنحو كلا وكلتا
وشفع وزوج ودخل فيه تثنية المفرد المذكر اسما كان او وصفا نحو رأيت الزيدين
المسلمين والمؤنث نحو رأيت الهندين المسلمتين وتثنية الجمع المكسر كالجمالين
وتثنية اسم الجمع كالركبين وتثنية اسم الجنس كالغنمين فالزيدين وما عطف عليه
منصوب برأى وعلامة نصبه الياء المفتوح ما قبلها المكسور ما بعدها تنبيه يشترط
في كل ما ثني عند الاكثرين ثمانية شروط الاول الافراد فلا يثنى المثنى ولا
المجموع جمع تصحيح ولا الجمع الذي لا نظير له في الاحاد كالمساجد ومصابيح الثاني
الاعراب فلا يثنى المبني واما نحو ذان وتان واللذان واللتان فصيغ موضوعة للمثنى
وليست مثناة حقيقة على الاصح عند جمهور البصريين الثالث عدم التركيب فلا
يثنى المركب تركيب اسناد ولا مزج على الاصح واما المركب تركيب اضافة من الاعلام

3.63 <u>*ay* is the marker of dependence in the dual,</u>[1] i.e. the form which conventionally denotes two things and makes it unnecessary *(12b)* to coordinate one with the other: 'conventionally denotes' is a generic expression,[2] 'two things' is a primary differentiation which excludes those words that conventionally denote less than two, e.g. *rajlānu* 'a man on foot' or more than two, e.g. *ṣinwānun* 'male relatives', and 'makes it unnecessary to coordinate one with the other' is a secondary differentiation which excludes such words as *kilā* 'both' (masc.), *kiltā* 'both' (fem.),[3] *šafᶜun* 'pair' and *zawjun* 'couple'.

3.64 In this category belong the dual of the masculine singular, whether noun or adjective, e.g. *ra'aytu z-zaydayni l-muslimayni* 'I saw the two Muslim Zayds',[1] of the feminine singular, e.g. *ra'aytu l-hindayni l-muslimatayni* 'I saw the two Muslim Hinds', of the broken plural, e.g. *al-jimālayni* 'the two herds of camels', of the collective noun,[2] e.g. *ar-rakbayni* 'the two parties of riders', and of the generic noun, e.g. *al-ḡanamayni* 'the two flocks of sheep'. Here *az-zaydayni* 'the two Zayds' and everything coordinated with it are made dependent by *ra'ā* 'to see' and their dependence marker is *ay* (spelt with *a* before the *y* and *i* after it)[3] because they are all dual.

3.65 Note: Most hold that there are eight conditions for dualizing:[1]

(1) The word must be singular;[2] duals are not made from other duals, from sound plurals, nor from those patterns which are unique to the plural, such as *masājidu* 'mosques', *maṣābīḥu* 'lamps'.

(2) The word must be inflected; duals are not made from invariable words. As far as *ḏāni* 'these two' (masc.), *tāni* 'these two' (fem.), *allaḏāni* 'who' (masc. dual) and *allatāni* 'who' (fem. dual) are concerned, they are forms which conventionally denote the dual but are not themselves true duals, at least according to the soundest view, which is held by the majority of Baṣrans.[3]

(3) The word must not be compound;[4] according to the soundest view, duals are not made from words which also happen to be predicative[5] or

3.63 (1) From here to the end of 3.65 may be taken as illustrative of late medieval scholarship: it is a slight abridgement of al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* I, 66-7, i.e. al-Azharī's comments on Ibn Hišām's comments on Ibn Mālik's *Alfiyya*, offered to us by aš-Širbīnī as his comments on the *Ājurrūmiyya*!

(2) This is a good specimen of 'rational dichotomy' (1.2 n 2): the 'generic expression' denotes all words referring to pairs whether dual or not, from which first those words in which the *ān* is not a dual suffix (cf. 3.72 n 2, 3.89 (7)) are excluded, and second those which do denote pairs but are not morphologically dual are excluded.

(3) Apart from not having a singular, these are excluded on the grounds that they can denote two different entities, cf. 13.43.

3.64 (1) Note that proper nouns become formally defined in the dual and plural, cf. 3.65 n 8.

(2) The grammarians identify various semantic categories of nouns: proper noun, *ism ᶜalam*, 11.72; common noun, *ism jins*, 23.31, either abstract, *ism maᶜnā* or concrete, *ism ᶜayn*, 24.21; collective noun, *ism jamᶜ*. The collective noun denotes groups from which the individual cannot be isolated and contrasts with the generic noun (*ism jins*, note overlap of terminology with the common noun), whose fem. sing. denotes an individual, e.g. *naḥlun* 'bees (as a class)', *naḥlatun* 'a bee' (the example in our text, *ḡanam*, is badly chosen, cf. Lane). On the many formal categories of noun cf. 19.31 n 1.

(3) The spelling instructions (cf. 3.44 n 2) are here a device for contrasting the dual *a(yn)i* with the masc. plur. *i(yn)a* (2.43 n 2).

3.65 (1) General references at 3.43 n 1.

(2) Dual of sound plur. would result in suffixation of two incompatible elements (masc. plur. 3.41, fem. plur. 3.23). Duals of broken plur. are possible (example in 3.64) but objections to dual of *masājidu* etc. are twofold: (a) no sing. nouns ever have these patterns (3.221 n 1), hence they lack the unitary (collective) connotation which allows, for example, *jimālun* '(group of) camels' in 3.64 to be dualized; (b) these patterns are already felt to be about as lengthy as the morphology of Arabic will allow (cf. 1.44 n 1) and further suffixation is unwieldy.

(3) This problem is discussed again in 11.733, at which see note 2 for details. As a controversy between 'Baṣrans' and 'Kūfans' (see 9.4 n 3) it has a rather spurious air, as it is not found in the early anthologies of their disputes. It may date back no further than the time of Ibn Yaᶜīš (died 1245), who refers to it in his commentary on *Mufaṣṣal* #171.

(4) On *murakkab* 'compound' in general see 1.12 n 1.

(5) *murakkab 'isnādī*, q.v. at 3.411 n 4.

(6) *murakkab mazajī*, q.v. at 3.411 n 5.

(7) *murakkab 'iḍāfī*, cf. also 11.723. The dual of *ᶜabdu llāhi* is thus

فيستغنى بتثنية المضاف عن تثنية المضاف اليه الرابع التنكير فلا يثنى العلم
باقيا على علميته بل ينكر ثم يثنى الخامس اتفاق اللفظ واما نحو الابوان للاب
والام فمن باب التغليب السادس اتفاق المعنى فلا يثنى المشترك ولا الحقيقة والمجاز
واما قولهم القلم احد اللسانين فشاذ السابع ان لا يستغنى بتثنية غيره عن تثنيته
فلا يثنى سواء لانهم استغنوا بتثنية سي عن تثنيته فقالوا سيان ولم يقولوا
سواآن الثامن ان يكون له ثان في الوجود فلا يثنى الشمس ولا القمر واما قولهم
القمران للشمس والقمر فمن باب التغليب كما مر وذكرت وجه التغليب في شرح
القطر فليراجعه من (13a) اراد وفيما ذكرت كفاية وتكون الياء ايضا علامة للنصب
في الجمع السالم المذكر نحو اكرمت الزيدين فاكرمت فعل وفاعل مرفوع باكرم

mixed compounds.[6] As far as annexed compounds[7] are concerned, dualizing the annexed noun renders dualizing the noun to which it is annexed superfluous.

(4) The word must be undefined; proper names are not dualized by leaving them in their proper name status, but are first made undefined and then dualized.[8]

(5) The stem-form[9] must remain the same; *'abawāni* 'two fathers', i.e. both parents, father and mother, is simply a case of usage predominating.

(6) The meaning must remain the same; duals are not made from equivocal words,[10] nor of the literal with the metaphorical: *al-qalamu 'aḥadu l-lisānayni* 'the pen is one of the two tongues' is a rare exception.

(7) There should not already be an alternative dual form which renders dualizing unnecessary; *sawā'un* 'like, else, other etc.' does not have a dual because the dual of *siyyun* 'like etc.' makes it unnecessary, and people say *siyyāni* 'two like etc.' instead of *sawā'āni*.[11]

(8) There should be a second in existence; there is no dual of *aš-šamsu* 'the sun' or *al-qamaru* 'the moon'. The expression *al-qamarāni* lit. 'the two moons', meaning the sun and moon together is a case of usage predominating.[12] I have explained the manner of this predominance in my *Commentary on Qaṭr an-nadā*, and whoever *(13a)* wishes may look it up there, where I have said more or less all there is to say on it.[13]

3.71 <u>*ī*</u> is a marker of dependence <u>in the plural,</u>[1] i.e. the sound masculine plural, e.g. *'akramtu z-zaydīna* 'I honoured the Zayds', where

^{c}abdā llāhi 'the two ^{c}Abdullāhs', lit. 'the two servants of God'. (Note that in the dep./obl. *^{c}abdayi llāhi* a glide vowel is required between the two elements, v. 11.1 n 2). Duals and plurals of these nouns are naturally rare, and are hardly touched upon by grammarians; *Kitāb* II, 103 has a short chapter on the topic, where (reflecting the lack of unanimity?) no less than three plurals of *^{c}abdu llāhi* are offered as free variants: two broken, viz. *^{c}abīdu llāhi, ^{c}ibādu llāhi,* and a sound plur. *^{c}abdū llāhi*. In *Muf.* #10 the broken plur. *^{c}abādilatu* is used casually without comment, explained by Ibn Ya^{c}īš ad loc. as formed from the root letters of the name *^{c}abdu llāhi* (cf. 1.0 n 1).

(8) Proper names are defined by nature (11.72), and presence or absence of the definite article is a matter of convention (cf. 11.82 n 4). But the article always appears in the dual and plural, because it alone can define a word which now refers to more than one person or place (cf. Nöldeke 29). Though the Arab analysis has a flavour of deep structure about it, it is more probably based on a correct grasp of the Arabs' own intuitive feelings about proper names and definition.

(9) 'Stem-form' renders *lafẓ*, lit. 'expression, utterance' (as in 1.11) but here clearly meaning that there should be no change in the pattern of the singular. Ibn ^{c}Aqīl on *Alf.* vv 32-4 puts it succinctly: a true dual is *ṣāliḥ li-t-tajrīd*, lit. 'appropriate to be stripped (of its dual suffix)' the residue being the original singular. The anomaly in *'abawāni* is the restoration of a missing 3rd radical before suffixation (cf. 4.71 n 1); moreover the conditions of sub-para. (8) below probably apply. On 'usage predominating' see n 12 below.

(10) Equivocal words (*muštarik*) are those with more than one meaning, whose duals ought then to be confined to a single meaning. The problem is discussed at length by al-Astarābāḏī in his commentary on *Kāfiya* II, 160: he finds its author, Ibn al-Ḥājib (12.912 n 3) somewhat radical in allowing duals to be applied to any two entities which in the speaker's mind share a common property, e.g. *al-'abyaḍāni* 'the two white ones', viz. a man and a horse (but in fact such pairings are not infrequent, and al-Astarābāḏī's objection possibly stems from the feeling that these quasi-proverbial usages are no longer productive). In addition Ibn al-Ḥājib is inconsistent in prohibiting duals of equivocal nouns in his *Kāfiya* while allowing them as rare exceptions in his commentary on the *Mufaṣṣal* (probably because the *Mufaṣṣal* is a more advanced work). Of the 'two tongues' here the other is the sword!

(11) It seems that in 13.7 aš-Širbīnī contradicts what he says here, but he has simply omitted to mention that *sawā'āni* is relatively rare.

(12) 'Usage predominating' translates *taḡlīb*, lit. 'overwhelming, prevalence'. Here and in sub-para. (5) above this translation has been chosen to signify the implicit admission of defeat by the prescriptive grammarians, acknowledging that their system cannot accommodate all the observed phenomena of the language. A similar phrase, 'predominant usage' has been used to render the cognate term *ḡālib*, lit. 'prevalent, conquering', but this is applied to the overall situation (e.g. 19.3,

والزيدين مفعول به منصوب باكرم وعلامة نصبه الياء المكسور ما قبلها المفتوح ما
بعدها نيابة عن الفتحة تنبيه انما اطلق الجمع مع ان المراد جمع المذكر السالم
كما قيدت به كلامه لكونها على حد المثنى فاذا ذكر الجمع مع المثنى انصرف الى
الجمع المذكر السالم لانه اخوه في الاعراب بالحروف واما حذف النون فيكون علامة
للنصب في الافعال الخمسة التي رفعها بثبات النون وقد مر ان كل فعل مضارع
اتصل به ضمير تثنية او واو جمع او ياء المؤنثة المخاطبة نحو يضربان وتضربان
ويضربون وتضربون وتضربين فاذا دخل عليهما الناصب حذف النون فتقول لن
يضربا ولن تضربا ولن يضربوا ولن تضربوا ولن تضربي فهذه الافعال الخمسة
منصوبة بلن وعلامة نصبها حذف النون نيابة عن الفتحة والالف والواو والياء
فاعل في محل رفع بالافعال الخمسة واسماء لاسناد الفعل اليها ولما فرغ من معرفة

'akramtu 'I honoured' is a verb and agent made independent by *'akrama* 'to honour' and *az-zaydīna* is a direct object made dependent by *'akrama* 'to honour', with *ī* (spelt with *i* before the *y* and *a* after it)[2] as its dependence marker instead of *a*.

3.72 Note: He only uses the unqualified term 'plural' while meaning the sound masculine plural (as I specified in my gloss)[1] because it follows the same principles as the dual.[2] Thus when the plural is mentioned alongside the dual it is taken to refer to the sound masculine plural because it is related[3] to the dual in that both are inflected with long vowels.

3.73 and elision of *n* is the marker of dependence in the verbs which retain it in their independent form.[1] This means the 'five verbs'. It has already been said[2] that every imperfect tense verb with pronoun suffixes (whether the dual *ā*, the plural *ū*[3] or the feminine *ī*, as in *yaḍribāni* 'they two (masc.) strike', *taḍribāni* 'you two (masc. & fem.) strike, they two (fem.) strike', *yaḍribūna* 'they (masc.) strike', *taḍribūna* 'you (masc. plur.) strike' and *taḍribīna* 'you (fem. sing.) strike') has its *n* elided when preceded by an operator of dependence, so that you say *lan yaḍribā* 'they two (masc.) will not strike', *lan taḍribā* 'they two (fem.) will not strike, you two (masc. & fem.) will not strike', *lan yaḍribū* 'they (masc.) will not strike', *lan taḍribū* 'you (masc. plur.) will not strike', *lan taḍribī* 'you (fem. sing.) will not strike'. These five verbs are made dependent by *lan* 'not',[4] with elision of *n* as their dependence marker instead of *a*. The *ā*, *ū* and *ī* are agents with independent status[5] through their verbs, and are nouns because the action is predicated of them.

Having acquainted us with the markers of dependence, the author now turns to the markers of obliqueness.

19.6) rather than to isolated anomalies, and indeed means little more than 'on the whole'.

(13) Here one particularly regrets the disappearance of this work, as it is one of the few places where aš-Širbīnī appears to have substantially differed from his usual source, al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* I, 67: instead of ascribing *al-qamarāni* to 'usage predominating', al-Azharī says it is 'figurative' (*majāzī*, cf. 13.3 n 1).

3.71 (1) See 3.42 n 2 on whether *ī* is an inflection marker at all. Note that proper nouns which may not have had a definite article in the singular nevertheless have one in the plural, cf. 3.65 n 8.

(2) See 3.44 n 2 on spelling instructions; the intention here is to contrast the vowel sequence of the masc. plur. *i(yn)a* (cf. 2.43 n 2) with the vowels of the dual *a(yn)i*.

3.72 (1) i.e. at 3.71.

(2) The dual and sound masc. plur. are structurally so similar that they are often treated together, cf. *Jum.* 23 for a good example. It is, coincidentally, also true that the *ān* suffix occurs as a plural morpheme in other Semitic languages (Moscati #12.41-42) as well as on some Arabic broken plurals (Fleisch 88).

(3) Lit. it is the 'brother' of the dual, one of the personifications which are typical of Arabic grammar and which go back to the earliest period (cf. also 3.1 n 2). On 'inflected with long vowels' see 4.02 n 1.

3.73 (1) See 3.45.

(2) This is a slight overstatement: in 3.241 and 3.45 aš-Širbīnī has merely implied that the loss of *n* is a dependence marker. The term 'elision' renders *ḥaḏf*, lit. 'cutting off (with a sword etc.)', which in grammar is applied to elision on two levels: on the syntactic level *ḥaḏf* denotes the elision of a syntactic unit such as the subject or predicate of an equational sentence (9.9), a noun or its adjectival qualifier (11.61), the antecedent of a circumstantial qualifier (19.8) etc. On the morphological level elision is normally phonemic, as here, but non-phonemic elision also occurs, e.g. in the vocative (23.61-62). For elision in its most characteristic function, i.e. as a marker of the apocopated verb, see further in 3.9 n 2. Note that elision of final short vowels is not termed *ḥaḏf*, cf. 3.91 n 1 and, on the special case of the reduction of word endings in utterance final position ('pausal form'), see 2.14 n 2.

(3) See 3.241 n 3 on the similarity between these and nominal morphemes.

(4) See 5.42 on *lan*, and cf. 3.53.

(5) On 'status' see 5.81 n 3. That verbs are predicates of their agents has already been illustrated by the examples in 1.6 and is formally stated in the definition of the agent in 7.01. An early discussion of this topic is in az-Zajjājī, *Īḍāḥ* 119 (summarized by as-Suyūṭī, *Ašbāh* I, 85), whose central notion is that verbs are by nature undefined and

علامات النصب شرع في معرفة علامات الخفض فقال وللخفض ثلاث علامات الاولى الكسرة وهي الاصل ولذلك قدمها والثانية الياء وقدمها على ما بعدها لانها بنت الكسرة والثالثة الفتحة وختم بها لانها اخت الكسرة في التحريك ولكل من هذه العلامات مواضع تخصها فاما الكسرة فتكون علامة للخفض في ثلاث مواضع الموضع الاول في الاسم المفرد المنصرف وهو الاسم المتمكن الامكن نحو مررت ببكر وسمي منصرفا لدخول تنوين الصرف فيه وهو المسمى بتنوين التمكين والموضع الثاني في جمع التكسير المنصرف نحو مررت برجال وهنود وسيأتي ان غير المنصرف يخفض بالفتحة والموضع الثالث في جمع المؤنث السالم ولا يكون الا منصرفا فلذا لم يقيده المصنف بذلك سواء اكان في الاسماء نحو مررت(13b) بالهندات او من الصفات نحو مررت بالمسلمات ومحل ذلك اذا لم يكن علما والا جاز فيه الصرف وعدمه واما الياء فتكون علامة للخفض في ثلاث مواضع الموضع الاول في الاسماء الخمسة نحو مررت بابيك واخيك وحميك وفيك وذي مال فمررت فعل وفاعل مرفوع بالفعل وبابيك جار ومجرور وما بعده معطوف عليه مشارك له في خفضه بالباء وعلامة الخفض في

3.8 Obliqueness[1] has three markers, (1) *i*, which is the basic one and for that reason he puts it first, (2) *ī/ay*,[2] which he puts before the next because it is closely related to *i*, and (3) *a*. This is put last because it is distantly related to *i* in being a short vowel. Each of these three markers has its own particular functions.

3.81 *i* is the marker of obliqueness in three places: (1) in the fully declinable singular noun,[1] i.e. the fully established and stable noun, e.g. *marartu bi-bakrin* 'I passed by Bakr'. (It is called 'fully declinable' because it bears the *tanwīn* of currency, also known as the *tanwīn* of establishment);

3.82 (2) in the fully declinable broken plural,[1] e.g. *marartu bi-rijālin wa-hunūdin* 'I passed by men and Hinds'. It will later emerge that the semi-declinable nouns have *a* when oblique.[2]

3.83 (3) in the sound feminine plural.[1] This is always fully declinable,[2] hence the author does not specify it as such. It applies equally to nouns, e.g. *marartu (13b) bi-l-hindāti* 'I passed by the Hinds' and to adjectives, e.g. *marartu bi-l-muslimāti* 'I passed by the female Muslims', but only when they are not proper names (otherwise they may be fully or semi-declinable).[3]

3.84 And *ī/ay*[1] is the marker of obliqueness in three places: (1) in the 'five nouns', e.g. *marartu bi-'abīka wa-'akīka wa-ḥamīka wa-fīka wa-ḏī mālin* 'I passed by your father, your brother, your father-in-law, your mouth and the possessor of wealth'.[2] Here *marartu* 'I passed' is a verb and agent made independent by its verb, *bi-'abīka* 'by your father' is an operator of obliqueness and oblique element,[3] and what follows is coordinated with it and shares in its obliqueness through *bi* 'by', the

predicative because (op. cit. 108-9) they do not denote 'named entities' (*musammayāt*) but are only 'references' (*'adilla*) to things (cf. Versteegh 71, 140).

3.8 (1) 'Obliqueness' renders *k̲afḍ*, lit. 'lowering' (antonym of the case name *raf*^{c} 'independence', but lit. 'raising', 3.1). Once again, the translation merely reflects the approximate function of 'oblique elements' (ch. 26), leaving the origin of this term unexplained. The primitive connection with 'building' (3.1 n 1) is reinforced by the literal meanings of some other grammatical terms, e.g. *'isnād*, lit. 'propping up' (predication, 9.1 n 1), *'iḍāfa*, lit. 'inclining' (annexation, 26.7 n 1), *'imāla*, lit. 'leaning', (raising back *a* to front *a* in environment of *i*), *binā'*, lit. 'building' (invariability, 1.4 n 4), and most of the terminology of Arabic prosody (cf. *E.I.* (2), art. '^{c}*Arūḍ*'). To complicate matters there is an alternative term for obliqueness, *jarr*, lit. 'dragging', see further 26.0 n 1.

(2) See 3.5 n 2 on the transliteration *ī/ay*; 3.1 n 2 on 'related'.

3.81 (1) On the features of full declinability see 1.41. Paradigms of fully declinable nouns at 4.11 n 1.

3.82 (1) Broken plur. 3.22; paradigms at 4.12 n 2.

(2) 3.87. Semi-declinable nouns have *a* when oblique regardless of whether they are sing. or plur.

3.83 (1) Sound fem. plur. 3.23; paradigm at 4.13 n 2.

(2) An important issue is raised here: sound fem. plurals do not have three case endings (cf. paradigm at 4.13 n 2), hence 'fully declinable' may seem to be inappropriate. Such a translation is justified by the fact that most fully declinable nouns have three case endings, but at the same time it obscures the assumptions behind the Arabic term: by comparison with 1.41 (and contrast 18.41) it is clear that 'fully declinable' refers to the ability of a noun to take the indefinite suffix *n* (*tanwīn*, 1.4), which is normally associated with the three case endings, with the exception of the dual and suffix plurals. In *Kl. Schr.* I, 308 Fleischer argues (against all the Arab grammarians) that full declinability (*ṣarf*) refers to the three case endings; this may be contrasted with the views of Diem, *Z.D.M.G.* 125, 248, that the *n* suffix (and its Proto-Semitic correlative *m*) was once an integral part of the inflectional suffix and had nothing to do with definition. See further 3.87 n 3, 18.4 n 1.

(3) See 11.72 on proper names; 3.89 gives the types of proper names which are semi-declinable.

3.84 (1) See 3.5 n 2 on the transliteration *ī/ay*.

(2) 3.42. Another example: *d̲ī* in the poem quoted in 1.51, made oblique by *bi* in the previous hemistich (q.v. 10.18 n 4).

(3) The rather clumsy translation is an attempt to preserve the structure of the Arabic *jārr wa-majrūr*, which in turn is a reflection

الخمسة الياء نيابة عن الكسرة والكاف في الخمسة مخفوضة بالمضاف والموضع الثاني
في التثنية سواء اكانت لمذكر نحو مررت بالزيدين ام لمؤنث نحو مررت
بالهندين فالزيدين والهندين مخفوض بالباء الموحدة وعلامة رفعه الياء المفتوح ما
قبلها نيابة عن الكسرة والموضع الثالث في الجمع ولم يقيده بالسالم المذكر لما
مرت الاشارة اليه نحو مررت بالزيدين فالزيدين مخفوض بالباء الموحدة وعلامة خفضه
الياء المكسورة ما قبلها نيابة عن الكسرة واما الفتحة فتكون علامة للخفض في
الاسم الذي لا ينصرف والصرف عبارة عن التنوينات الاربعة الخاصة بالاسم كما قال
ابن مالك لان الاسم ان اشبه الحرف بني وسمي غير متمكن وان لم يشبه الحرف
اعرب ثم المعرب ان اشبه الفعل منع من الصرف وسمي غير امكن وان لم يشبه
الفعل صرف وسمي امكن وموانع الصرف تسعة جمعها ابن النحاس في بيت بقوله

obliqueness marker in all five being *ī* instead of *i*.[4] The *ka* 'your' in all five is made oblique by what is annexed to it.

3.85 (2) in the dual,[1] whether masculine, as in *marartu bi-z-zaydayni* 'I passed by the two Zayds' or feminine, as in *marartu bi-l-hindayni* 'I passed by the two Hinds', where *az-zaydayni* 'the two Zayds' and *al-hindayni* 'the two Hinds' are made oblique by *bi* 'by' (spelt with one dot below), their obliqueness marker being *ay* (spelt with *a* before the *y*)[2] instead of *i*;

3.86 (3) in the plural.[1] He does not specify this as the sound masculine plural for the reason already given.[2] Example: *marartu bi-z-zaydīna* 'I passed by the Zayds', where *az-zaydīna* 'the Zayds' is made oblique by *bi* 'by' (spelt with one dot below), with *ī* (spelt with *i* before the *y*) as its obliqueness marker instead of *i*.

3.87 And *a* is the marker of obliqueness in the semi-declinable noun.[1] Full declinability refers to the four kinds of *tanwīn* which are peculiar to the noun (as Ibn Mālik[2] says), because if a noun resembles a particle it is invariable and termed 'not fully established', while if it does not resemble a particle it is inflected: then, if the inflected noun resembles a verb, it is prevented from full declinability and is termed 'not fully stable', while if it does not resemble a verb, it is fully declined and termed 'stable'.[3]

3.88 The factors preventing full declinability[1] are nine, and have been collected by Ibn an-Naḥḥās into one line of verse:[2]

of the Arab analytical method: *jārr* is an active participle meaning 'oblique-maker' and *majrūr* is a passive participle meaning 'made oblique'. Together these form the elements of the function named by the verbal noun *jarr* '(the action of) making oblique'. What this triad implies (and which is clearly borne out by practice, see Carter, *J.A.O.S.* 93, 146-157), is that elements of utterances occur in pairs (binary units), one active, operating on the other, passive one (cf. 2.11). In many cases the function involves a particle, which itself is the active element, e.g. function 'negation' (*nafy*, verbal noun, 'action of negating'), active element *ḥarf nafy* 'particle of negation' (cf. 1.92 n 1), passive element *manfī* 'that which is negated' (passive participle from *nafy* 'negation').

(4) The oblique form *fī* 'mouth' underlies the preposition *fī* 'in', apparently contracted from *bi-fī* 'in the mouth of' (cf. 26.25).

3.85 (1) 3.43; paradigm at 4.5 n 1.

(2) On the spelling instructions see 3.71 n 2.

3.86 (1) 3.41.

(2) 3.72.

3.87 (1) *Jum.* 224; *Muf.* #18; *Alf.* v 649; *Qaṭr* 367; Fleisch 39, *Tr.* #55a. The best bibliography for this topic is by Diem, *Z.D.M.G.* 125, 257-8, to which add: Fleisch, *Tr.* #56c; Lekiashvili, *Arch. Or.* 39, 57-69; Rabin in *Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honor of H.A.R. Gibb*, ed. G.Makdisi, Leiden 1965, 547-62; Vychychl, *Muséon* 82, 207-12. Perhaps the attempt to find a single explanation for all the types of diptosis is not the best way: assimilative tendencies are very strong in Arabic and it is possible that more than one kind of irregularity has been combined into the same paradigm. See further 3.89 n 12.

(2) 1.41; aš-Širbīnī is actually quoting al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* II, 210, where the reference is to the Commentary on the *Kāfiya* by Ibn Mālik (on whom see 1.02 n 2). Note yet another example of 'rational dichotomy' in the ensuing lines: further to 1.2 n 2, cf. now the description of the use of this procedure to determine the three parts of speech by B. Weiss, *Arabica* 23, 23-36. Cf. also van Ess in *Logic in Classical Islamic Culture*, ed. G. von Grunebaum, Wiesbaden 1970, 40f.

(3) Observe that there are degrees of declinability: (a) invariable (*mabnī*, cf. 1.41 n 4), e.g. *man* 'who', *'anā* 'I' and nouns with implicit inflection like *ḥublā* (4.2 n 2 (c)). (b) semi-declinable (*ḡayr munṣarif, ḡayr 'amkan*, cf. 1.41 n 1), e.g. *'aḥmadu* 'Ahmad' and others listed in 3.89. (c) fully declinable (*mutamakkin 'amkan*, cf. 1.41 n 1), e.g. *rajulun* 'man', *farasun* 'horse' etc.
Paradigms: fully decl. 4.11 n 1; semi-decl. 4.32 n 1; invariable 4.2 n 2 (and cf. 2.5 on implicit inflection).

3.88 (1) A close translation of *mawāni*^{c} *aṣ-ṣarf*, cf. *Muf.* #18; *Alf.* v 649; *Qaṭr* 367.

(2) Both the verses quoted here are among several of similar content

وزن المركب عجمة تعريفها عدل ووصف الجمع زد تأنيثا
وقال غيره
اجمع وزن عادلا انث بمعرفة ركب وزد عجمة فالوصف قد كملا
وحاصل ذلك ان ما كان على صيغة منتهى الجموع نحو مررت بمساجد ومصابيح اوكان مختوما بالف التأنيث الممدودة كصحراء والمقصورة كحبلى او كان فيه العلمية والتركيب نحو معدي كرب او العلمية (14a) والتأنيث نحو زينب وفاطمة او العلمية والعجمة نحو ابراهيم وجميع اسماء الانبياء اعجمية الا اربعة محمد وصالح وشعيب وهود صلوات الله وسلامه عليهم اجمعين او العلمية ووزن الفعل نحو احمد ويزيد او

waznu l-murakkabi ^{c}ujmatun ta^{c}rīfuhā
^{c}adlun wa-waṣfun il-jam^{c}a zid ta'nīṯan

'(1) Verbal measure, (2) compound, (3) foreign, (4) defined, (5) anomalous, (6) epithet, (7) plural, (8) augmented, (9) feminine'.

Another grammarian put it as follows:

ijma^{c} wa-zin ^{c}ādilan 'anniṯ bi-ma^{c}rifatin
rakkib wa-zid ^{c}ujmatan fa-l-waṣfu qad kamala

'(1) plural, (2) verbal measure, (3) anomalous, (4) feminine, (5) defined, (6) compound, (7) augmented, (8) foreign, (9) epithet, and that is all'.

3.89 The gist of all this is that in the following cases:

(1) the most extreme plural pattern,[1] e.g. *marartu bi-masājida wa-maṣābīḥa* 'I passed by mosques and lamps',

(2) the long feminine *ā'* ending,[2] e.g. *ṣaḥrā'u* 'desert' or the short feminine *ā* ending, e.g. *ḥublā* 'pregnant',

(3) the combination of proper name and compound,[3] e.g. *ma^{c}dī karibu* 'Ma^{c}dīkarib',

(4) the combination of proper name *(14a)* and feminine,[4] e.g. *zaynabu* 'Zenobia', *fāṭimatu* 'Fāṭima',

(5) the combination of proper name and foreign word,[5] e.g. *'ibrāhīmu* 'Abraham' (all the names of the prophets are foreign except four, viz. *muḥammadun* 'Muhammad', *ṣāliḥun* 'Ṣāliḥ', *šu^{c}aybun* 'Šu^{c}ayb' and *hūdun* 'Hūd', may God bless them all and give them peace),

(6) the combination of proper name and verbal measure,[6] e.g. *'aḥmadu* 'Aḥmad', *yazīdu* 'Yazīd',

mentioned by as-Suyūṭī in *Ašbāh* II, 28-30, but there is disagreement about the attribution to Ibn an-Naḥḥās: aš-Širbīnī follows as-Suyūṭī in attributing the first verse to Ibn an-Naḥḥās, but al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* I, 84 and II, 210 attributes the second verse to Ibn an-Naḥḥās. The source of the confusion may be Ibn Hišām, *Qaṭr* 368, where the text is rather ambiguous and could be taken to mean (as it was by Goguyer and evidently by al-Azharī as well) that Ibn an-Naḥḥās was the author of the second verse. The error is perpetuated by Howell (I, 31) and thence *Schaw. Ind.* 212 in assigning the second verse to Ibn an-Naḥḥās. One would like to know why aš-Širbīnī fails to comment on this slip by his principal source, al-Azharī.
The Ibn an-Naḥḥās in question is Bahā' ad-Dīn Abū ᶜAbdullāh Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm, died 1299 (see *G.A.L.* I, 300), and was a pupil of Ibn Yaᶜīš and a master of Abu Ḥayyān (q.v. 26.7 n 2). He lived in an age when versification of grammar was endemic (cf. 21.61 n 6).
Needless to say, the translations offered here attempt no more than to list the categories by their most convenient English names!

3.89 (1) They are called the most extreme plural patterns because they embody the longest stem-forms permitted by Arabic prosodic structure (cf. 1.44 n 1), and are also termed 'patterns unique to the plural' (e.g. 3.65 (1)) because they never denote singulars (cf. 3.221 n 1). They are plurals of quadriliteral roots (cf. 10.37 n 1), either those with (a) four genuine radicals, e.g. *qindīlun* 'lamp', plur. *qanādīlu*, *jumjumatun* 'skull', plur. *jamājimu* (note reduplicated root), or (b) one or more augments treated as radicals, e.g. *masjidun* 'mosque' (prefix *ma* to triliteral root *s-j-d*), plur. *masājidu*, *ṣārūḵun* 'rocket' (root *ṣ-r-ḵ* augmented by lengthening internal vowels), plur. *ṣawārīḵu*. Paradigm is as 4.32 n 1 (poetic licence, 13.13). Beeston 38; Fleisch 93.

(2) The suffix *ā'* is called *'alif mamdūda*, lit. 'stretched *ā*', to contrast it with the other fem. suffix *ā*, called *'alif maqṣūra*, lit. 'shortened *ā*'. Fleisch, 27, suggests that differences in stress may have caused the two to evolve from a common original. Both have fallen together with other word endings: *ā'* is, however, fully declinable when the *'* represents an original weak 3rd rad. (*w* or *y*, cf. 3.62 n 2), *ā* is, of course, invariable whether as the fem. suffix or the reduction of a weak 3rd rad., as in *al-fatā*, 2.5, 4.2 n 2.

(3) The first element of these is uninflected, though in the earliest grammar there is evidence that they could be treated as annexed compounds, cf. *Kitāb* II, 49.

(4) The formulation is misleadingly brief: as well as natural feminine gender, this class embraces all proper names with the fem. marker *at* (11.42), including men's names (*ṭalḥatu*, 3.411), place names (*makkatu*, 11.721) and generic names (*'usāmatu*, 11.722). Cf. also 18.103.

(5) Of the four native prophets listed here, three are named in the Qur'ān as spiritual antecedents of the fourth, Muḥammad. On *'ibrāhīmu* see Jeffrey, op. cit. 3.412 n 3, 44.

(6) 'Measure' is literal for *wazn*, a near-synonym of *ṣūra* etc., 'form'

العلمية وزيادة الالف والنون نحو عثمان او العلمية والعدل نحو عمر او كان فيه
الوصف والعدل نحو مثنى وثلاث ورباع او الوصف ووزن الفعل نحو افضل او الوصف
وزيادة الالف والنون نحو سكران ولذلك شروط ذكرتها في شرح القطر فلا نطيل
بذكرها فهذه كلها تخفض بالفتحة نيابة عن الكسرة ما لم تضف او تتل ال فانها
حينئذ تخفض بالكسرة على الاصل نحو مررت بافضلكم وبالافضل وللجزم علامتان
السكون وهو حذف الحركة والحذف وهو سقوط حرف العلة وهي الالف والواو والياء
او سقوط النون من الافعال الخمسة كما سيأتي ولكل من السكون والحذف موضع يختص
به والسكون هو الاصل فلذلك بدأ به فقال فاما السكون فيكون علامة للجزم في الفعل
المضارع الصحيح الاخر وهو الذي ليس في اخره شيء من الف ولا واو ولا ياء نحو لم

(7) the combination of proper name and the augment *ān*,[7] e.g. *ᶜuṯmānu* 'ᶜUṯmān',

(8) the combination of proper name and anomaly,[8] e.g. *ᶜumaru* 'ᶜUmar',

(9) the combination of epithet and anomaly,[9] e.g. *maṯnā* 'in twos', *ṯulāṯu* 'in threes', *rubāᶜu* 'in fours',

(10) the combination of adjective and verbal measure,[10] e.g. *'afḍalu* 'most virtuous',

(11) the combination of adjective and the augment *ān*, e.g. *sakrānu* 'intoxicated' (though for this there are certain conditions which I have mentioned in my *Commentary on Qaṭr an-nadā* and will not go into here),[11]

all have *a* in the oblique form instead of *i*, providing that they are not annexed to another word or prefixed by *al* 'the', in which case they have the regular *i* in the oblique form, e.g. *marartu bi-'afḍalikum* 'I passed by the most virtuous of you', *marartu bi-l-'afḍali* 'I passed by the most virtuous'.[12]

3.9 Apocopation[1] has two markers, vowellessness, which is the elision of the short vowel, and elision.[2] This is the dropping of the defective consonant (i.e. *ā*, *ū* and *ī*) and of the *n* of the 'five verbs', as will be shown. Both vowellessness and elision have their own particular functions; as vowellessness is the basic form, the author treats it first.

3.91 Vowellessness[1] is the marker of apocopation in the imperfect tense verb of sound ending, (i.e. which does not end in *ā*, *ū* or *ī*) e.g. *lam*

(11.712 n 2). These names were indeed originally verbs, e.g. *yaṯribu*, the ancient name of Medina, and see further Fleisch, *Tr.* #91. For common nouns in this pattern see 11.61 n 6.

(7) The *ān* suffix has various functions, e.g. dual (3.43 n 1), broken plur. (Fleisch 88, *Tr.* #60f), fully declinable adjectival suffix (see 3.89 n 11), as well as semi-declinable suffix here (Fleisch, *Tr.* #97).

(8) The anomaly refers to the pattern of the word (10.37 n 1), it being felt that these words are deviations from more regular patterns. Thus, in the present case, *ᶜumaru* is regarded as a variety of the regular names *ᶜamrun* 'ᶜAmr' and *ᶜāmirun* 'ᶜĀmir'.

(9) The distributives are in a class by themselves, with the patterns *mafᶜalu* and *fuᶜālu* (the latter also occurs in some anomalous proper names, e.g. *suᶜādu* 'Suᶜād', cf. previous note).

(10) This is homologous with the 1st sing. imperfect *'afḍalu* 'I exceed' but the forms are historically unrelated. This class comprises (a) adjectives denoting colours or bodily defects (3.411 n 7), e.g. *'aḥmaru* 'red', fem. *ḥamrā'u*, comm. plur. *ḥumrun* (see 4.32 n 1), (b) 'elative' adjectives (20.4 n 1), e.g. *'afḍalu* 'best', fem. *fuḍlā* (4.2 n 2 (c)), both with sound plur. *'afḍalūna/fuḍlayātun* respectively.

(11) The work is lost, but the conditions may be simply stated: only those adjectives in *ān* which have their feminine in a different pattern (thus *sakrā* in the present instance) are semi-declinable. If they form their feminine with the regular suffix *at*, e.g. *ḥablānun* 'angry' fem. *ḥablānatun* they are fully declinable (cf. Fleisch, *Tr.* #55j).

(12) In other words they are fully declinable when formally defined. In most cases (types (3) to (9)) definition cannot be effected by prefixing the article *al*, but all can be defined by annexation (26.9) with greater or lesser plausibility (one may speak of 'the Mekka of the caliphs'), whereupon these nouns become completely regular. Behind this phenomenon doubtless lurks a partial explanation of the mystery of semi-declinable nouns: they are all, in one way or another, defined by nature, having an intensive or individualizing meaning. This being so, markers of indefinition are not found on them (except for the special case in 1.42), nor, by the same token, are markers of definition, unless for the purely external reasons outlined here.

3.9 (1) Termed *jazm*, lit. 'cutting off', possibly the clearest indication among the case/mood names that they refer to the sound (or perhaps the spelling) of the affected word, cf. 3.5 n 1.

(2) Elision (*ḥaḏf*, 3.73 n 2) in this context has two different consequences on the phonological level: (a) with the 'five verbs' the loss of the mood marker leaves a long vowel (see 3.93), (b) with the weak 3rd radical verbs the loss of the vowel lengthening marker leaves a short vowel (see 3.92 n 2). Both are regarded as 'elision' by the grammarians, because the problem for them is graphemic (cf. 2.43 n 2).

3.91 (1) Vowellessness (*sukūn*, see 4.01 n 1) is a negative marker,

ينصر فلم حرف نفي وجزم وينصر فعل مضارع مجزوم بلم وعلامة جزمه السكون على
الاصل واما الحذف فيكون علامة للجزم في موضعين الاول في الفعل المضارع المعتل
الاخر اي الذي اخره حرف من حروف العلة المتقدم ذكرها نحو لم يدع ولم يخش
ولم يرم فيدع ويخش ويرم مجزومة بلم وعلامة جزمها حذف حرف العلة نيابة عن
السكون فالمحذوف من يدع الواو والضمة قبلها دليل عليها والمحذوف من يخش
الالف والفتحة قبلها دليل عليها والمحذوف من يرم الياء والكسرة قبلها (14b)
دليل عليها والموضع الثاني في الافعال الخمسة التي رفعها بثبات النون وهي كل
فعل مضارع اتصل به ضمير تثنية او ضمير جمع لمذكر او ضمير المؤنثة المخاطبة
فتقول لم ينصرا ولم تنصري فهذه الافعال الخمسة مجزومة بلم وعلامة جزمها حذف
النون نيابة عن السكون والالف والواو والياء فاعل في محل رفع بالافعال الخمسة
تنبيه قد تقدم للمصنف في علامات الرفع ان الافعال الخمسة اذا رفعت بالتجرد
تكون علامة الرفع فيها ثبوت النون نيابة عن الضمة وفي علامات النصب ان الافعال

yanṣur 'he did not aid', where *lam* 'not' is a particle of negation and apocopation[2] and *yanṣur* 'he (might) aid' is an imperfect tense verb apocopated by *lam* 'not', with regular vowellessness as its apocopation marker.

3.92 Elision is the marker of apocopation in two places: (1) in the imperfect tense verb of weak ending, i.e. which ends in one of the above-mentioned defective consonants, e.g. *lam yad^{c}u* 'he did not call', *lam yak̲ša* 'he did not fear', *lam yarmi* 'he did not throw', where *yad^{c}u* 'he (might) call', *yak̲ša* 'he (might) fear' and *yarmi* 'he (might) throw' are all apocopated by *lam* 'not', with elision of their defective final consonant as their apocopation marker instead of vowellessness.[1] From *yad^{c}u* it is *w* which is elided and the preceding *u* remains as an indication, from *yak̲ša* it is *y* which is elided, with the preceding *a* remaining as an indication, and from *yarmi* it is *y* which is elided, indicated by the preceding *i*;[2] *(14b)*

3.93 (2) in the verbs (i.e. the 'five verbs') which retain their *n* when independent.[1] This means every imperfect tense verb suffixed with the dual, masculine plural and feminine singular pronouns: you say *lam yanṣurā* 'they two (masc.) did not aid', *lam yanṣurū* 'they (masc.) did not aid', *lam tanṣurī* 'you (fem. sing.) did not aid', and these 'five verbs' are all apocopated by *lam* 'not', with elision of *n* as their apocopation marker instead of vowellessness. The *ā*, *ū* and *ī* are agents with independent status through the 'five verbs'.[2]

3.94 Note: Under the independence markers the author stated that the 'five verbs', when independent through the absence of operator,[1] have retention of *n* as their independence marker instead of *u*, and under

i.e. it is only an inflection marker when it contrasts, as here, with other vocalic inflections. The vowellessness of invariable words with permanently unvowelled endings (cf. 1.41 n 4) is not inflection, nor is that of words in the 'pausal form' (2.14 n 2).

(2) For *lam* see 5.71. The change of tense after *lam* (imperfect tense acquires past tense meaning) has never been explained. Jouon (*M.U.S.J.* 6, 147) has suggested the following: in conditional sentences *lam* is the obligatory negative particle, thus the negative equivalent of both *'in qāma qumtu* 'if he stood I would stand' and *'in yaqum 'aqum* 'if he stands I will stand' is *'in lam yaqum lam 'aqum* 'if he does not stand I will not stand'. From such common hybrids as *'in qāma lam 'aqum* 'if he stood I would not stand' it came to be felt that *lam 'aqum* had a past tense reference, which was then generalized outside the context of conditional sentences.

3.92 (1) Paradigm of a typical weak 3rd rad. verb, active, imperfect tense, apocopated form, *ramā* 'to throw':

	sing.	dual	plur.
1st	*'armi*		*narmi*
2nd masc.	*tarmi*	*tarmiyā*	*tarmū*
fem.	*tarmī*		*tarmīna*
3rd masc.	*yarmi*	*yarmiyā*	*yarmū*
fem.	*tarmi*	*tarmiyā*	*yarmīna*

(2) The indep. forms of these verbs are prosodically *yad*^{c}*uw*, *yaḵšay* and *yarmiy* respectively (cf. 2.43 n 2 on vowel lengthening markers). Elision of the lengthening marker (i.e. the 3rd radical) leaves only a short vowel, usually homorganic with the missing semi-vowel. There are insuperable transliteration difficulties with *yaḵšā*: its final *ā* is orthographically *ay*, always realized as *ā* in word final position and thus formally identical with the so-called 'shortened *ā*' in 1.702 n 1. Because the *y* here is effectively functioning as the *'alif* which is the normal marker for *ā* (2.43 n 2), aš-Širbīnī says that in *yaḵšā* 'it is the *'alif* which has been elided', though to our way of thinking it is *y* which has been elided.

3.93 (1) This time the elision is not of a vowel lengthening marker but of the mood marker *n* (realized as *na* and *ni*, 4.81 n 1), exposing the long vowel which is the agent pronoun in these verbs (see next note). A paradigm is in 4.82 n 2: comparison of the apocopated with the dependent forms (paradigm in 4.82 n 1) will show that both are the same in the 'five verbs' (q.v. 3.45 n 1).

(2) The segmentation is thus *ya-nṣur-ā-ni*, *ya-nṣur-ū-na*, *ta-nṣur-ī-na*; for the various elements see 5.3 (imperfect tense prefix), 7.8 n 1 (imperfect tense stem), 3.241 (agent suffixes), 3.44 (independence marker). The text omits *lam tanṣurā* 'you two did not aid' and *lam tanṣurū* 'you (masc. plur.) did not aid'. For *lam* see 5.71.

3.94 (1) See 5.33 on the absence of operators. Note that all the augmented stems (see 8.51 n 1) have the same sets of imperfect tense prefixes, agent suffixes (past and imperfect tense), and mood markers

الخمسة اذا نصبت بواحد من النواصب تكون علامة النصب فيها حذف النون نيابة
عن الفتحة وذكر هنا ان الافعال الخمسة اذا جزمت بجازم تكون علامة جزمها حذف
النون نيابة عن السكون وقد تقدم تمثيله ومن الجازم والناصب قوله تعالى فان
لم تفعلوا ولن تفعلوا فلم حرف نفي وجزم وتفعلوا فعل مضارع مجزوم بلم
وعلامة جزمه حذف النون نيابة عن السكون والواو فاعل في محل رفع بالفعل ولن
حرف نفي ونصب وتفعلوا فعل مضارع منصوب بلن وعلامة نصبه حذف النون نيابة
عن الفتحة والواو فاعل في محل رفع بالفعل تتمة اذا اتصل بهذه النون نون
الوقاية جاز حذفها تخفيفا وادغامها في نون الوقاية والفك وقرئ بالثلاثة تأمروني
وقد تحذف النون مع عدم الناصب والجازم كقوله
ابيت ابكي وتبيتي تدلكي وجهك بالعنبر والمسك الذكي

dependence markers he stated that the 'five verbs', when made dependent by one of the operators of dependence, have elision of *n* as their dependence marker instead of *a*. He now states that the 'five verbs', when apocopated by an operator of apocopation, also have elision of *n* as their apocopation marker instead of vowellessness, for which examples have already been given.[2]

3.95 An illustration of operators of apocopation and dependence together is found in the Qur'anic *fa-'in lam taf^c^alū wa-lan taf^c^alū* 'and if you did not do it, and you will not do it',[1] where *lam* 'not' is a particle of negation and apocopation,[2] *taf^c^alū* 'you (might) do' is an imperfect tense verb apocopated by *lam* with elision of *n* as its apocopation marker instead of vowellessness (and the *ū* is an agent with independent status[3] through the verb), *lan* 'not' is a particle of negation and dependence and *taf^c^alū* 'you (may) do' is an imperfect tense verb made dependent by *lan* with elision of *n* as its dependence marker instead of *a* (the *ū* being an agent with independent status through the verb).

3.96 Note: If to this *n* is further suffixed the 'preserving *n*',[1] the former may be elided for ease of pronunciation, or it may be assimilated to the preserving *n*, or both may be pronounced separately: the Qur'anic *ta'murūnnī* 'you (masc. plur.) command me'[2] is read in all three ways. Occasionally *n* is elided even when there is no operator of dependence or apocopation, as in the verse

'abītu 'abkī wa-tabītī tadlukī
wajhaki bi-l-^c^anbari wa-l-miski ḏ-ḏakī

'I pass the night weeping, but you spend your night rubbing your face with amber and pure musk',[3] where *n* has been elided from *tabītī* 'you

as the simple verb, which is why Fleisch, 104, calls it 'la conjugaison commune'. This can be verified by consulting the tables of paradigms in the notes to 8.61-72, but note that the imperfect tense prefixes of some augmented stems are vowelled with *u* (cf. 5.31). A rule of thumb for the weak 3rd rad. verbs is as follows: in Stem I the medial vowel (10.22 n 2) determines the paradigm (4.81 n 2, 10.14 n 2). The characteristic vowel in all augmented stems, active or passive, will be *i* or *a*, conjugating like the relevant Stem I form.

(2) This excess of pedagogic zeal may perhaps be forgiven, especially since it has also inspired many of the annotations!

3.95 (1) S. 2 v 24. In order to make sense of this example it is worth quoting it in its context: 'If you are in doubt about what we sent down to our servant (i.e. the revelation of the Qur'ān), then bring forth a chapter like it ... If you do not do it - and you will not do it - then protect yourselves against the fire'. In his own Commentary on the Qur'ān, I, 34, aš-Širbīnī paraphrases *lan taf^{c}alū* by *lā yaqa^{c}u ḏālika minkum 'abadan* 'that will not happen from you *ever*' (our italics), cf. his remarks on the possibility of perpetual negation through *lan* in 3.53 (and note that, in his paraphrase, the independent form of the imperfect tense is used with a future sense, cf. 5.02).

(2) Note the functional definitions here of *lam* (5.71) and *lan* (5.42), and cf. 1.91 n 2.

(3) See 5.81 n 3 on the term *maḥall* 'status'.

3.96 (1) This is the *n* which, according to the Arab analysis (16.301), preserves the final vowel of the verb from being displaced by the 1st sing. suffix *ī* 'my/me' (cf. 4.72 n 2), hence its name, the *nūn al-wiqāya*, lit. 'the *n* of preservation'. However, all the Semitic languages show the same alternation of *ī*(*ya*) on nouns and *nī* on verbs, and Moscati, #13.22, has suggested that perhaps this *n* has developed by analogy with the regular *n* of the 1st plur. suffix *nā* 'our/us'. A completely different explanation is offered by Fleisch, *M.U.S.J.* 44, 66, basing himself upon A. Denz, *Strukturanalyse der Objektsuffixe im Altsyrischen und klassischen Arabisch*, Munich 1962, 77, viz. that the 'preserving *n*' has detached itself from the emphatic *anna* suffix (3.241 n 2), e.g. **yaqtulannī* 'he will certainly kill me', expanded to *yaqtulannanī* by analogy with *yaqtulannanā* 'he will certainly kill us', exposing *nī* as a new form which was then generalized.

(2) S. 39 v 64. The full, regular form should be *ta'murūnanī*, but Arabic phonology favours assimilation when two identical consonants occur close together (cf. doubled verbs, 11.3 n 1), and indeed this is the only case in which the over-long syllable C$\bar{V}$C is permitted (21.22 n 4). The possibilities are thus: *ta'murūnanī*, *ta'murūnnī*, *ta'murūnī* (var. *ta'murūniya*), to which K. Vollers, *Volkssprache und Schriftsprache im alten Arabien*, Strasburg 1906, 145, adds *ta'murūni* and *ta'murunni*, claiming that *ta'murūnnī* is an artificial hybrid. Cf. *tublawunna* in 2.101 n 4.

فحذف النون من تبيتي ولما فرغ من معرفة علامات الاعراب على سبيل التفصيل
شرع في معرفتها على سبيل الاجمال مترجما لذلك بفصل تمرينا للمبتدئ فقال

فصل المعربات قسمان اي جميع ما تقدم من اول باب علامات الاعراب الى هنا قسمان
قسم (15a) يعرب بالحركات الثلاث على الاصل وهي الضمة والفتحة والكسرة او بالسكون
وقسم يعرب بالحروف الاربعة نيابة عن الحركات على خلاف الاصل وهي الواو والياء
والالف والنون او بالحذف ثم بدأ بالذي يعرب بالحركات لانه الاصل فقال فالذي
يعرب بالحركات اي اجمالا اربعة انواع ثلاثة من الاسماء ونوع من الافعال
فانواع الاسماء الثلاثة الاسم المفرد سواء اكان لمذكر كجاء زيد ورأيت زيدا

(fem. sing.) pass the night'.

Having finished his detailed introduction to the markers of inflection, the author now sums them up in a specially entitled section as practice for the beginner.[4]

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 Section: Inflected words[1] are of two kinds, i.e. everything so far mentioned in the preceding chapter on inflection is of two kinds:

4.01 (1) one *(15a)* inflected with the short vowels,[1] the three of them, which is the regular way. The vowels are *u*, *a* and *i*, and inflection may also be shown by vowellessness;

4.02 (2) and one inflected with consonants.[1] There are four of these, replacing the short vowels, contrary to the regular way, viz. *w*, *ā*, *y* and *n*, and inflection may also be shown by elision. The author begins next with those inflected with the short vowels because that is the regular way.

4.1 Those inflected with the short vowels (to sum up) are of four types, three of nouns and one of verbs.[1] The three noun types are:

4.11 (1) the singular noun,[1] whether masculine, as in *jā'a zaydun* 'Zayd came', *ra'aytu zaydan* 'I saw Zayd', *marartu bi-zaydin* 'I passed by

(3) *Schaw. Ind.* 169, with minor variants *'asrī* 'I journey by night' for *'abkī* 'I weep' and *jildaki* 'your skin' for *wajhaki* 'your face'. No author is known and no satisfactory explanation for the elisions has been offered. Ibn Jinnī consulted his master Abū ᶜAlī al-Fārisī in vain (*Kaṣā'iṣ* I, 388); al-Baġdādī (*Kizāna* III, 526) can only reproduce Ibn Jinnī's confusion, and he adds that the Caliph ᶜUmar was once heard to pronounce two verbs without their final *n* (viz. *yasmaᶜū*(*na*) 'they hear' and *yujību*(*na*) 'they answer'). But these may be early specimens of colloquial, which always elides this *n* (J. Blau, *The Emergence and Linguistic Background of Judaeo-Arabic*, Oxford 1965, has a possible eighth cent. example on p. 128.

(4) Treated in this translation as a separate chapter, though in the text it is only a *faṣl*, sub-section, of ch. 3.

4.0 (1) On uninflected words see 1.41 n 4. The earliest grammars take inflection for granted, and az-Zajjājī (d. 949) is perhaps the first to suggest that inflection may be a secondary development. He argues, without much conviction, that since uninflected Arabic is easily understood it must be logically prior to inflected Arabic, and that inflection only emerged among the Beduin when confusion became intolerable (*Īḍāḥ*, 67, also reproduced by as-Suyūṭī, *Ašbāh* I, 76).

4.01 (1) By 'vowels', *ḥarakāt*, is always meant 'short vowels', of which there are only the three listed here and their allophones (cf. Cantineau, *Ét.* 110, Fleisch, *Tr.* v. index). The term *ḥaraka* 'vowel' (see 0.4 n 3 for names of vowels) means lit. 'movement', and opposes *sukūn* 'vowellessness', lit. 'stillness'. Both are part of the earliest technical vocabulary of grammar; cf. *E.I.* (2), art. 'Ḥaraka wa-sukūn'; Drozdik, *J.M.S.* 5, 73f; Versteegh 22. See 3.0 n 2 on 'regular way'.

4.02 (1) Long vowels and diphthongs are orthographically short vowels followed by the consonants *'*, *w* and *y* (2.43 n 2), which act as matres lectionis for the normally unwritten short vowel signs. It is thus not improper to treat long vowel inflection as consonantal, though Fleischer (*Kl. Schr.* II, 103-4) did not hestitate to dismiss this convention as 'unnatural'.

4.1 (1) Note that 'inflection' applies to verbal mood as well as to nominal case (2.2).

4.11 (1) Paradigms of masc. *ar-rajulu* 'the man' and fem. *al-mar'atu* 'the woman':

ومررت بزيد ام لمؤنث كجاءت هند ورأيت هندا ومررت بهند فزيد وهند فاعل
في الاول مرفوع بجاء وعلامة رفعه الضمة وفي الثاني مفعول به منصوب برأيت وعلامة
نصبه الفتحة وفي الثالث مخفوض بالباء وعلامة خفضه الكسرة وجمع التكسير سواء
اكان لمذكر كجاء الزيود ورأيت الزيود ومررت بالزيود او لمؤنث كجاءت الهنود
ورأيت الهنود ومررت بالهنود فالزيود والهنود فاعل في الاول مرفوع بجاء وعلامة
رفعه ضمة ظاهرة في اخره وفي الثاني مفعول به منصوب برأى وعلامة نصبه الفتحة
وفي الثالث مخفوض بالباء وعلامة خفضه الكسرة وجمع المؤنث السالم كجاءت
الهندات ورأيت الهندات ومررت بالهندات فالهندات فاعل في الاول مرفوع بجاء
وعلامة رفعه الضمة والتاء علامة التأنيث وفي الثاني مفعول به منصوب برأى وعلامة
نصبه الكسرة نيابة عن الفتحة وفي الثالث مخفوض بالباء وعلامة خفضه الكسرة ثم

Zayd', or feminine, as in *jā'at hindun* 'Hind came', *ra'aytu hindan* 'I saw Hind', *marartu bi-hindin* 'I passed by Hind'. In the first example *zaydun* 'Zayd' and *hindun* 'Hind' are agents made independent by *jā'a* 'to come'[2] and their independence marker is *u*; in the second they are direct objects made dependent by *ra'aytu* 'I saw' and their dependence marker is *a*; in the third they are made oblique by *bi* 'by' and their obliqueness marker is *i*;

4.12 (2) the broken plural,[1] whether masculine, as in *jā'a z-zuyūdu* 'the Zayds came',[2] *ra'aytu z-zuyūda* 'I saw the Zayds', *marartu bi-z-zuyūdi* 'I passed by the Zayds', or feminine, as in *jā'at il-hunūdu* 'the Hinds came', *ra'aytu l-hunūda* 'I saw the Hinds', *marartu bi-l-hunūdi* 'I passed by the Hinds'.[3] In the first example *az-zuyūdu* 'the Zayds' and *al-hunūdu* 'the Hinds' are agents made independent by *jā'a* 'to come' and their independence marker is an explicit final *u*; in the second they are direct objects made dependent by *ra'ā* 'to see' and their dependence marker is *a*; in the third they are made oblique by *bi* 'by' and their obliqueness marker is *i*;[4]

4.13 (3) the sound feminine plural,[1] as in *jā'at il-hindātu* 'the Hinds came', *ra'aytu l-hindāti* 'I saw the Hinds', *marartu bi-l-hindāti* 'I passed by the Hinds'.[2] In the first example *al-hindātu* 'the Hinds'[3] is an agent made independent by *jā'a* 'to come'[4] and its independence marker is an explicit final *u* (the *t* being a feminine gender marker);[5] in the second it is a direct object made dependent by *ra'ā* 'to see' and its dependence marker is *i* instead of *a*; in the third it is made oblique by *bi* 'by' and its obliqueness marker is *i*. The author now turns

	defined	annexed	undefined	pausal
indep.	*ar-rajulu*	*rajulu*	*rajulun*	*rajul*
dep.	*ar-rajula*	*rajula*	*rajulan*	*rajulā*
obl.	*ar-rajuli*	*rajuli*	*rajulin*	*rajul*
indep.	*al-mar'atu*	*mar'atu*	*mar'atun*	*mar'a(h)*
dep.	*al-mar'ata*	*mar'ata*	*mar'atan*	*mar'a(h)*
obl.	*al-mar'ati*	*mar'ati*	*mar'atin*	*mar'a(h)*

Assimilation of def. art. 11.41 n 2; pausal form 2.14 n 2; pausal fem. suffix *at* 11.42 n 1; alternation of *mar'atu/imra'atu* 19.72 n 4. All fully declinable adjectives are in this class, e.g. *muslimun* 'male Muslim', *muslimatun* 'female Muslim', there being no morphological distinction between nouns and adjectives (but see 11.61 n 1).

(2) See 3.52 n 3 for this convention, and note that, as elsewhere in this paragraph, it is not always observed.

4.12 (1) See 3.22; syntax of broken plural 4.12 n 3.

(2) Paradigm of typical broken plural, *rijālun* 'men':

	defined	annexed	undefined	pausal
indep.	*ar-rijālu*	*rijālu*	*rijālun*	*rijāl*
dep.	*ar-rijāla*	*rijāla*	*rijālan*	*rijālā*
obl.	*ar-rijāli*	*rijāli*	*rijālin*	*rijāl*

Some broken plurals are formally feminine, regardless of the singular gender (mostly masc. however), e.g. *ṭalabatun* 'male students' (sing. *ṭālibun*), *'as'ilatun* 'questions' (sing. *su'ālun*). These decline exactly as the fem. sing., 4.11 n 1. Conversely some formally fem. nouns have formally masc. broken plurals, e.g. *qiṭa^{c}un* 'pieces' (sing. *qiṭ^{c}atun*), but see next note. Discongruence in the numbers 3 to 10 may be related to this phenomenon, v. 20.22 n 1.

(3) Syntactically, broken plurals fall into two classes, humans and non-humans. Humans are plural, take plural verbs, adjectives and pronouns; non-humans are fem. sing. and take fem. sing. verbs, adjectives and pronouns (possibly reflecting an original collective function of the broken plural). There are frequent exceptions to this rule. Cf. *Muf.* #270; Fleisch 170; Yushmanov 68; chs. 7, 9, 11 passim.

(4) Unless the particular pattern is only semi-declinable, e.g. *masājida* 'mosques' (dep. and obl.), cf. 3.89 (1).

4.13 (1) See 3.23, 4.31.

(2) Paradigm of typical sound fem. plur. *muslimātun* 'female Muslims':

	defined	annexed	undefined	pausal
indep.	*al-muslimātu*	*muslimātu*	*muslimātun*	*muslimāt*
dep./obl.	*al-muslimāti*	*muslimāti*	*muslimātin*	*muslimāt*

Dep. and obl. cases neutralized, as in sound masc. plur., 4.6 n 1.

(3) Notice that some nouns have both sound and broken plurals. This is especially common with proper nouns. Cf. also 3.221 n 2, 11.43 n 2.

شرع في نوع الافعال فقال والفعل المضارع الذي لم يتصل باخره شيء يوجب بناءه
وهو نون الاناث ونون التوكيد كيضرب ولن يضرب وكلها اي مجموع هذه الانواع
الاربعة لا جميعها (15b) لتخلف بعض الاحكام في بعضها ترفع بالضمة تقول في
الاسم المفرد جاء زيد وهند وفي جمع التكسير جاء الزيود وفي جمع المؤنث السالم
جاءت الهندات وفي الفعل يضرب وتنصب بالفتحة تقول في الاسم المفرد رأيت
زيدا وهندا وفي جمع التكسير رأيت زيودا وفي الفعل لن يضرب وتخفض بالكسرة
تقول في الاسم المفرد مررت بزيد وهند وفي جمع التكسير مررت بالزيود وفي جمع
المؤنث السالم مررت بالمؤمنات وتجزم بالسكون نحو لم يضرب هذا الاعراب المذكور
هو الاصل وخرج عن ذلك الاصل ثلاثة اشياء الاول جمع المؤنث السالم فانه ينصب
بالكسرة كرأيت الهندات فرأيت فعل وفاعل والهندات مفعول به منصوب برأى وعلامة
نصبه الكسرة نيابة عن الفتحة على خلاف الاصل وكان الاصل ان تكون علامة النصب فيه
الفتحة والثاني الاسم الذي لا ينصرف فانه يخفض بالفتحة كمررت باحمد ومساجد

to the verbal type:

4.14 (4) the imperfect tense verb without suffixes.[1] (That is, those suffixes which would impose invariability, namely the feminine *na* and the emphatic *anna*).[2] Examples: *yaḍribu* 'he strikes', *lan yaḍriba* 'he will not strike'.

4.2 All these (i.e. the four types collectively, not each and every one of them *(15b)* because some of the rules do not apply in certain cases)[1] have *u* when independent,[2] hence you say in the singular noun *jā'a zaydun wa-hindun* 'Zayd and Hind came', in the broken plural *jā'a z-zuyūdu* 'the Zayds came', in the sound feminine plural *jā'at il-hindātu* 'the Hinds came' and in the verb *yaḍribu* 'he strikes'; *a* when dependent, hence you say in the singular noun *ra'aytu zaydan wa-hindan* 'I saw Zayd and Hind', in the broken plural *ra'aytu zuyūdan* 'I saw Zayds' and in the verb *lan yaḍriba* 'he will not strike'; *i* when oblique, hence you say in the singular noun *marartu bi-zaydin wa-hindin* 'I passed by Zayd and Hind', in the broken plural *marartu bi-z-zuyūdi* 'I passed by the Zayds' and in the sound feminine plural *marartu bi-l-mu'mināti* 'I passed by the (fem.) believers'; and vowellessness when apocopated. Example: *lam yaḍrib* 'he did not strike'. The above inflection is the regular way.

4.3 Excluded from this regular way are three things:

4.31 (1) the sound feminine plural,[1] which has *i* when dependent, e.g. *ra'aytu l-hindāti* 'I saw the Hinds', where *ra'aytu* 'I saw' is a verb and agent and *al-hindāti* 'the Hinds' is a direct object made dependent by *ra'ā* 'to see', but its dependence marker is *i* instead of *a*, contrary to the regular way, since according to the regular way its dependence marker should be *a*;

4.32 (2) the semi-declinable noun,[1] which has *a* when oblique, e.g. *marartu bi-'aḥmada wa-masājida* 'I passed by Aḥmad and some mosques',

(4) Verbs are conventionally quoted in the 3rd masc. sing. past tense, see 3.52 n 3.

(5) This refers to the *t* of *hindātu*, for which see 4.31 n 1. The *t* of *jā'at* is also a fem. morpheme, q.v. at 1.83, 5.01.

4.14 (1) See 3.24. Complete paradigms at 4.4 n 5, including the suffixed forms mentioned in this paragraph.

(2) See 3.241. Since these are suffixed directly to the last radical of the verb no overt inflection is possible.

4.2 (1) This pedantry is not aš-Širbīnī's own, but is taken from al-Azharī (*Āj.* 25). Nevertheless it does clarify the misleading implications of Ibn Ājurrūm's excessive concision.

(2) For convenience are inserted here the three types of noun which, for phonological reasons, have partially or totally implicit inflection: (a) *al-qāḍī* 'the judge':

	defined	annexed	undefined	pausal
indep.	*al-qāḍī*	*qāḍī*	*qāḍin*	*qāḍī*
dep.	*al-qāḍiya*	*qāḍiya*	*qāḍiyan*	*qāḍiyā*
obl.	*al-qāḍī*	*qāḍī*	*qāḍin*	*qāḍī*

Phonology 2.6; dual 4.5 n 1; plural is either sound *qāḍūna* v. 4.6 n 1, or broken *quḍātun*, cf. 4.12 n 2 and 4.31 n 1.

(b) *al-fatā* 'the boy':

defined	annexed	undefined	pausal
al-fatā	*fatā*	*fatan*	*fatā*

in all three cases. Phonology 2.5; dual 4.5 n 1; plural is broken, either *fityānun* or *fityatun*, cf. 4.12 n 2.

(c) *ḥublā* 'pregnant':

defined	annexed	undefined	pausal
al-ḥublā	*ḥublā*	*ḥublā*	*ḥublā*

in all three cases. All the words in this class bear the invariable fem. suffix *ā*; they include fem. adjectives, e.g. *kubrā* 'greatest' (20.4 n 1), fem. sing. nouns, e.g. *ḏikrā* 'memory' (24.54 n 2) and broken plurals, e.g. *'asārā* 'prisoners' (3.52).

4.31 (1) See 3.23, 3.231. It is generally agreed that the sound fem. plur. originated in the lengthening of the fem. sing. suffix *at* (q.v. at 11.42 n 1) to *āt* (Moscati #12.52). Like the sound masc. plur. (4.6 n 1), the three cases have been reduced to an opposition of indep. and dep./obl., but, unlike the sound masc. plur., the sound fem. plur. retains the complementary distribution of the definite article prefix *al* and the indefinite suffix *n* (cf. 1.4, 1.5).
N.B. In our transcription *āt* may occasionally represent the fem. sing. or plur. of 3rd weak rad. nouns, e.g. *fatātun* 'a girl' (**fatayatun*, fem. of *fatan*), *quḍātun* 'judges' (**quḍayatun*, plur. of *qāḍin*). But there is no confusion in the Arabic script (see 11.42 n 1), and naturally these forms have normal fem. sing. inflection.

4.32 (1) See 3.87-89. Paradigm of a typical semi-declinable noun, masc. sing., *'aḥmaru* 'red':

فكل منهما مخفوض بالفتحة على خلاف الاصل وكان حقه ان يخفض بالكسرة والفعل
المضارع المعتل الاخر يجزم بحذف اخره نحو لم يغز ولم يخش ولم يرم على خلاف
الاصل وكان حقه ان يجزم بالسكون ولما فرغ من بيان الانواع الاربعة التي تعرب
بالحركات على الاصل شرع في بيان الانواع الاربعة التي تعرب بالحروف على خلاف
الاصل فقال والذي يعرب بالحروف اربعة انواع ثلاثة من الاسماء ونوع واحد من
الافعال على قياس ما مر فانواع الاسماء الثلاثة التثنية نحو جاء الزيدان وجمع
المذكر السالم نحو جاء الزيدون والاسماء (16a) الخمسة المتقدم ذكرها وهي ابوك
واخوك وحموك وفوك وذو مال ونوع الافعال الخمسة وهي يفعلان بالمثناة تحت وتفعلان
بالمثناة فوق ويفعلون بالمثناة تحت وتفعلون بالمثناة فوق وتفعلين بالمثناة
فوق لا غير فاما التثنية بمعنى المثنى اقامة للمصدر مقام اسم المفعول

where both words are oblique but end in *a*, contrary to the regular way, since the obliqueness marker ought to have been *i*;[2]

4.33 (3) and the imperfect tense verb of weak ending elides this ending in apocopation.[1] Examples: *lam yaḡzu* 'he did not raid', *lam yaḵša* 'he did not fear', *lam yarmi* 'he did not throw', contrary to the regular way, since the apocopation marker ought to have been vowellessness. Having finished with the four types inflected with short vowels in the regular way, the author now turns to the four types which are inflected irregularly with consonants.

4.4 Words inflected with consonants are of four types: three of nouns and one of verbs, analogous to the above.[1] The three types of nouns are (1) the dual,[2] e.g. *jā'a z-zaydāni* 'the two Zayds came', (2) the sound masculine plural,[3] e.g. *jā'a z-zaydūna* 'the Zayds came', (3) the *(16a)* 'five nouns', already mentioned,[4] viz. *'abūka* 'your father', *'aḵūka* 'your brother', *ḥamūka* 'your father-in-law', *fūka* 'your mouth' and *ḏū mālin* 'possessor of wealth'. The verbal type is (4) the 'five verbs',[5] viz. *yafᶜalāni* 'they two (masc.) do' (spelt *y* with two dots below), *tafᶜalāni* 'you two do, they two (fem.) do' (spelt *t* with two dots above), *yafᶜalūna* 'they (masc.) do' (spelt *y* with two dots below), *tafᶜalūna* 'you (masc. plur.) do' (spelt *t* with two dots above), and *tafᶜalīna* 'you (fem. sing.) do' (spelt only with *t* with two dots above).

4.5 The dual[1] (using the term *taṯniya* 'dualization' in the meaning of *muṯannā* 'thing made dual', thereby giving the verbal noun the status of

	defined	annexed	undefined	pausal
indep.	*al-'aḥmaru*	*'aḥmaru*	*'aḥmaru*	*'aḥmar*
dep.	*al-'aḥmara*	*'aḥmara*	*'aḥmara*	*'aḥmar*
obl.	*al-'aḥmari*	*'aḥmari*	*'aḥmara*	*'aḥmar*

Fem. sing. *ḥamrā'u* declines identically, as do all types listed in 3.89, but the common plur. *ḥumrun* is regular, as in 4.12 n 2.

(2) In fact, the allomorph *a* is found only in the undefined state (cf. 3.89 n 12). A perhaps less obvious irregularity is in the pausal forms: these nouns never have final *n* (1.41), hence the dep. form lacks the *ā* ending of the regular nouns (cf. *rajulā*, 4.11 n 1).
Fem. semi-declinable nouns with the fem. suffix *at* decline exactly as above, but because of the special nature of *at* (11.42 n 1), pausal forms are the same as the regular fem. noun at 4.11 n 1.

4.33 (1) Cf. 2.43, 3.92.

4.4 (1) i.e. there are also three types of nouns and one of verbs which inflect with short vowels, as listed in 4.11-14. For the meaning of 'consonants' in this context, see 4.02.

(2) Paradigms at 4.5 n 1.

(3) Paradigms at 4.6 n 1.

(4) 3.42. Paradigms at 4.71 n 1.

(5) 3.45. Paradigm of the sound verb, imperfect tense, indep. form, root *ḍaraba* 'to strike':

	sing.	dual	plur.
1st	*'aḍribu*		*naḍribu*
2nd masc.	*taḍribu*	*taḍribāni*	*taḍribūna*
2nd fem.	*taḍribīna*		*taḍribna*
3rd masc.	*yaḍribu*	*yaḍribāni*	*yaḍribūna*
3rd fem.	*taḍribu*	*taḍribāni*	*yaḍribna*

Dep. forms 4.82 n 1; apoc. forms 4.82 n 2; with object suffixes 16.306 n 1. Derived stems (8.51 n 1) have the same prefixes and suffixes.
Weak 1st rad. 10.67 n 1; hollow verbs 10.23 n 2; weak 3rd rad. 4.81 n 2; doubled verbs 11.3 n 1.
Syntax of indep. verb 5.33 and ch. 7 passim.
Note that 2nd sing. masc. and 3rd sing. fem. are always the same, likewise 2nd dual common and 3rd dual fem.

4.5 (1) See 3.43, 3.63-65. Paradigm of typical dual *rajulāni* '2 men':

	defined	annexed	undefined	pausal
indep.	*ar-rajulāni*	*rajulā*	*rajulāni*	*rajulān*
dep./ obl.	*ar-rajulayni*	*rajulay*	*rajulayni*	*rajulayn*

Subject to 3.65, the dual suffix is attached directly to final sound radicals (as above) and to the fem. *at* suffix: *al-imra'atāni* etc. 'the 2 women'.
Weak 3rd rad. *y* behaves regularly, e.g. *al-qāḍiyāni* 'the 2 judges' (sing. **al-qāḍiy*, cf. 2.6), *al-fatayāni* 'the 2 boys' (sing. **al-fatay*, cf. 2.5). Weak 3rd rad. *w* becomes *y* to avoid the non-canonical sequence

فترفع بالالف كقام الزيدان فالزيدان فاعل مرفوع بقام وعلامة رفعه الالف نيابة
عن الضمة وتنصب وتخفض بالياء مثال نصبه بالياء رأيت الزيدين فالزيدين مفعول
به منصوب برأى وعلامة نصبه الياء المفتوح ما قبلها المكسور ما بعدها نيابة عن
الفتحة ومثال خفضه بالياء مررت بالزيدين فالزيدين مخفوض بالباء وعلامة خفضه
الياء المفتوح ما قبلها المكسور ما بعدها نيابة عن الكسرة واما جمع المذكر السالم
فيرفع بالواو كقام الزيدون فالزيدون فاعل مرفوع بقام وعلامة رفعه الواو نيابة
عن الضمة وينصب ويخفض بالياء المكسور ما قبلها المفتوح ما بعدها مثال نصبه
بالياء رأيت الزيدين فالزيدين مفعول به منصوب برأى وعلامة نصبه الياء المكسور
ما قبلها المفتوح ما بعدها نيابة عن الفتحة ومثال خفضه بالياء مررت بالزيدين
فالزيدين مخفوض بالباء وعلامة خفضه الياء المكسور ما قبلها المفتوح ما بعدها
نيابة عن الكسرة واما الاسماء الخمسة فترفع بالواو كجاء ابوك واخوك وحموك
وفوك وذو مال فابوك فاعل مرفوع بجاء وما بعده معطوف عليه مشارك له في
رفعه بجاء وعلامة الرفع في كل واحد الواو نيابة عن الضمة والكاف في الاربعة

the patient noun)[2] has *a* when independent, e.g. *qāma z-zaydāni* 'the two Zayds stood', where *az-zaydāni* 'the two Zayds' is an agent made independent by *qāma* 'to stand', with *a* as its independence marker instead of *u*, and has *ay* when dependent and oblique. An example of the dependent form in *ay* is *ra'aytu z-zaydayni* 'I saw the two Zayds', where *az-zaydayni* 'the two Zayds' is a direct object made dependent by *ra'ā* 'to see', with *ay* (spelt with *a* before the *y* and *i* after) as its dependence marker instead of *a*. An example of the oblique form in *ay* is *marartu bi-z-zaydayni* 'I passed by the two Zayds', where *az-zaydayni* 'the two Zayds' is made oblique by *bi* 'by', with *ay* (spelt with *a* before the *y* and *i* after)[3] as its obliqueness marker instead of *i*.

4.6 The sound masculine plural[1] has *ū* when independent, e.g. *qāma z-zaydūna* 'the Zayds stood', where *az-zaydūna* 'the Zayds' is an agent made independent by *qāma* 'to stand', with *ū* as its independence marker instead of *u*, and has *ī* when dependent and oblique. (Namely with *i* before the *y* and *a* after).[2] An example of the dependent form in *ī* is *ra'aytu z-zaydīna* 'I saw the Zayds', where *az-zaydīna* 'the Zayds' is a direct object made dependent by *ra'ā* 'to see', with *ī* (spelt with *i* before the *y* and *a* after) as its dependence marker instead of *a*. An example of the oblique form in *ī* is *marartu bi-z-zaydīna* 'I passed by the Zayds', where *az-zaydīna* 'the Zayds' is made oblique by *bi* 'by', with *ī* (spelt with *i* before the *y* and *a* after it) as its obliqueness marker instead of *i*.

4.71 The 'five nouns'[1] have *ū* when independent, e.g. *jā'a 'abūka wa-'akūka wa-ḥamūka wa-fūka wa-ḏū mālin* 'your father, your brother, your father-in-law, your mouth and the possessor of wealth came', where *'abūka* 'your father' is an agent made independent by *jā'a* 'to come, the nouns following are coordinated with it and share in its independence, and the independence marker in each is *ū* instead of *u*. The *ka* 'your'

iw, e.g. *al-ġāziyāni* 'the 2 raiders' (sing. **al-ġāziw*, cf. 2.6 n 2). Exceptions: Wright I, 188, Rem. b.
The fem. suffix *ā'* replaces *'* with *w* as glide-vowel, e.g. *ṣaḥrāwāni* '2 deserts' (sing. *ṣaḥrā'u*, 3.89 (2)); likewise *al-ḥamrāwāni* 'the 2 red ones (fem.)' (sing. *al-ḥamrā'u*), cf. 3.62 n 2.
The fem. suffix *ā* (= **ay*, 1.702 n 1) is regular, e.g. *al-hublayāni* 'the 2 pregnant ones', *ḏikrayāni* '2 memories'.

(2) Cf. *lafẓ* in 1.11.

(3) 3.64 n 3.

4.6 (1) See 3.41-412. Paradigm of sound masc. plur. *muslimūna* 'Muslims':

	defined	annexed	undefined	pausal
indep.	*al-muslimūna*	*muslimū*	*muslimūna*	*muslimūn*
dep./obl.	*al-muslimīna*	*muslimī*	*muslimīna*	*muslimīn*

Weak 3rd rad. nouns (2.5-7) have the following peculiarities: the sequence *i* + weak rad. is lost, e.g. *al-qāḍūna* 'the judges' (from **al-qāḍiyūna*), dep./obl. *al-qāḍīna* (from **al-qāḍiyīna*), cf. 2.31 n 4. The sequence *a* + weak rad. forms a diphthong with the suffixes *ūna* and *īna* (= *uwna*, *iyna*, 2.43 n 2). Paradigm of *musammā* (= **musammay*) 'named':

	defined	annexed	undefined	pausal
indep.	*al-musammawna*	*musammaw*	*musammawna*	*musammawn*
dep./obl.	*al-musammayna*	*musammay*	*musammayna*	*musammayn*

This is a passive participle; the active *musammī* follows the rules for *qāḍī*, e.g. *musammūna* etc., while the duals of both active and passive are regular, e.g. *musammiyāni*, *musammayāni* (4.5 n 1).

(2) 3.64 n 3.

4.71 (1) Paradigm of the sing. *'abun* 'a father':

	defined	annexed	undefined	pausal
indep.	*al-'abu*	*'abū*	*'abun*	*'ab*
dep.	*al-'aba*	*'abā*	*'aban*	*'abā*
obl.	*al-'abi*	*'abī*	*'abin*	*'ab*

The abnormality of the nouns in this group appears in their singular annexed forms (cf. 3.421), and may perhaps be explained as due to pressure of the triliteral system upon primitive biliteral roots (cf. 10.37 n 1). Certainly the duals and plurals of these nouns show the restoration of a hypothetical third radical, e.g. *'abawāni* '2 fathers', *'aḵawāni* '2 brothers' (both with *w* as surrogate third radical), *'ābā'un* 'fathers' (for alternation of *w* and *'* see 3.62 n 2), *'afwāhun* 'mouths' (this time with *h* as the surrogate radical). There is little doubt that many triliteral roots are expansions of biliterals, but no-one has yet established whether the latter represent a more primitive stage of the language; cf. bibliography in Moscati, 179, and see Fleisch 239 (*Tr.* #52), Yushmanov 34, Nöldeke 14, Rabin, *Anc. West-Ar.* 71 (expansion of biliteral roots by gemination, e.g. *'abb*, *'aḵḵ* etc.) Another type of

مجرورة بالمضاف وتنصب بالالف كرأيت اباك واخاك وحماك وفاك وذا مال فاباك
مفعول به منصوب برأى الذي رفع الفاعل وما بعده معطوف عليه مشارك له في
نصبه برأى وعلامة النصب في كل واحد الالف نيابة عن (16b) الفتحة والكاف في
الاربعة مخفوضة بالمضاف وتخفض بالياء كمررت بابيك واخيك وحميك وفيك وذي
مال فابيك مخفوض بالباء الموحدة وما بعده معطوف عليه مشارك له في خفضه
بالباء وعلامة الخفض في كل واحد الياء نيابة عن الكسرة والكاف في الاربعة في
محل خفض بالمضاف وتقدم التنبيه على شروط اعراب الاسماء الخمسة بالحروف واما
الافعال الخمسة المتقدم ذكرها فترفع بالنون كيضربان وتضربان ويضربون وتضربون
وتضربين فهذه الافعال الخمسة مرفوعة بالتجرد وعلامة رفعها ثبوت النون نيابة
عن الضمة والضمائر في الافعال الخمسة التي هي الالف والواو والياء مرفوعة بالافعال

on the first four is made oblique by what is annexed to it.

4.72 They have *ā* when dependent,[1] e.g. *ra'aytu 'abāka wa-'akāka wa-ḥamāka wa-fāka wa-ḏā mālin* 'I saw your father, your brother, your father-in-law, your mouth and the possessor of wealth', where *'abāka* 'your father' is a direct object made dependent by *ra'ā* 'to see' (which makes its own agent independent), the nouns following are coordinated with it and share in its dependence through *ra'ā*, and the dependence marker of each is *ā* instead of *(16b) a*. The *ka* 'your' on the first four is made oblique by what is annexed to it;[2]

4.73 and they have *ī* when oblique. Examples: *marartu bi-'abīka wa-'akīka wa-ḥamīka wa-fīka wa-ḏī mālin* 'I passed by your father, your brother, your father-in-law, your mouth and the possessor of wealth', where *'abīka* 'your father' is made oblique by *bi* 'by' (spelt with one dot below), the nouns following are coordinated with it and share in its obliqueness through *bi*, and the obliqueness marker of each is *ī* instead of *i*. The *ka* 'your' on the first four has oblique status[1] through what is annexed to it. Attention has already been drawn to the conditions under which the 'five nouns' are inflected with consonants.

4.81 The 'five verbs' mentioned above have *n* when independent,[1] e.g. *yaḍribāni* 'they two (masc.) strike', *taḍribāni* 'you two (masc. & fem.) strike', *yaḍribūna* 'they (masc.) strike', *taḍribūna* 'you (masc. plur.) strike', *taḍribīna* 'you (fem. sing.) strike'.[2] These 'five verbs' are made independent by the absence of operator, with retention of *n* as their independence marker instead of *u*. The pronouns in the 'five verbs', viz. *ā*, *ū* and *ī* are agents made independent by the 'five verbs'.

Systemzwang: 3.412 n 9.

4.72 (1) An exception to 3.421 is the expression *lā 'abā laka* lit. 'you have no father', i.e. 'you bastard!'. After *lā* 'no' we should have *'aba* (cf. 22.12), but the form *'abā* is preferred apparently because it is felt that *'abā* is virtually annexed to the pronoun *ka* in *laka* 'belonging to you'. The fully annexed equivalent *lā 'abāka* is, in fact, known (Reck., *Ar. Synt.* 119 n 1); the expression *lā 'aḵā lahu* 'he has no brother' in 13.11 is of the same kind.

(2) Since aš-Širbīnī nowhere deals comprehensively with the possessive pronoun suffixes, they are tabulated here:

	sing.	dual	plur.
1st	*-ī*		*-nā*
2nd masc.	*-ka*	*-kumā*	*-kum*
2nd fem.	*-ki*		*-kunna*
3rd masc.	*-hu*	*-humā*	*-hum*
3rd fem.	*-hā*		*-hunna*

With the exception of the 1st sing. (see 16.301 n 1) these are all the same as the object pronoun suffixes (16.301-312). From the Arab point of view the noun possessed is annexed to one of these pronouns: thus *'abū-ka* is really 'the father of you', structurally identical with *'abū zaydin* 'the father of Zayd' (cf. 26.7 n 3). Naturally these suffixes are in complementary distribution with *al* 'the' and *tanwīn* (v. 26.93 n 1). Further on the *ī* suffix see 3.421 n 3, 23.6.

4.73 (1) 3.421. See 5.81 n 3 on *maḥall* 'status' here.

4.81 (1) Though this *n* is realized as *na* or *ni* we do not have here an 'archimorpheme' in the Western sense, merely the result of a spelling convention which names only the characteristic consonant (see 3.5 n 2).

(2) The paradigm of the sound verb, active, imperfect tense, indep. form is at 4.4 n 5. Here follow verbs with 3rd rad. *w* or *y* (see 10.22 n 2 for variations in stem vowel):

	sing.	dual	plur.
(a) *ḵašiya* 'to fear':			
1st	*'aḵšā*		*naḵšā*
2nd masc.	*taḵšā*	*taḵšayāni*	*taḵšawna*
2nd fem.	*taḵšayna*		*taḵšayna*
3rd masc.	*yaḵšā*	*yaḵšayāni*	*yaḵšawna*
3rd fem.	*taḵšā*	*taḵšayāni*	*yaḵšayna*
(b) *ramā* 'to throw':			
1st	*'armī*		*narmī*
2nd masc.	*tarmī*	*tarmiyāni*	*tarmūna*
2nd fem.	*tarmīna*		*tarmīna*
3rd masc.	*yarmī*	*yarmiyāni*	*yarmūna*
3rd fem.	*tarmī*	*tarmiyāni*	*yarmīna*
(c) *ḡazā* 'to raid':			
1st	*'aḡzū*		*naḡzū*
2nd masc.	*taḡzū*	*taḡzuwāni*	*taḡzūna*
2nd fem.	*taḡzīna*		*taḡzūna*

الخمسة وتنصب وتجزم بحذفها اي النون مثال نصبها بحذف النون لن يضربا ولن
تضربا ولن يضربوا ولن تضربوا ولن تضربي فهذه الافعال الخمسة منصوبة بلن وعلامة
نصبها حذف النون نيابة عن الفتحة والف التثنية وواو الجماعة وياء المخاطبة
فاعل مرفوع بالافعال الخمسة ومثال جزمها بحذف النون لم يضربا ولم تضربا ولم
يضربوا ولم تضربوا ولم تضربي فهذه الافعال الخمسة مجزومة بلم وعلامة جزمها حذف
النون نيابة عن السكون والضمائر الثلاثة التي هي الالف والواو والياء فاعل في محل
رفع بالافعال الخمسة وهي كل فعل مضارع اتصل به ضمير تثنية او ضمير جمع او
ضمير المؤنث المخاطبة كما مثلنا ومن اراد بسط الكلام على ذلك اكثر من ذلك
فليراجع شرح القطر او غيره من المطولات تتمة حاصل علامات الاعراب عشرة اشياء
الحركات الثلاث (17a) والسكون والاحرف الثلاثة وحذفها للجازم والنون وحذفها للناصب
والجازم ولما فرغ من بيان علامات الاعراب في الانواع المعربات وكان من جملتها
الفعل المضارع انجر كلامه الى بيان المعرب والمبني من الافعال مترجما لذلك بباب

4.82 They elide the *n* when dependent or apocopated. Examples of the dependent form with elision of *n* are *lan yaḍribā* 'they two (masc.) will not strike', *lan taḍribā* 'you two (masc. & fem.) will not strike, they two (fem.) will not strike', *lan yaḍribū* 'they (masc.) will not strike', *lan taḍribū* 'you (masc. plur.) will not strike', *lan taḍribī* 'you (fem. sing.) will not strike'.[1] These 'five verbs' are made dependent by *lan* 'not', with elision of *n* as their dependence marker instead of *a*. The dual *ā*, masculine plural *ū* and second person feminine *ī* are agents made independent by the 'five verbs'. Examples of the apocopated form with elision of *n* are *lam yaḍribā* 'they two (masc.) did not strike', *lam taḍribā* 'you two (masc. & fem.) did not strike, they two (fem.) did not strike', *lam yaḍribū* 'they (masc.) did not strike', *lam taḍribū* 'you (masc. plur.) did not strike', *lam taḍribī* 'you (fem. sing.) did not strike'.[2] These 'five verbs' are apocopated by *lam* 'not' with elision of *n* as their apocopation marker instead of vowellessness. The three pronouns, namely *ū*, *ā* and *ī*, are agents with independent status through the 'five verbs'.[3] All these are imperfect tense verbs suffixed with either the dual, masculine plural or second person feminine singular pronoun, as in the examples provided, and anyone who wishes a more extensive treatment of this than we give here may refer to my *Commentary on Qaṭr an-nadā*[4] or other such lengthy works.

4.9 Supplementary Note:[1] The total number of inflection markers is ten, viz. the three short vowels, *(17a)* vowellessness, the three consonants, their elision by the apocopating operator, *n* and its elision by the operators of dependence and apocopation.[2]

Having finished with the inflection markers of the various kinds of inflected words[3] (including the imperfect tense verb), the discussion now turns to inflected and invariable verbs, to which the author assigns a special chapter.

	sing.	dual	plur.
3rd masc.	*yaǧzū*	*yaǧzuwāni*	*yaǧzūna*
3rd fem.	*taǧzū*	*taǧzuwāni*	*yaǧzūna*

Dep. forms 4.82 n 1; apoc. forms 3.92 n 1; past tense 10.14 n 2.

4.82 (1) Paradigm of sound verb, active, imperfect tense, dep. form *ḍaraba* 'to strike':

	sing.	dual	plur.
1st	*'aḍriba*		*naḍriba*
2nd masc.	*taḍriba*	*taḍribā*	*taḍribū*
2nd fem.	*taḍribī*		*taḍribna*
3rd masc.	*yaḍriba*	*yaḍribā*	*yaḍribū*
3rd fem.	*taḍriba*	*taḍribā*	*yaḍribna*

Doubled (11.3 n 1) and hollow (10.23 n 2) verbs: stems unchanged by substitution of dep. morphemes, e.g. *yamurra*, *yamrurna*, *yakūna* etc. Weak 3rd rad.: indep. *ī*, *ū* become *iya*, *uwa* (e.g. *yarmiya*), indep. *ā* remains unchanged (*yakšā*); otherwise as for sound verb (*taǧzī* etc.).

(2) Paradigm of sound verb, active, imperfect tense, apocopated form *ḍaraba* 'to strike':

	sing.	dual	plur.
1st	*'aḍrib*		*naḍrib*
2nd masc.	*taḍrib*	**taḍribā*	**taḍribū*
2nd fem.	**taḍribī*		*taḍribna*
3rd masc.	*yaḍrib*	**yaḍribā*	**yaḍribū*
3rd fem.	*taḍrib*	**taḍribā*	*yaḍribna*

Dep. and apoc. forms are the same in the 'five verbs' (marked with *, see 3.45), the two fem. plur. forms show no mood distinctions at all, and the 2nd sing. masc. and 3rd sing. fem. are always identical (4.4 n 5): thus only 24 out of 39 possible forms exist.
Doubled verbs (11.3 n 1) either neutralize all distinction between apoc. and dep. forms (*'amurra*, *tamurra* etc.), or dissimilate when the final radical is unvowelled, e.g. *'amrur*, *tamrur* etc.).
Hollow verbs (10.23 n 2) have short stems when the final radical is unvowelled (*'akun*, *takun* etc.), and the remainder are in any case identical with the dep. forms (*takūnī*, *takūnā* etc.).
Weak 3rd rad. verbs: see 3.92 n 1.

(3) See 3.44 for these agent pronouns.

(4) The work is lost; see Ibn Ya^{c}īš or Howell on *Muf.* #405 or the commentaries on *Alf.* v 44 instead.

4.9 (1) Following al-Azharī, *Āj.* 26. By treating elision of *'*, *w*, *y* and *n* as a single item az-Zajjājī (*Jum.* 21) makes it nine; he also arrives at fourteen by redistributing them (with repeats) into the four morpheme classes (cf. 3.3), i.e. as set out by aš-Širbīnī in 3.0.

(2) Dependence operators 5.4-6; apocopating operators, 5.7-94.

(3) For invariability (*binā'*) see 1.41 n 4.

فقال باب الافعال الاصطلاحية الافعال جمع فعل وهو ثلاثة لا رابع لها الاول ماض
وهو ما دل وضعا على حدث وزمان انقضى ويميز عن قسيميه بتاء التأنيث الساكنة
الدالة على تأنيث فاعله كقام وقعد وخرج فتقول قامت هند وقعدت وخرجت وخرج
بالساكنة المتحركة فانها تدخل على الاسم كقائمة وعلى الحرف كربت وثمت الا ان
حركتها في الاسم حركة اعراب وفي الحرف حركة بناء وقد تكون في الاسم حركة
بناء نحو لا حول ولا قوة وخرج بالدالة على تأنيث فاعله قولهم ربت وثمت
بالسكون على قلة حيث دخلت على الحرف لانها انما دلت على تأنيث اللفظ لا على
تأنيث الفاعل كما مرت الاشارة الى بعض ذلك وقصدي في هذا الشرح ايضاح العبارة
ولو مع التكرار لينتفع به المبتدئ وغيره ان شاء الله تعالى والثاني مضارع اي
مشابه وهو ما دل وضعا على حدث وزمان غير منقض حاضرا كان او مستقبلا سمي

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 <u>Chapter on verbs:</u>[1] (in the technical sense). <u>Verbs</u> (plural of *fi*^{c}*l* 'verb, action') <u>are of three kinds,</u> and there is no fourth:

5.01 (1) <u>past tense,</u>[1] i.e. that which conventionally denotes an event and an elapsed time. It is distinguished from the other two kinds by the unvowelled feminine *t* suffix denoting that its agent is feminine: thus, with *qāma* 'to stand', *qa*^{c}*ada* 'to sit', *k̲araja* 'to go out', you say *qāmat hindun wa-qa*^{c}*adat wa-k̲arajat* 'Hind stood, sat, went out'. By 'unvowelled' he excludes the vowelled *t* which occurs on nouns,[2] e.g. *qā'imatun* 'standing' (fem. sing.) and on particles, e.g. *rubbata* 'how few', *t̲ummata* 'then', except that the vowel of this *t* in nouns is inflectional, while that of the particles is invariable (though the invariable vowel is sometimes found on nouns, e.g. *lā ḥawla wa-lā quwwata* 'no power and no might').[3] By 'denoting that its agent is feminine' he excludes such rarities as the unvowelled *t* on particles like *rubbat* 'how few', *t̲ummat* 'then', because on these it merely denotes that the expression itself is feminine, not that it has a feminine agent (as already partly made clear above; my aim in this commentary, however, is to clarify the terminology even at the cost of repetition, so that beginners may benefit from it, and others too, if Almighty God so wills);[4]

5.02 (2) <u>imperfect tense,</u> (i.e. 'similar' to the noun),[1] defined as that which conventionally denotes an event and an unelapsed time, whether

5.0 (1) *Jum.* 21; *Muf.* #402; *Qaṭr* 14; Beeston 71; Fleisch 104; Bateson 23; Yushmanov 47; *E.I.* (2), art. 'Fi^{c}l' (add to bibliography: K. Aartun, *Zur Frage altarabischer Tempora*, Oslo 1963; A. A. Bulos, *The Arabic Triliteral Verb,* Beirut 1965; Fleisch, in *Mélanges d'Islamologie vol. dédié ... à A. Abel*, ed. P. Salmon, Leiden 1974, I, 28; G. Schramm, *Lang.* 38, 360). 'Verb' renders *fi^{c}l*, lit. 'act, action', see 16.1 n 1.

5.01 (1) *māḍī*, lit. 'having elapsed'. The definition that we have here (and cf. also 1.21) illustrates clearly the penetration of Greek categories into Arabic grammar (see the discussion in Versteegh 140), which can be seen as early as az-Zajjājī, *Jum.* 21. The problem of the Arabic tenses is complex, however: some points of certainty are (a) the formal categories enumerated by Ibn Ājurrūm (and cf. 1.24) are not three tenses, but a relic of the original Semitic aspectual system (v. Moscati #16.28 and esp. #16.31, also Beeston 76, Fleisch 111); (b) no Arab classification exploits the full possible range of four distinct categories, viz. past, imperfect, future (= imperfect with prefix *sa* or *sawfa*, 1.82) and imperative, probably because the future is often expressed by the unmarked imperfect anyway (5.02); (c) Sībawayhi's grouping uses formal, functional and aspectual criteria to arrive at a classification entirely his own, viz. (i) 'constructed for what has elapsed' (*buniyat li-mā maḍā*), (ii) 'what is going to be and has not happened' (*mā yakūnu wa-lam yaqa^{c}*, note imperf. tense *yakūnu* in future meaning), which includes both the imperative and the unmarked imperf. with future meaning, (iii) 'what is being, not having ceased' (*mā huwa kā'inun lam yanqaṭi^{c}*, note agent noun *kā'inun* with participial meaning) i.e. the imperfect tense proper (all *Kitāb* I, 2, and cf. Troupeau, *G.L.E.C.S.* 9, esp. 46 on relative insignificance of absolute time, *zamān*, to Sībawayhi). Contrast Aartun, op. cit. 5.0 n 1, esp. 111, which is an attempt to demonstrate that the Arabic verbal system is wholly time-based. Further on aspect: Fleisch, *Arabica* 21, 11.

(2) See 11.42 n 1 on the feminine *t* in nouns.

(3) See 22.4 on the syntax of this phrase.

(4) Necessary self-justification because 5.01 is largely a verbatim repetition of 1.83.

5.02 (1) The grounds of the similarity are discussed in the ensuing lines, but it is worth pointing out that the term *muḍāri^{c}* 'similar, resembling', was not originally restricted to the imperfect tense verb, but (in the *Kitāb*, for example) was used to denote any formal similarity between elements of all kinds (v. Troupeau, *Lexique-Index*, *ḍ-r-^{c}*).

مضارعا من المضارعة وهي المشابهة للاسم واحسن ما قيل في وجه الشبه ان كلا منهما
تطرأ عليه بعد التركيب معان مختلفة تتعاقب على صيغة واحدة لكن الاسم اشد
احتياجا الى الاعراب من المضارع لان المضارع يميز معانيه غير الاعراب بخلاف
الاسم فلهذا كان الاعراب في (17b) الاسم اصلا وفي المضارع فرعا ويميز عن
قسيميه بدخول لم عليه قال تعالى لم يلد ولم يولد والثالث امر وهو مستقبل
ابدا اذ المقصود منه حصول ما ليس بحاصل ويميز عن قسيميه بدلالته على الطلب
بنفسه نحو قم فخرج نحو لا تضرب فان الدلالة على الطلب وان فهمت منه فهي
بواسطة حرف النهي الذي هو طلب الترك ولا بد مع ذلك من قبول ياء المخاطبة وهي
اسم مضمر عند سيبويه قال تعالى فكلي واشربي وقري عينا او نون التوكيد نحو
اقبلن فلو دلت الكلمة على الطلب ولم تقبل الياء ولا النون نحو صه بمعنى اسكت
فهي اسم فعل ولا فعل امر او قبلت ياء المخاطبة ولم تدل على الطلب نحو انت
تقومين وتقعدين فهي فعل مضارع وليست فعل امر فهذه حقيقة الافعال الثلاثة واما
احكامها فالماضي مفتوح الاخر ابدا ثلاثيا كان كضرب او رباعيا كدحرج او خماسيا

present or future. It is called *muḍāri*^{c} 'resembling' from the word *muḍāra*^{c}*atun* 'resemblance', meaning similarity to the noun.[2] The best explanation of the point of similarity is that in syntactical combination[3] both nouns and verbs acquire a variety of meanings, some of which result in identical forms of inflection. The noun, however, needs inflection more than the imperfect tense verb because the meanings of the imperfect (unlike those of the noun) can be distinguished by means other than inflection, hence inflection is *(17b)* fundamental in nouns and only secondary in imperfect tense verbs. The imperfect is distinguished from the other two kinds of verb by the fact that it may be preceded by *lam* 'not', as in the Qur'anic *lam yalid wa-lam yūlad* 'he bore not, nor was he born'.[4]

5.03 (3) imperative.[1] This is always future, since its aim is the occurrence of what has not yet happened. It is distinguished from the other two kinds by intrinsically denoting a demand, e.g. *qum* 'stand!'. Excluded, for example, is *lā taḍrib* 'do not strike!', for even if this is understood to denote a demand, it is only through the intermediary of a particle of prohibition, i.e. it is a demand to desist. Being a verb, the imperative must be able to take the second person singular *ī* (which Sībawayhi regarded as a pronominalized noun),[2] as in the Qur'anic *fa-kulī wa-šrabī wa-qarrī* ^{c}*aynan* 'so eat, drink and delight your eye'.[3] It must also be able to take the emphatic *anna*, as in *'aqbilanna* 'approach!!'.[4] If a word denotes a demand but cannot take the feminine *ī* or the emphatic *anna*, e.g. *ṣah* 'ssh!' meaning *uskut* 'be quiet!', it is not an imperative verb but a noun of action.[5] Similarly, if it does take the second person feminine singular *i* but does not denote a demand, e.g. *'anti taqumīna wa-taq*^{c}*udīna* 'you (fem. sing.) are standing up and sitting down', it is not an imperative but an imperfect tense verb. Those are the facts of the three kinds of verbs: their grammatical rules are as follows.[6]

5.1 The past tense always ends in *a*,[1] whether triliteral, e.g. *ḍaraba* 'to strike', quadriliteral, e.g. *daḥraja* 'to overturn', quinquiliteral,

(2) The formal similarity is that both nouns and imperfect tense verbs share the inflections *u* and *a* (cf. 2.2). Arabs argue synchronically that the inflection of the verb is logically secondary (e.g. *Inṣāf*, prob. 73), while the Western, diachronical view is that inflection of verbs is historically secondary (e.g. Brockelmann, *Grundr.* I, 554). Sībawayhi (*Kitāb* I, 3) sees the 'similarity' as functional, in that the imperfect tense verb is interchangeable with the agent noun in *'inna ᶜabda llāhi la-yafᶜalu/la-fāᶜilun* 'ᶜAbdullāh is doing', with the added resemblance that the predicate marker *la* (13.6 n 4) can be prefixed to imperfect tense, but not past tense verbs. Finally there is the possibility of making both nouns and imperfect tense verbs more specific by prefixes: *al* 'the' on nouns (11.74), the future markers *sa* and *sawfa* on verbs (1.82). Bateson 25 seems to imply that imperfect tense verbs are 'similar' because they have partly nominal inflection, but this is, of course, the wrong way round. Cf. also Versteegh 78.

(3) On 'syntactical combination' (*tarkīb* and 'meaning' (*maᶜnā*) in that context cf. 2.2 nn 5, 6, 20.6 n 3.

(4) S. 112 v 3, referring to Allāh in an oblique refutation of the divinity of Jesus. The choice of *lam* (5.71) of the particles which operate on verbs (v. infra) springs from the fact that it is one of the very few which can only be followed by a verb. The verbs *yalid* and *yūlad* are peculiar in that the first radical is *w*, which is elided if the prefix vowel is *a* (5.31), thus **yawlid*>*yalid*. If for any reason the prefix vowel is *u* (here because it is passive, 8.3) the *w* remains, but is now a vowel lengthener (2.43 n 2), thus *yuwlad* = *yūlad* (see further 10.67 n 1).

5.03 (1) *'amr*, lit. 'command', always positive in Arabic, since there is a separate structure for prohibitions (5.76). For Sībawayhi the imperative is aspectually in the same category as the imperfect tense denoting events not yet happening (5.01 n 1). Formally the imperative can hardly be anything but the apocopated verb minus its personal prefixes (paradigm at 7.82 n 1), which are redundant because this verb form is only ever used in direct address (cf. Bravmann, *J.Q.R.*(NS) 42, 51). Beeston 84; Fleisch 107; Bateson 25; Yushmanov 53; see 5.2.

(2) It must also take the other agent pronouns (5.2). The reference to Sībawayhi is *Kitāb* I, 5 (and cf. Jahn, nn 53, 59 to #2).

(3) S. 19 v 26. See 5.2 n 3 on the forms.

(4) See 3.241 n 2.

(5) *ism fiᶜl*, see 1.42 n 3.

(6) At this point the text of the *Ājurrūmiyya* usually illustrates the three kinds of verb thus: "e.g. *ḍaraba* 'he struck', *yaḍribu* 'he strikes', *iḍrib* 'strike'", which aš-Širbīnī redistributes through the following paragraphs. On *ḥukm* 'grammatical rule' see 24.1 n 2.

5.1 (1) *Muf.* #403; *Qaṭr* 15; Beeston 72; Fleisch 105; Bateson 24; Yushmanov 52. Paradigms 7.51 to 7.62. Ibn Ājurrūm's statement applies

كانطلق او سداسيا كاستخرج ولا يزيد على ذلك وانما بني علي حركة لمشابهتها
المضارع في الجملة ولثقل الضم والكسر وثقل الفعل عدلوا الى الفتح لخفته الا اذا كان
مع واو الجماعة فيضم اخره ضمة بناء كضربوا لمناسبة الواو فهي عارضة او كان
مع الضمير المرفوع المتحرك فيسكن اخره تسكين بناء بتثليث التاء ومن الفعل
الماضي نعم وبئس وعسى وليس لقبولها التاء المذكورة تقول نعمت وبئست وعست
وليست واما الامر فهو مجزوم ابدا وهو مبني على الاصح عند جمهور البصريين
وبناؤه على ما يجزم به مضارعه فان كان صحيح الاخر فعلى السكون كاضرب وانطلق
واستخرج فان مضارعه يجزم بالسكون نحو لم يضرب ولم ينطلق ولم يستخرج (18a)
وان كان معتلا وهو ما كان اخره واوا او الفا او ياء فبناؤه على حذف حرف

e.g. *inṭalaqa* 'to depart' or six-lettered, e.g. *istaḵraja* 'to extract' (there is nothing higher than this).[2] Because of its similarity to the imperfect tense verb in the sentence, its invariable ending is a short vowel, *a* being preferred as the easiest to pronounce, since *i* and *u*, as well as the verb itself, are phonetically cumbersome.[3] The exceptions are: the masculine plural *ū*, as in *ḍarabū* 'they struck', where the verb ends in an *u* of invariability (this being the short vowel corresponding to *w*, hence the *u* here is merely accidental),[4] and when the vowelled independent pronouns are suffixed, in which case the end of the verb is unvowelled and invariable with all three *t* suffixes.[5]

5.11 Among the past tense verbs are included *ni*^{c}*ma* 'how good he is', *bi'sa* 'how bad he is', ^{c}*asā* 'he might' and *laysa* 'he is not',[1] since they can all take the above-mentioned feminine *t*, e.g. *ni*^{c}*mat* 'how good she is', *bi'sat* 'how bad she is', ^{c}*asat* 'she might' and *laysat* 'she is not'.

5.2 The imperative is always apocopated, or rather, it is invariable, according to the best view held by the majority of Baṣrans.[1] Its invariable form is the same as the apocopated form of its imperfect tense: if the verb is of sound ending[2] it is unvowelled, e.g. *iḍrib* 'strike!', *inṭaliq* 'depart!', *istaḵrij* 'extract!',[3] whose apocopated imperfect tense is unvowelled, viz. *lam yaḍrib* 'he did not strike', *lam yanṭaliq* 'he did not depart', *lam yastaḵrij* 'he did not extract'. If the verb is *(18a)* defective, i.e. ends in *ū*, *ā* or *ī*, it is made invariable by eliding the defective consonant, e.g. *uḡzu* 'raid!',

only to the 3rd masc. sing. (see 5.03 n 6), which serves as the typical form of the verb for pedagogical purposes (and cf. 3.52 n 3).

(2) All verbs (also nouns, 10.37 n 1) are regarded as derived from three, less often four radical consonants expressing a particular root notion and which may be augmented, under strict rules, by up to three additional consonants (5.3 n 2), as long as the total does not exceed six. These consonants in effect constitute a stem, to which the appropriate vowels and consonantal pre- and suffixes may be added: the past tense agent pronouns are all suffixes, dealt with one by one in 7.51 et seq. For derived (i.e. expanded) verb stems see 8.51 n 1. The verb *istaḵraja* is six-lettered because the initial *i* vowel is notated with the consonant *'alif* (a juncture feature, 5.2 n 3), hence the consonants are (*'*)-(*s*)-(*t*)-*ḵ*-*r*-*j* (augments in brackets).

(3) Cf. 2.31 n 4 on phonetic inconvenience. It is a long-standing belief that *a* is the 'lightest' vowel, cf. al-Mubarrad, *Muqtaḍab* III, 19.

(4) Orthographically *ḍarabū* is *ḍrbw'*, and the suffixing of *w* (= *ū*, see 2.43 n 2) entails the *u* on the last radical which is not, in the Arab view, an inflection but an invariable vowel. See 7.61 n 2 on final *'*.

(5) Lit. 'with triple *t*', referring to the suffixes *tu* 'I', *ta* 'you' (masc. sing.) and *ti* 'you' (fem. sing.). The other suffixes which are also attached directly to the unvowelled last radical (viz. all the duals and plurals) are taken for granted here, probably because they are regarded as derivatives of the singulars, cf. 11.717.

5.11 (1) For *laysa* see 10.18; *ᶜasā* 10.101 n 1. The verbs *niᶜma* and *bi'sa* are rare examples of retrogressive vowel harmony accompanied by loss of central vowel, thus **ba'isa*>*bi'isa*>*bi'sa* (cf. Rabin, *Anc. West-Ar.*, 97, where this is identified as an Eastern Arabic trait). See 20.7 n 2 on the syntax of *niᶜma* and *bi'sa*.

5.2 (1) See 9.4 n 3 on 'Baṣrans'. In *Inṣāf*, prob. 72, the 'Kūfans' claim apocopation through synonymity with the indirect imperative verb with prefix *li* (5.75), while the 'Baṣrans' argue that there is no inflection because the necessary condition, similarity to nouns (5.02), is lacking in imperatives.

(2) i.e. the last radical is not *w* or *y*, which are dealt with later.

(3) Every syllable in Arabic must begin with a consonant (2.43 n 2), but only one, and if morphological processes cause a word to begin with two consonants (it will never be more than two), an extra syllable has to be created. In the formation of the imperative, the removal of the personal prefix *ta* usually leaves a consonant cluster (e.g. *ta-ḍrib, ta-nṭaliq* etc.), and this is resolved by prefixing the syllable *'i*, on the special nature of which see further 13.12 n 1. Note also that there is partial vowel harmony in this prefix: it is *'i* if the vowels of the verb stem are *a* or *i*, but *'u* if the internal vowel is also *u*, e.g. *'uktub* 'write!'. If the removal of the personal prefix does not expose a consonant cluster this procedure is unnecessary, as

واخش وارم فان مضارعه يجزم بحذف اخره نحو لم يخش ولم يغز ولم يرم وان
اتصل به الف اثنين او واو جماعة او ياء مؤنثة مخاطبة نحو قوما وقوموا وقومي
فبناؤه على حذف النون من اخره فان مضارعه يجزم بحذف النون نحو لم تضربا
ولم تضربوا ولم تضربي ومن فعل الامر هات بكسر التاء ما لم يتصل به ضمير
جماعة الذكور فتضم وتعال بفتح اللام في جميع احواله لدلالتهما على الطلب
وقبولهما مع ذلك ياء المخاطبة كهاتي وتعالي فان امرت بهما مذكرا كان
بناؤهما على حذف حرف العلة تقول هات وتعال كارم واخش وان امرت بهما
مؤنثا كان بناؤهما على حذف النون نحو هاتي وتعالي كارمي واخشي والمضارع
ما كان في اوله احدى الزوائد الاربع المسماة باحرف المضارعة وهي الهمزة والنون
والياء المثناة من تحت والتاء المثناة من فوق يجمعها حروف انيت بمعنى دركت
او نأيت بمعنى بعدت بشرط ان تكون الهمزة للمتكلم وحده والنون للمتكلم ومن

ik̲ša 'fear!', *irmi* 'throw!', whose imperfect tense is apocopated by eliding the final consonant, viz. *lam yak̲ša* 'he did not fear', *lam yaġzu* 'he did not raid', *lam yarmi* 'he did not throw'.[4] If it is suffixed with the dual *ā*, the masculine plural *ū* or the second person feminine singular *ī*,[5] e.g. *qūmā* 'stand!' (dual), *qūmū* 'stand!' (masc. plur.), *qūmī* 'stand!' (fem. sing.),[6] it is made invariable by eliding the final *n*, as in *lam taḍribā* 'you two (masc. & fem.) did not strike', *lam taḍribū* 'you (masc. plur.) did not strike', *lam taḍribī* 'you (fem. sing.) did not strike'.[7]

5.21 Among the imperative verbs are *hāti* 'bring!'[1] (with *i* after the *t* providing no masculine plural pronoun is suffixed, in which case *u* occurs), and *taᶜāla* 'come!' (always with *a* after the *l*), because they both denote a demand and may also take the feminine singular *ī*.[2] Thus when used to command a male they are invariable with elision of the defective consonant, viz. *hāti* 'bring!', *taᶜāla* 'come!', like *irmi* 'throw!' and *ik̲ša* 'fear!', and when used to command a female they are invariable with elision of *n*, viz. *hātī* 'bring!', *taᶜālay* 'come!', like *irmī* 'throw!' and *ik̲šay* 'fear!'.

5.3 The imperfect tense begins with one of the four augments known as the 'consonants of the imperfect tense',[1] viz. *ʼ*, *n*, *y* (spelt with two dots below) and *t* (spelt with two dots above), which are combined in the letters making up the word *ʼanaytu*, meaning 'I reached' (alternatively *naʼaytu*, meaning 'I was distant').[2] The conditions are that *ʼ* denotes the speaker by himself, *n* the speaker and whoever is with him,

with *kulī* (*ta'-kulī*, see 18.108 n 2) and *qarrī* (*ta-qarrī*, cf. 11.3 n 1) in 5.03. Regular paradigm in 7.82.

(4) See 3.92 n 2. Note that throughout this paragraph aš-Širbīnī cites the 3rd masc. sing. as the base form for the imperative: this is simply because the 3rd masc. sing. is always used for 'quoting' verbs (cf. 3.52 n 3).

(5) See 3.44 for these agent pronouns.

(6) Removal of the personal prefix leaves no consonant cluster with the 'hollow verbs' (10.23 n 2), viz. *ta-qūmu* etc., hence no additional syllable required as in n 3 above. The masc. sing. *qum* is likewise regularly derived from *ta-qum*.

(7) The fact that loss of *n* in the 'five verbs' (3.93) and elision of the lengthening marker in 3rd weak rad. verbs (3.92) are allomorphs of the apocopated ending must surely weaken the 'Baṣran' argument that imperative verbs are not apocopated (5.2 n 1).

5.21 (1) It is doubtful whether *hāti* is in fact a verb, and Fleisch, *Tr.* #115q, argues quite positively that it is a combination of a deictic *hā* (cf. 11.735 n 1) and an element *ti* presumably related to that of *rubbata* etc. (1.83 n 3). Nevertheless a causative prefix *ha* does survive in some verbs (*harāqa* 'to pour', doublet of *'arāqa*, the normal Stem IV form, cf. 8.63 n 1, and Moscati #16.10), and perhaps *hāti* has been influenced by the existing causative verb *'ātā* (imperative *'āti* etc., cf. 5.82 n 5). Another deictic element which has become assimilated to the imperative is *halumma* 'come on, now', fem. *halummī*, etc., cf. *Muf.* #189; Fleisch 146, *Tr.* 115k; Rabin, *Anc. West-Ar.* 162.

(2) Naturally the other agent suffixes are understood (5.03 n 2). After *a* the fem. sing. *ī* (= *iy*, v. 2.43 n 2) reduces to *y* in *ta*^{c}*ālay* etc.

5.3 (1) The *'aḥruf al-muḍāra*^{c}*a*, where *'aḥruf*, lit. 'consonants, letters in general' (cf. 1.11) clearly equates with the concept of morphemes. Moreover, as emerges from the subsequent discussion, these morphemes are not to be confused with the same consonants in different functions, viz. as radicals (cf. 5.1 n 2) in the quadriliteral words *narjastu* and *yarna'tu*, and as morphemes of a different class in *'akramtu* (where *'* is the causative prefix, cf. 8.63 n 1) and *ta*^{c}*allamtu* (where *t* is a reflexive prefix, cf. 8.64 n 1). Nor are these augments themselves agent pronouns, see n 3 below.

(2) The later Arab grammarians are very fond of such mnemonic devices: the neatest is perhaps *sa'altumūnīhā* 'you (masc. plur.) asked me about them', which contains all the ten consonants (*s*, *'*, *l*, *t*, *m*, *w*, *n*, *y*, *h*, *ā*, thus including the two functions of the letter *'alif*, viz. *'* and *ā*, see 2.43 n 2) which can be used as augments. One wry scholar has enshrined them in the sentence *'al-yawma tansāhu* 'today you will forget it' (e.g. Ibn as-Sarrāj, *al-Mūjaz fī n-naḥw*, ed. M. el-Chouémi and B. Damerdji, Beirut 1965, 145; *Muf.* #671). Lane, 1276, s.v. *ziyāda*,

معه او للمعظم نفسه ولو ادعاء والياء للغائب المذكر مطلقا ولجمع الغائبات
والتاء للمخاطب مطلقا او للغائبة او للغائبتين نحو قولك اقوم ونقوم ويقوم
وتقوم فان قيل هذه الاحرف تدخل على الماضي نحو اكرمت زيدا وتعلمت المسئلة
ونرجست الدواء اذا جعلت فيه نرجسا ويرنأت الشيب اذا اخضبته باليرنأ وهو
الحناء اجيب بانك اذا قيدته بما ذكر لم يرد ذلك تنبيه للمضارع حكمان حكم
باعتبار اوله وحكم باعتبار اخره فالحكم الذي باعتبار اوله انه يضم اوله وهو
الحرف المفتتح به ان كان ماضيه (18b) رباعيا كيدحرج اذ ماضيه دحرج ويفتح في
غيره سواء اكان ثلاثيا كيضرب فان ماضيه ضرب ام خماسيا كينطلق فان ماضيه
انطلق ام سداسيا كيستخرج فان ماضيه استخرج والحكم الذي في اخره انه يسكن
اخره مع نون النسوة فانه مبني معها على الاصح نحو قوله تعالى والمطلقات
يتربصن ويفتح اخره مع نون التوكيد المباشرة سواء اكانت ثقيلة نحو قوله
تعالى ليسجنن او خفيفة نحو قوله تعالى ليكونا من الصاغرين ويعرب المضارع
فيما عدا كما اشار اليه المصنف بقوله وهو مرفوع ابدا اي بالتجرد من الناصب

or a single person in self-magnification (even if only by pretension), *y* denotes the absent male absolutely and the plural of absent females, and *t* denotes the person addressed absolutely, the single absent female and the dual absent female,[3] e.g. *'aqūmu* 'I stand', *naqūmu* 'we stand', *yaqūmu* 'he stands', *taqūmu* 'you (masc. sing.) stand, she stands'. If it is objected that these consonants also appear on past tense verbs, as in *'akramtu zaydan* 'I honoured Zayd', *ta^c^allamtu l-mas'ila* 'I learnt the problem', *narjastu d-dawa'a* 'I put narcissus (*narjis*) in the medicine', *yarna'tu š-šayba* 'I put red dye (*yarna'*, i.e. henna) in the white hair', the answer is that if you define them as above this is clearly not intended.[4]

5.31 Note: There are two rules for the form of the imperfect tense verb, one for its beginning and one for its end. The rule for the beginning is that its first letter[1] (i.e. the one which actually begins the word) is always followed by *u* if the corresponding past tense *(18b)* is quadriliteral,[2] e.g. *yudaḥriju* 'he overturns' (past tense *daḥraja* 'he overturned'), but otherwise is followed by *a*, whether the verb is triliteral, as in *yaḍribu* 'he strikes' (past tense *ḍaraba* 'he strikes'), quinquiliteral,[3] e.g. *yanṭaliqu* 'he departs' (past tense *inṭalaqa* 'he departed') or six-lettered, e.g. *yastak̲riju* 'he extracts' (past tense *istak̲raja* 'he extracted').

5.32 The rule for the end is that it is unvowelled with the feminine plural *na*[1] (strictly speaking it is invariable when this is suffixed),[2] as in the Qur'anic *wa-l-muṭallaqātu yatarabbaṣna* 'and the divorced women wait',[3] and it has *a* when directly suffixed with the emphatic *anna,* whether the heavy form, as in the Qur'anic *la-yusjananna* 'he shall surely be imprisoned!', or the light form, as in the Qur'anic ***wa-l-yakūnan min aṣ-ṣāğirīna*** 'he shall surely be among the humbled'.[4]

5.33 Apart from this the imperfect tense is inflected, as the author indicates by saying, <u>and it is always independent</u>[1] (that is, in the

reports that over 130 mnemonics for these morphemes exist!

(3) Here, and at 7.4, 9.22, 11.71 only, the original periphrastic nomenclature of the 1st, 2nd and 3rd persons is reproduced literally (see 9.22 n 2 for the transliteration of the Arabic terms). Note especially that the morphemes listed here are not agent pronouns, as one might at first assume, but only markers of number and person: in the Arab analysis, agent pronouns appear either as overt suffixes (here the *ī*, *ū*, and *ā* of the 'five verbs', q.v. 3.44) or as 'concealed pronouns' (*ḍamīr mustatir*, 7.58 n 1, 7.8 n 1). In this the Arabs have gone further than, say, Trager and Rice, *Language* 30, esp. 226 (also Hamp, *Studies in Linguistics*, Buffalo, 14, 21), by assigning the agent function exclusively to the second element of a discontinuous morpheme.

(4) Since all the augments listed in n 2 above can also appear as full radical letters, it is of some consequence to be able to recognize in any given word which are its radicals and which are not. Dictionaries, for example, are invariably arranged according to radicals.

5.31 (1) 'First letter' here means the imperfect tense augment, not the first radical, nor any other augments associated with the stem (cf. 5.3 n 1). Only the active voice is meant here: for passive see 8.3.

(2) Quadriliteral verbs are (a) those with four different radicals, e.g. *daḥraja*, (b) reduplicated stems, e.g. *jaljala* 'to resound', (c) stems with single augment (q.v. 8.51 n 1). All three conjugate as augmented stems (see n 3); Beeston 73; Fleisch 127; Bateson 35.

(3) Quinquiliterals and six-lettered verbs are always augmented triliteral and quadriliterals, cf. 5.1 n 2: thus (augments in brackets) the verbs here are (')-(*n*)-*ṭ*-*l*-*q* (paradigm 8.66 n 1), (')-(*s*)-(*t*)-*k̲*-*r*-*j* (paradigm 8.72 n 1). An augmented quadriliteral is, e.g. *tadaḥraja* 'to be overturned, (*t*)-*d*-*ḥ*-*r*-*j*, which has the same imperfect tense pattern as the triliteral paradigm in 8.64 n 1, viz. *yatadaḥraju* etc.

5.32 (1) See 3.241 n 1 on this morpheme and transliteration problems.

(2) The fem. plur. *na* is suffixed directly to the last radical of the verb, e.g. *yaḍrib-na* 'they strike', and the argument is that the lack of vowel on the *b* is not an instance of apocopation, i.e. the absence of vowel is not phonemic and the stem is uninflected (cf. 3.91 n 1).

(3) S. 2 v 228. The point of the example is that, if an overt agent precedes its verb, the latter is marked for the number and gender of the agent, in contrast with the rules for the usual verbal sentence, q.v. at 7.12 and cf. also 7.62.

(4) Both quotations are from S. 12 v 32. Though transcribed throughout as *anna* and *an* respectively (see 3.241 n 2), the *a* is not part of the suffix, and the verbs in the examples must be segmented *yusjana-nna* and *yakūna-n*. Nevertheless, the *a* is not an inflection, cf. 5.1 n 3, 5.32 n 2. See further 26.34 n 2, also 13.6 n 3 on the prefix *la*.

5.33 (1) The concept of a 'main verb' exists by default, as it were,

والجازم نحو يقوم زيد ويخشى زيد ويغزو زيد ويرمي زيد فهذه الافعال الاربعة
مرفوعة بالتجرد وعلامة رفعها الضمة ونحو يضربان وتضربان ويضربون وتضربون
وتضربين فهذه الافعال الخمسة مرفوعة بالتجرد وعلامة رفعها ثبوت النون نيابة عن
الضمة ويستمر على رفعه حتى يدخل عليه ناصب فينصبه او جازم فيجزمه ولما فرغ
من رفعه بالتجرد شرع في نصبه بالنواصب فقال فالنواصب للمضارع وفاقا وخلافا
عشرة على ما هو هنا والمتفق عليها اربعة والستة الباقية بعدها تنصب المضارع
باضمار ان بعدها ولكن نسب المصنف النصب اليها تقريبا على المبتدئ ثم اشار
الى الاربعة المتفق عليها بقوله وهي ان المفتوحة الهمزة الساكنة النون وهي موصول
حرفي تسبك مع منصوبها بمصدر فلذلك تسمى مصدرية وتقع في موضعين احدهما

absence of operators of dependence or apocopation), e.g. *yaqūmu zaydun* 'Zayd stands', *yak̲šā zaydun* 'Zayd fears', *yaġzū zaydun* 'Zayd raids', *yarmī zaydun* 'Zayd throws'; these four verbs are made independent by the absence of operators and their independence marker is *u*, likewise *yaḍribāni* 'they two (masc.) strike', *taḍribāni* 'you two (masc. & fem.) strike, they two (fem.) strike', *yaḍribūna* 'they (masc.) strike', *taḍribūna* 'you (masc. plur.) strike', *taḍribīna* 'you (fem. sing.) strike', these 'five verbs' being made independent by the absence of operators,[2] with retention of *n* as their independence marker instead of *u*.

5.34 They remain independent until preceded by an operator of dependence (which therefore makes them dependent) or an operator of apocopation. (This apocopates them).[1] Having finished with the independence of the imperfect tense verb through the absence of operators, he now turns to its dependence caused by dependence operators:

5.4 The operators of dependence[1] on the imperfect tense (including both those accepted unanimously and those in dispute) are ten in number: as presented here, of which only four are unanimously accepted, the remaining six being held to make the imperfect tense dependent only by means of a suppressed *'an* 'that',[2] but the author attributes dependence directly to them to make it easier for the beginner. He then indicates the four unanimously accepted: they are,

5.41 (1) *'an* 'that',[1] (spelt with *a* after the *'* and unvowelled *n*). This is a relative particle[2] which fuses with its dependent verb to form the

as one of the implications of the 'zero-operator' (5.34 n 1). The independent inflection of the verb thus parallels that of the noun when it is free from operators (cf. 9.11). *Inṣāf*, prob. 73, deals with the disputes between the 'Baṣrans' and 'Kūfans' (9.4 n 3) on this topic: the substance of the Baṣran position is reproduced in 5.02 n 2, in the name of Sībawayhi, but it is interesting that one argument of the Kūfans has been incorporated unacknowledged into aš-Širbīnī's position, viz. the need for verbal inflection based upon variations in syntactic function. The other Kūfan doctrine, however, is perhaps more interesting: they speak of the need for inflection in verbs because imperfect tense verbs denote 'lengthy periods of time (of continuous duration)' (the last phrase is added from az-Zajjājī's paraphrase of the case in *Īḍāḥ*, 80), and therefore resemble nouns in that both can refer to qualities inherent in an agent and only ceasing when the agent ceases to exist. Versteegh, 80, overlooks this aspect of the Kūfan theory, which certainly needs further exploration.

(2) This is the Kūfan view, Baṣrans favouring the predicative function as the reason for the verb's independence (*Inṣāf*, prob. 74). See 3.24 for the inflection markers involved, 3.44 for the 'five verbs'.

5.34 (1) Since inflection is produced by operators (2.1, 2.11), there must be an explanation for instances where no operator can be shown, principally the equational sentence (9.11) and the indep. imperfect tense verb. The solution was the notion of *tajarrud*, lit. 'being stripped bare', i.e. of operators, here translated 'absence of operators', and sometimes more specifically as 'freedom from the operators of dependence and apocopation', e.g. 3.24. In 9.01, 9.03 we find a synonym in the adjective *ᶜārī*, lit. 'naked', i.e. 'devoid of operators'. This seems to have become an established technicality as early as al-Mubarrad (d. 898), cf. *Muqtaḍab* IV, 126. See also 3.24 n 2 and, for neutralization of operators, 5.431 n 3.

5.4 (1) *Jum.* 194; *Muf.* #410; *Alf.* v 677; *Qaṭr* 54; Beeston 84; Fleisch 198; Yushmanov 72; Nöldeke 70. The unanimous view reported by aš-Širbīnī is that of the 'Baṣrans' (9.4 n 3), hence it is the 'Kūfan' line which Ibn Ājurrūm here follows. Dep. paradigms 4.82 n 1.

(2) Here 'suppressed' renders *muḍmar*, lit. 'kept in the mind', mostly used in the narrower technical sense of 'pronoun', q.v. at 11.71 n 1.

5.41 (1) *Jum.* 206, 333; *Muf.* #411; *Alf.* v 677; *Qaṭr* 58; Beeston 92; Fleisch 201; Yushmanov 72. The spelling instructions (3.44 n 2) are needed to avoid confusion with *'in* (5.81), *'inna* (10.41), *'anna* (10.42)!

(2) This translates *mawṣūl ḥarfī*: *mawṣūl*, lit. 'thing joined' is from relative clause terminology, denoting the element which 'joins' the relative clause to its antecedent (see 11.75 et seq.), while *ḥarfī*, lit. 'in the particle family' (see 11.721 n 4) distinguishes *'an* from the set of nouns *allaḏī* etc. which introduce true relative clauses, q.v. 11.752. Both of these are nominalizers of their clauses, but see Spitaler, *Oriens* 15, 97, Yushmanov 73 for *allaḏī* in an apparently subordinating function (though Spitaler explains *allaḏī* here as

في الابتداء فتكون في موضع رفع على الابتداء كقوله تعالى وان تصوموا خير لكم
والثاني بعد لفظ دال على معنى غير اليقين فتكون في موضع رفع على الفاعليـــــة
كقوله تعالى الم يأن للذين امنوا (19a) ان تخشع قلوبهم وفي موضع نصب على
المفعولية كقوله تعالى فاردت ان اعيبها او في موضع جر كقوله تعالى من قبـــل
ان يأتي يوم قدمها لاصالتها لانها ام الباب تنصب ظاهرة ومضمرة من امثلة الاول
قوله تعالى والذي اطمع ان يغفر لى خطيئتي ومن امثلة الثاني

ولبس عباءة وتقر عيني   احب الي من لبس الشفوف

فتقر منصوب بان مضمرة وهي والفعل في تأويل مصدر مرفوع بالعطف على لبس والتقدير
ولبس عباءة وقرة عيني وخرج بالمصدرية ان المفسرة وهي المسبوقة بجملة فيها معنى
القول دون حروفه لانها بمنزلة اي نحو فاوحينا اليه ان اصنع الفلك اي اصنع والزائدة

equivalent of a verbal noun,[3] for which reason it is called 'the verbal noun *'an*'. It occurs in two positions:[4] (a) as the initial element of an equational sentence, with independent function as subject, as in the Qur'anic *wa-'an taṣūmū ḵayrun lakum* 'and that you should fast is best for you',[5] and (b) after an expression denoting a sense of uncertainty; here it may have independent function as agent, as in the Qur'anic *'a-lam ya'ni li-llaḏīna 'āmanū (19a) 'an taḵša*^{c}*a qulūbuhum* 'has it not occurred to those who believe that their hearts should be humble?',[6] or it may have dependent function as object, as in the Qur'anic *'aradtu 'an 'a*^{c}*ības̄hā* 'I wanted to blame it',[7] or oblique function, as in the Qur'anic *min qabli 'an ya'tiya yawmun* 'before a certain day comes'.[8] The author puts *'an* first because it is the fundamental particle and parent[9] of the whole category.

5.411 It makes dependent either when overt or suppressed: an example of the former is the Qur'anic *wa-llaḏī 'aṭma*^{c}*u 'an yaġfira lī ḵaṭī'atī* 'and who I desire that he should forgive me my sin',[1] and the latter is illustrated in the verse

wa-lubsu ^{c}*aba'ātin wa-taqarra* ^{c}*aynī*
'aḥabbu 'ilayya min lubsi š-šufūfi

'and wearing a rough cloak and my eye relax is dearer to me than wearing the finest cloth',[2] where *taqarra* 'may relax' is made dependent by a suppressed *'an* 'that', which, combined with its verb, is a paraphrase of an independent verbal noun coordinated with *lubsu* 'the wearing'. Thus the implicit meaning is *lubsu* ^{c}*abā'atin wa-qurratu* ^{c}*aynī* 'the wearing of a rough cloak and the relaxation of my eye'.[3]

5.412 The term 'verbal noun *'an*' excludes the 'explanatory *'an*',[1] viz. the one preceded by a sentence containing a synonym of *qāla* 'to say' but not its actual letters,[2] because this *'an* merely has the status of *'ay* 'i.e.', as in the Qur'anic *fa-'awḥaynā 'ilayhi 'an iṣna*^{c} *il-fulka* 'so we inspired him, (that) "build the ark!"',[3] i.e. we said 'build!'.

5.413 Also excluded is the 'redundant *'an*'[1] that sometimes follows the

equivalent to *'iḏ* 'lo', cf. 1.441 n 5, not to *'an*).

(3) See 17.1 on the verbal noun (*maṣdar*). The resulting nominalized clause now functions as a single noun (cf. 9.02).

(4) 'Positions' is literal for *mawāḍi*^{c}, elsewhere 'functions' (3.1 n 4).

(5) S. 2 v 184, see 9.02.

(6) S. 57 v 16, cf. 7.02 n 3. After expressions of certainty the indep. verb is used, cf. Fleisch 199, and 5.413 n 4.

(7) S. 18 v 79.

(8) S. 30 v 43. As in many languages, prepositions usually subordinate sentences by means of conjunctions, in this case *'an*: thus the word *qabli* is annexed to the noun phrase headed by *'an* (cf. 26.73 n 2).

(9) Lit. the 'mother' of the whole category, one of the frequent anthropomorphisms encountered in Arabic grammar, cf. 6.4 n 2.

5.411 (1) S. 26 v 82. The verse refers to Allāh, and the lame English is designed to clarify the structure of the Arabic: the use of 'whom' here would obscure the fact that the clause 'that he should forgive' is the true direct object of 'I desire'.

(2) *Schaw. Ind.* 155, cf. also *Jum.* 199; Ibn ^{c}Aqīl on *Alf.* v 693; *Qaṭr* 64. On the grammatical problem in general, see Carter, *Arabica* 20, 292.

(3) The analysis of this verse offers a good specimen of *taqdīr*, i.e. reconstruction of underlying forms (cf. 2.101 n 1). The issue on the formal level is that verbs cannot be coordinated with nouns by *wa* 'and', hence the verb *taqarra* has to be nominalized by an assumed *'an* (which accounts for the dep. form of *taqarra* according to the 'Baṣran' interpretation), yielding an implicit noun phrase which is in turn equivalent to the verbal noun *qurratun* 'relaxation'. This verse and others like it are usually quoted in connection with an occasional function of *wa* in the meaning 'together with', when dependent forms of both nouns and verbs occur - see ch. 25 passim and 5.54 n 2, also references in n 2 above.

5.412 (1) *Jum.* 333; *Muf.* #570; al-Ušmūnī on *Alf.* v 679; *Qaṭr* 60; Fleisch 145; Reckendorf, *Arab. Synt.* #193. The *'an al-mufassira*, of which 'explanatory *'an*' is a literal translation, functions as little more than a colon (Fleisch loc. cit.) and is followed by direct speech. It is probably a relic of a time when *'an* was simply a demonstrative element. Nöldeke 104 has an interesting anthology of examples.

(2) i.e. any verb of saying except *qāla* itself, for which there are special rules (10.64 n 1). For 'letters' in this context see 17.5

(3) S. 23 v 27; clearly *'an* is not operating on the imperative verb *iṣna*^{c}, but neither is it entirely redundant as in 5.413.

5.413 (1) *Jum.* 333; *Muf.* #564; al-Ušmunī on *Alf.* v 679; *Qaṭr* 61. The name *'an az-zā'ida* shows *zā'ida* in its meaning of 'redundant', cf. *ziyāda* in 3.231 n 2, where the same term means 'augment'. Other

وهي التالية للما التوقيتية نحو قوله تعالى فلما ان جاء البشير وخرج بها اشياء
اخر ذكرتها في شرح القطر لا يحتملها هذا المختصر والثاني لن وهي حرف لنفي
المستقبل نحو لن نبرح فلن حرف نفي ونصب ونبرح فعل مضارع منصوب بلن وعلامة
نصبه الفتحة الظاهرة وذكرت ما يتعلق بلن فيما مر والثالث اذن وهي حرف جواب
وجزاء عند سيبويه واتباعه والاصح انها بسيطة لا مركبة من اذ وان وانها ناصبة
بنفسها لا بان مضمرة بعدها والمراد بكونها للجواب ان تقع في كلام يجاب به كلام
اخر ملفوظ او مقدر سواء اوقعت في صدره ام في حشوه ام في اخره والمراد بكونها
للجزاء ان تكون مضمون الكلام الذي هي فيه جزاء لمضمون كلام اخر تنبيه انما تنصب
اذن المضارع بثلاثة شروط الاول ان يكون المضارع بعدها بمعنى الاستقبال فان كان

temporal *lammā* 'when',[2] as in the Qur'anic *fa-lammā 'an jā'a l-bašīru* 'and when the bearer of good tidings came'.[3] Various other matters are also excluded, which I have mentioned in my *Commentary on Qaṭr an-nadā*[4] and which are not suitable for such a short work as this.

5.42 (2) *lan* 'not',[1] a particle which negates the future, e.g. *lan nabraḥa* 'we shall not go forth', where *lan* 'not' is a particle of negation and dependence and *nabraḥa* 'we (may) go forth' is an imperfect tense verb made dependent by *lan*, with an explicit *a* as its dependence marker. I have dealt above with problems concerning *lan*.[2]

5.43 (3) *'iḏan* 'therefore',[1] which, according to Sībawayhi and his followers, is a particle of response and requital.[2] The best view is that it is a simple word and not a compound of *'iḏ* 'since' and *'an* 'that',[3] and that it makes dependent by itself and not through a suppressed following *'an*. What is meant by its being a particle of response is that it occurs in sentences which are responses to other sentences (expressed or implied), irrespective of whether *'iḏan* 'therefore' occurs at the beginning, in the middle or at the end. By its being used for requital is meant that the content of the sentence in which it occurs is a requital of the content of some other sentence.

5.431 Note: *'iḏan* 'therefore' only makes the imperfect tense verb dependent under three conditions:

(1) that the imperfect tense verb following it should have future meaning.[1] If the verb is merely a circumstantial qualifier it remains

examples: 20.5, 22.42.

(2) *lammā at-tawqītiyya* 'the *lammā* which fixes the point of time', to distinguish it from the negative, apocopating *lammā* 'not yet' (5.72). The temporal *lammā* has been explained as a combination of the prefix *la* (13.6 n 3) and an intensifying suffix *mā* (9.83 n 2), e.g. Fleischer, *Kl. Schr.* I, 455, Brockelmann, *Grundr.* II, 110. Beeston 99; Fleisch 206.

(3) S. 12 v 96, explained as reinforcing the completion of the event.

(4) In default of this work, the references in n 1 may be consulted. One item worth noting is the *'an* which occurs after verbs of certainty and which takes indep. forms of the verb, e.g. *ᶜalimtu 'an taqūmu* 'I knew that you were standing'. The Arabs explain this as a 'lightened' form of *'anna* (10.42). *Jum.* 206; *Muf.* #525; *Alf.* v 677; *Qaṭr* 61.

5.42 (1) *Jum.* 195; *Muf.* #549, 578; *Alf.* v 677; *Qaṭr* 55; Fleisch 201; etymology of *lan*, v. 3.53 and notes, and on negation of verbs in general see 5.76 n 1. The Qur'anic example here is S. 20 v 91.

(2) viz. in 3.53.

5.43 (1) *Jum.* 204; *Muf.* #594; *Alf.* v 680; *Qaṭr* 57; Beeston 99; Fleisch 206; Yushmanov 74; Nöldeke 106. This is part of a group of clearly related elements comprising *'iḏ* (1.441) and *'iḏā* (5.94) as well as *'iḏan*. Brockelmann (*Grundr.* II, 594) supposes an original *'iḏ* as a demonstrative adverb ('lo and behold!') which has acquired partial nominal inflection (dependent in *'iḏā/'iḏan*, oblique in such compounds as *yawma'iḏin* 'on that day', *waqta'iḏin* (a neologism) 'at that time'). The Arabs treat *'iḏ* as a noun for purely formal reasons, though some traces of its deictic function can still be perceived (v. 1.441 n 5). See further n 3 below.

(2) 'Response' (*jawāb*) and 'requital' (*jazā'*) are both terms for the apodosis in conditional sentences (5.811), whose relevance aš-Širbīnī explains in the ensuing lines.

(3) It happens that *'iḏan* is sometimes spelt as if it were an undefined, dep. noun (i.e. *'iḏā*, where *a* represents *an*, q.v. 1.4 n 5), and sometimes with an explicit *n*. The latter spelling gives rise to the illicit conjecture that *'iḏan* is a compound of *'iḏ* and *'an* (on the analogy of *lan* from **lā-'an*, 3.53). This is rejected by most Arab grammarians, including aš-Širbīnī, but Reckendorf, *Synt. Verh.* 745, argues firmly for the etymology **'iḏ-'an*, and goes so far as to claim that even the *in* ending of words such as *ḥīna'iḏin* 'at that time' (v. n 1 above) is not an undefined noun inflection (because *'iḏ* is by nature definite), but is rather a relic of the particle *'inna* 'verily' (10.41).

5.431 (1) The imperfect tense verb is indifferently present or future in reference (cf. 5.01 n 1): here an independent verb would have the meaning of a circumstantial qualifier (i.e. virtually a present participle, cf. 19.9 n 1). The dependent form, however, would mean '(You say you love me) and for that reason I shall believe you (this

حالا ارتفع نحو ان يقول قائل احبك فتقول اذن اصدقك الثاني ان تكون اذن مصدرة في اول الكلام نحو ان يقول قائل آتيك غدا فتقول له اذن اكرمك فان لم تكن مصدرة كان توسطت بين شيئين نحو (19b) زيد اذن يكرمك ولم تعمل الثالث ان لا يفصل بينها وبين الفعل فاصل نحو اذن اكرمك فان فصل نحو اذن انا اكرمك لم تعمل نعم اذا كان الفاصل اليمين نحو اذن والله اكرمك لم يضر فمثال ما استوفت فيه الشروط ان تقول لمن قال ازورك غدا اذن اكرمك فاذن حرف جواب ونصب واكرم فعل مضارع منصوب باذن وعلامة نصبه الفتحة وفاعله مستتر فيه تقديره انا في محل رفع باكرم والكاف مفعول به في محل نصب بالمضارع والرابع كي المصدرية وهي الداخلة عليها اللام لفظا نحو قوله تعالى لكيلا تأسوا او تقديرا

independent, as, for instance, when someone says *'uḥibbuka* 'I love you', and you reply *'iḏan 'uṣaddiquka* 'that being the case I always believe you';

(2) that *'iḏan* should have first place in the sentence, e.g. when someone says *'ātīka ġadan* 'I am coming to you tomorrow', and you reply *'iḏan 'ukrimaka* 'in that case I shall honour you'. If *'iḏan* does not have first place it will have intervened between two elements,[2] e.g. *(19b) zaydun 'iḏan yukrimuka* 'Zayd, therefore, will honour you', and it is then inoperative;[3]

(3) that nothing should separate *'iḏan* from its verb, e.g. *'iḏan 'ukrimaka* 'therefore I shall honour you', for if it is separated, as in *'iḏan 'anā 'ukrimuka* 'I, therefore, will honour you', *'iḏan* is inoperative.[4] Nevertheless, when the intervening element is an oath, as in *'iḏan wa-llāhi 'ukrimaka* 'therefore, by God, I will honour you', this has no effect.[5]

5.432 These three conditions are fulfilled, for example, when someone says *'azūruka ġadan* 'I shall visit you tomorrow', and you reply *'iḏan 'ukrimaka* 'therefore I shall honour you',[1] where *'iḏan* 'therefore'[2] is a particle of response and dependence, *'ukrima* 'I (may) honour' is an imperfect tense verb made dependent by *'iḏan* 'therefore', with *a* as its dependence marker; the agent is concealed in the verb as an implicit *'anā* 'I' with independent status through the verb *'ukrima* 'I (may) honour',[3] and *ka* 'you' is a direct object with dependent status through the imperfect tense verb.

5.44 (4) kay 'that', called the 'verbal noun *kay*'.[1] This particle has *li* 'for' prefixed to it either explicitly, as in the Qur'anic *li-kay-lā ta'saw* 'so that you may not grieve',[2] or implicitly, as in *ji'tuka kay*

once)', where the act of believing is logically and grammatically dependent on the main verb.

(2) This invokes a fundamental principle of Arabic syntax, namely that elements can only combine in the form of binary units (cf. 2.11 n 1), which are normally inseparable. Larger units do not occur, cf. the early statement of this rule in *Kitāb* I, 351, "three elements cannot have the status of a single noun" (see Carter, *J.A.O.S.* 93, 155).

(3) This is better expressed as a general principle: only inoperative elements may intervene between members of a binary unit (cf. Carter, *J.A.O.S.* 93, 156, for neutralization of space/time qualifiers). The inoperative element is termed *mulġā*, lit. 'voided', from *laġw*, a legal term meaning 'voiding, nullifying a law' (other examples 21.31, 22.31, and cf. Troupeau, *Lexique-Index*, root *l-ġ-w*). A synonym is *muhmal*, lit. 'neglected' (cf. 5.722, *tuhmalu* 'is made inoperative'), used also for 'undotted' in orthography, q.v. 13.45 n 3.

(4) Although it may look as if *'anā* intervenes, a comparison with the previous paragraph will show that the noun + verb phrase (7.12) is the dominant binary unit, in combination with which there is no available function for *'iḏan* beyond that of an adverbial phrase, the latter being, by definition, structurally redundant (19.1 n 1).

(5) Cf. English 'abso-bloody-lutely' for the invasion of morpheme boundaries by oaths; other Arabic examples in A. Bloch, *Vers und Sprache im Altarabischen*, Basel 1946, 152.

5.432 (1) Since the examples are presented in dialogue form it is worth drawing attention to the fact that, even centuries after Classical Arabic ceased to be a spoken language (if it ever was, cf. Beeston 13, *E.I.* (2), art. 'ᶜArabiyya'), the fiction is still kept up (most striking example is 14.4). References to writing are rather rare, except in grammars aimed at the secretarial class, cf. Ibn Durustawayh, *Kitāb al-kuttāb*, Kuwayt 1977, esp. p. 128.

(2) Clearly retaining its demonstrative meaning, *'iḏā* also introduces nominal sentences after main verbs, with a notion of suddenness, e.g. *daḵaltu fa-'iḏā huwa jālisun* 'I went in, and there he was, sitting' (or: *fa-'iḏā bihi jālisun*, cf. 10.18 n 4). In this function it is called *'iḏā l-mufāja'a* 'the *'iḏā* of surprise'; *Muf.* #204; *Alf.* v 702.

(3) Alternatively *'-k-r-m* may be vocalized as *'akrama*, 3rd sing. masc. past tense, following the convention described in 3.52 n 3.

5.44 (1) *Jum.* 194; *Muf.* #595; *Alf.* v 677; *Qaṭr* 56; Fleisch 203; it is called *kay al-maṣdariyya* because, like the 'verbal noun *'an*' (5.41), it fuses with its verb to form a noun phrase equivalent to the verbal noun (see 17.1 on *maṣdar*, 'verbal noun').

(2) S. 57 v 23. On *li* see 5.51; as the transliteration implies, *li-kay-lā* is written as one word (see 5.76 n 1 on *lā* 'not'). The verb *ta'saw* has a 3rd weak radical *w*, and the underlying indep. form is **ta'sawūna*, with regular reduction to *ta'sawna*, cf. 4.81 n 2, where

نحو جئتك كي تكرمني اذا قدرت ان الاصل لكي وانك حذفت اللام استغناء عنها
بنيتها فاللام حرف تعليل وجر وكي حرف مصدري ونصب ولا حرف نفي وتأسوا فعل
مضارع منصوب بكي وعلامة نصبه حذف النون فان لم تتقدم كي لام التعليل لا لفظا
ولا تقديرا فكي تعليلية والمضارع بعدها منصوب بان مضمرة وجوبا ولما فرغ من
النواصب الاربعة المتفق عليها شرع في النواصب الستة المختلف فيها والاصح ان
الناصب بعدها ان مضمرة كما مرت الاشارة اليه فقال ولام كي التعليلية واضيفت
الى كي لانها تخلفها في افادة التعليل نحو قوله تعالى ليكون الرسول شهيدا عليكم
فيكون فعل مضارع منصوب بان مقدرة بعد لام كي وعلامة نصبه الفتحة والرسول اسم
يكون مرفوع به وشهيدا خبر يكون منصوب به وعليكم جار ومجرور متعلق بشهيدا
وتسمى هذه اللام لام التعليل والثانية لام الجحود اي النفي وهي الزائدة الواقعة في

tukrimanī 'I have come to you so that you may honour me', where the implicit original form is *li-kay* 'so that', but you have elided the *li* 'for' because the intention to utter it enables you to dispense with it.[3] In the Qur'anic example *li* 'for' is a particle of causation and obliqueness, *kay* '(so) that' is a verbal noun particle of dependence, *lā* 'not' is a particle of negation and *ta'saw* 'you (may) grieve' (masc. plur.) is in imperfect tense verb made dependent by *kay* with elision of *n* as its dependence marker. If *kay* is not taken as having an explicit or implicit *li* before it, then *kay* itself becomes regarded as causative and the following imperfect tense verb is made dependent by a compulsorily suppressed *'an* 'that'.[4]

5.5 Having finished with the four unanimously accepted operators of dependence,[1] the author now turns to the disputed six; as already pointed out, the best view is that the actual operator of dependence with these is a following suppressed *'an* 'that'.

5.51 (1) the *li* 'for' of *kay* 'so that', i.e. the 'causative *li*'.[1] This *li* has been annexed to *kay* here because *li* can take the place[2] of *kay* in conveying causality, as in the Qur'anic *li-yakūna r-rasūlu šahīdan ᶜalaykum* 'in order that the Prophet may be a witness against you',[3] where *yakūna* 'he may be' is an imperfect tense verb made dependent by an implicit *'an* 'that' after 'the *li* of *kay*' 'so that', with *a* as its dependence marker; *ar-rasūlu* 'the Prophet' is the subject-noun of *yakūna* 'he may be', which makes it independent, *šahīdan* 'a witness' is the predicate of *yakūna*, which makes it dependent,[4] and *ᶜalaykum* 'against you' is an operator of obliqueness and oblique element connect-ed[5] with *šahīdan* 'a witness'. This *li* 'for' is also called the 'causative *li*'.

5.52 (2) the *li* of denial,[1] i.e. of negation. This is the redundant *li*

table (a) is valid for this verb by substituting *w* for *y*, except for 2nd fem. sing., viz. *ta'sayna*.

(3) The speaker's intention (*niyya*) has always been a recognized determining factor, cf. 21.21 n 4. The listener (*mukātab* or *sāmi*ᶜ) likewise often affects the form of the speaker's utterance, v. 1.13.

(4) The status of *kay* was one of the disputes between 'Baṣrans' and 'Kūfans' (9.4 n 3). In *Inṣāf* prob. 78 the Kūfans advance the simple view that *kay* operates entirely by itself, but the Baṣrans, justifiably perturbed by the overlapping distribution of *kay* and *li* (5.51) are moved to greater subtlety, and propose three solutions: (a) in *li-kay*, *kay* has the status of *'an* (since *li-'an* also occurs), (b) in *kay* alone, either *li* has to be assumed, yielding type (a), or, (c) *kay* is a synonym of *li* and *'an* has to be assumed. This may not solve the problem, but at least it recognizes that there is something to explain, viz. the series *li*, *li-kay*, *li-'an*, and the partial series *kay*, *kay-li* (rare, Nöldeke 71 n 1), but no *kay 'an*, all of which are synonymous. There is also a *kaymā/kaymah*, cf. 5.84 n 1.

5.5 (1) See 5.4. In *Inṣāf* prob. 77 (and cf. *Muf.* #411) it is the 'Kūfans' who regard all ten operators of dependence as self-sufficient, and the 'Baṣrans' who must detect a suppressed *'an* with the remaining six operators to be dealt with. On 'suppressed' (*muḍmar*) see 5.4 n 2.

5.51 (1) *Jum.* 195; *Muf.* #411, 413; *Alf.* v 682; *Qaṭr* 64; Beeston 98; Fleisch 203; Yushmanov 73. This *li* has two names, *lām at-ta*ᶜ*līliyya* 'the causative *li* (from ᶜ*illa* 'cause', q.v. at 24.22 n 1), and *lām kay*, an explanatory annexation (26.72) meaning 'the *li* which is like *kay*'. Note that, since *li* is a one-letter word, it is mentioned by the name of that letter, *lām*. It is not the same as imperative *li*, 5.75.

(2) *taklufuhā* lit. 'deputizes for it' (cf. 'caliph'), a very late addition to the stock of grammatical anthropomorphisms.

(3) S. 22 v 78. Other Qur'anic examples of the causative *li* are at 1.709, *li-tubayyina* 'that you might make clear' and 5.84, *li-tasḥaranā* 'that you might bewitch us'.

(4) Verbs of the class of *kāna* 'to be' are quasi-copulatives which, instead of agents and direct objects, have subject-nouns and predicates (q.v. in 10.11). However, the predicates are still marked as direct objects, in dependent form, following the structure of the favourite sentence pattern, Verb-Agent-Direct Object, cf. 7.9 n 1, 15.06 n 1.

(5) Prepositional phrases are often extraneous to the minimal sentence, and the term *muta*ᶜ*alliq*, lit. 'hanging from' has been developed (from an earlier, more general application to any kind of connection between elements, cf. Troupeau, *Lexique-Index*, ᶜ*-l-q*) to account semantically for prepositional phrases. See further 5.82 n 6.

5.52 (1) *Jum.* 195; *Muf.* #413 (see Ibn Yaᶜīš); *Alf.* v 683; *Qaṭr* 66. This is the same as the causative *li* in structure, and differs only in the restrictions on its use, as implied by its name, *lām al-juḥūd* 'the

خبر كان المنفية بما او في خبر كان المنفية بلم مثال الاولى قوله تعالى ما
كان الله ليذر المؤمنين ومثال الثانية قوله (20a) تعالى لم يكن الله ليغفر لهم
فيذر ويغفر فعلان مضارعان منصوبان بان مقدرة بعد لام الجحود وعلامة نصبهما
الفتحة وسميت هذه اللام لام الجحود لكونها مسبوقة بالكون المنفي والنفي يسمى
جحودا والثالثة حتى الجارة المفيدة للغاية نحو حتى يأتي وعد الله فيأتي فعل
مضارع منصوب بان مضمرة بعد حتى وجوبا وعلامة نصبه الفتحة ووعد فاعل مرفوع
بيأتي والله مخفوض باضافة وعد اليه والرابعة والخامسة الجواب بالفاء المفيدة
للسببية والواو المفيدة للمعية الواقعتين في جواب الطلب المحض او النفي المحض
مثال النفي لا يقضى عليهم فيموتوا او ويموتوا وشمل الطلب سبعة اشياء الاول

'for' which occurs in the predicate of *kāna* 'to be' when that verb is negated by *mā* 'not' or *lam* 'not'. An example of the former is the Qur'anic *mā kāna llāhu li-yaḏara l-mu'minīna* 'God is not one to abandon the faithful'.[2] The latter is illustrated by the Qur'anic *(20a) lam yakun illāhu li-yaǧfira lahum* 'God was not the one to forgive them';[3] in both these examples *yaḏara* 'he may abandon' and *yaǧfira* 'he may forgive' are imperfect tense verbs made dependent by an implicit *'an* 'that' after the '*li* of denial', with *a* as their marker of dependence. This *li* is called the '*li* of denial' because it is preceded by a negated entity,[4] denial being another name for negation.

5.53 (3) *ḥattā* 'until',[1] i.e. the operator of obliqueness which conveys the sense of an ultimate limit, as in the Qur'anic *ḥattā ya'tiya wa^c^du llāhi* 'until the threat of God comes',[2] where *ya'tiya* '(it) may come' is an imperfect tense verb made dependent by a compulsorily suppressed *'an* 'that', with *a* as its dependence marker, *wa^c^du* 'threat' is an agent made independent by *ya'tiya* '(it) may come',[3] and *allāhi* 'of God' is made oblique by having *wa^c^du* 'threat' annexed to it.

5.54 (4) response with *fa* 'and then', conveying cause,[1] and (5) *wa* 'and', conveying accompaniment.[2] These two occur in the response to a pure demand or a pure negation: an example of the latter is the Qur'anic *lā yuqḍā ^c^alayhim fa-yamūtū* (or *wa-yamūtū*) 'it shall not be decreed upon them that they should die'.[3]

5.55 The pure demand[1] comprises various types, in seven matters, which are as follows:

li of denial' (see 5.51 n 1 on *lām* = *li*). Whether it is in fact redundant is a moot point: the 'Kūfans' claim that it operates without a suppressed *'an* (cf. 5.5), the 'Baṣrans' only that the preposition *li* cannot operate on verbs without an assumed *'an* (cf. *Inṣāf* prob. 79, 82).

(2) S. 3 v 179. The apparently past tense verb *kāna* here must be translated as some kind of highly affirmative present tense, e.g. 'has always been', or, in the present context, 'never has been and never will be': this usage is frequent in the Qur'ān and obviously represents the true aspectual nature of the 'past' tense (5.01 n 1), asserting that an event (here 'being') is real and factual. Cf. W. Reuschel in *Studia orientalia in memoriam Caroli Brockelmann*, Halle/Saale 1968, 147, and contrast Aartun, op. cit. 5.0 n 1, 55, 72; cf. 10.11, 12.902.

(3) S. 4 v 137. Here *lam yakun* means 'has never been', cf. n 2 above.

(4) The text says a negated *kawn*, which may either have the concrete sense of 'entity' or simply be the verbal noun of *kāna* and mean 'a negated verb "to be"'.

5.53 (1) *Jum.* 201; *Muf.* #414; *Alf.* v 685; *Qaṭr* 67; Beeston 98; Fleisch 221; *ḥattā* as oblique operator 26.31; as coordinating conjunction 12.91; with indep. verbs Fleisch 222, and cf. 5.6 n 1.

(2) S. 13 v 31. The assumption of a compulsorily suppressed *'an* is the 'Baṣran' theory (see *Inṣāf*, prob. 83, and cf. 5.5 n 1); see 5.4 n 2 on 'suppressed', *muḍmar*.

(3) The verb *ya'tiya*, with weak 3rd radical *y*, is regular in its dependent form, cf. 2.42 n 1, while the independent form (*ya'tī*, like *yarmī* in 4.81 n 2 (b)) and apocopated *ya'ti* (like *yarmi* in 3.92 n 1) are irregular, see 2.41 n 2 and 3.92 n 2 respectively.

5.54 (1) *Jum.* 202; *Muf.* #411; *Alf.* v 687; *Qaṭr* 71; Beeston 98; Fleisch 220; Nöldeke 71. The translation 'and then' for *fa* emphasizes that *fa* in this context is not a simple coordinating conjunction (v. 12.2). 'Conveying cause' renders *sababiyya*, lit. 'causal': see further 24.22 n 1 for the almost synonymous terms *ᶜilla* and *sabab* 'cause'.

(2) *Jum.* 198; *Muf.* #411; *Alf.* v 688; *Qaṭr* 73; Fleisch 221. See ch. 25 on the so-called *wāw al-maᶜiyya*, lit. 'the *wa* of withness' (since *wa* is a one letter word it is referred to by the name of that letter, cf. *lām* 'l' for *li* in 5.51 n 1). Another example of this *wa* in 5.411.

(3) S. 35 v 36. Theologically the deaths are caused by the decree and this is reflected in the grammar (so aš-Širbīnī, Qur'ān commentary III, 311). 'Pure negation' is *nafy maḥḍ*, (*maḥḍ* = 'racially pure'), i.e. 'unadulterated negation', see further 5.552.

5.55 (1) Called 'pure demand' (*ṭalab maḥḍ*, cf. previous note) because all are in effect imperatives (some, says Ibn Yaᶜīš on *Muf.* #411, use the term 'imperative' alone to cover all seven). However, there are some exclusions, for which see 5.552 n 2. The somewhat unhelpful term *maḥḍ* 'pure' seems to date back no further than the *Alfiyya*, and may have been chosen for none better than metrical reasons.

الامر نحو زرني فاكرمك او واكرمك الثاني النهي نحو لا تطغوا فيه فيحل عليكم
غضبي او ويحل في غير القرآن والثالث الدعاء كقول الشاعر
رب وفقني فلا اعدل (او ولا اعدل) عن سنن الساعين في خير سنن
الرابع الاستفهام كقوله
هل تعرفون لباناتي فارجو ان تقضى فيرتد (او ويرتد) بعض الروح للحسد
والخامس العرض كقوله
يا ابن الكرام الا تدنو فتبصر (او وتبصر) ما
قد حدثوك فما راء كمن سمعا
والسادس التحضيض كقوله تعالى لولا اخرتني الى اجل قريب فاصدق او واصدق في
غير القرآن والسابع التمني كقوله تعالى يا ليتني كنت معهم فافوز فالجواب

(a) the imperative, e.g. *zurnī fa-'ukrimaka* or *wa-'ukrimaka* 'visit me and I shall honour you';

(b) prohibition, e.g. the Qur'anic *lā taṭġaw fīhi fa-yaḥilla ᶜalaykum ġaḍabī* 'do not go to extremes in it so that my anger may descend upon you'[2] (or *wa-yaḥilla* 'and so it may descend', outside the Qur'ān);

(c) invocation,[3] as in the verse
rabbi waffiqnī fa-lā 'aᶜdila (or *wa-lā 'aᶜdila*) *ᶜan*
sanani s-sāᶜina fī ḵayri sananin
'O my Lord, give me success, and then I will not swerve from the path of the strivers in the best of paths';[4]

(d) interrogation, as in the verse
hal taᶜrifūna lubānātī fa-'arjuwa 'an
tuqḍā fa-yartadda (or *wa-yartadda*) *baᶜḍu r-rūḥi li-l-jasadi*
'do you understand my cares, so that I may hope they will be ended, and some soul may return to my body?';[5]

(e) proposing, as in the verse
yā bna l-kirāmi 'a-lā tadnū fa-tubṣira (or *wa-tubṣira*) *mā*
qad ḥaddaṯūka fa-mā rā'in ka-man samiᶜa
'O son of nobles, will you not come near, and then you will see what they have told you about, for one who sees is not like one who hears';[6]

(f) incitement, as in the Qur'anic *lawlā 'aḵḵartanī 'ilā 'ajalin qarībin fa-'aṣṣaddaqa* 'would you not grant me a postponement for a short term, and then I may give alms'[7] (or *wa-'aṣṣaddaqa* 'and then I may give alms' outside the Qur'ān);

(g) hoping, as in the Qur'anic *yā laytanī kuntu maᶜahum fa-'afūza* 'Oh,

(2) S. 20 v 81; *taṭġaw* is another verb with 3rd weak radical, viz. *w*, and behaves exactly like *ta'saw* in 5.44 n 2 (with both dep. and apoc. forms having the same endings, cf. 4.82 n 2). For prohibition see 5.76.

(3) 'Invocation' renders *du^{c}ā'*, lit. 'calling upon', used commonly for 'private prayer' (in contrast to the prescribed daily ritual). See further 5.751, 752, where it has been translated 'request', to avoid the implication that the verbs in question are either prayers or optatives. (See 14.34 n 3 on optatives).

(4) *Schaw. Ind.* 259. The verse is anonymous and unknown to the earlier grammarians, which raises (not for the first time) the suspicion that it may have been coined to illustrate the grammatical point in question (cf. 13.12 n 1). Note that the negation of the verb through *lā* (5.76 n 1) does not interfere with the operation of *fa* in making it dependent. See 23.61 (a) on the vocative *rabbi*. Observe, too, how variants and alternatives can be freely inserted into the verse.

(5) *Schaw. Ind.* 71; this anonymous verse is quoted only by relatively late grammarians, though al-^{c}Aynī, IV, 380, claims that it was cited by al-Farrā' (d. 822, see 1.21 n 2). Of the two dependent verbs with *fa* in the verse here only the first is in question, *fa-'arjuwa* 'that I may hope' (note dep. form of verb with 3rd weak rad. *w*, v. 2.42 n 1). The second verb, *fa-yartadda* 'that it may return' is explained as coordinated to *'an tuqḍā* 'that they might be ended' as a second direct object clause (cf. 5.41) of *'arjuwa* 'I may hope' (see 12.2 on *fa* as a coordinating conjunction). Nevertheless a reading in the spirit of subparagraph (g) below seems possible: 'that I may hope they will be ended and (as a result) some soul return ...'.

(6) *Schaw. Ind.* 147; yet another anonymous verse and, like the two before, not quoted by grammarians earlier than Ibn Hišām (d. 1360, see 1.02 n 1), though in each case aš-Širbīnī's immediate source is al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* II, 239. On the construction of *yā bna l-kirāmi* 'O son of nobles' see 23.44 and 23.7. 'Proposing' (*^{c}arḍ*, lit. 'laying before') exactly parallels the English 'will you not ...', for *'a-lā* is a compound of the interrogative prefix *'a* (12.51 n 2) and the negating particle *lā* (5.76 n 1). The comparison of seer and hearer is rhetorically inverted: it means that the hearer knows much less than one who sees.

(7) S. 63 v 10. The verse continues: *wa-'akun min aṣ-ṣāliḥīna* 'and I might become one of the good', which the commentators treat together with the previous clauses. The possibilities are (from the Commentary of aš-Širbīnī, IV, 386): apocopated *'akun* as second apodosis of the pseudo-conditional *lawlā 'akkartanī* (scil. 'if you granted ...', cf. 6.6 n 6); dependent *'akūna* in coordination to *'aṣṣaddaqa* as a second consequence of the initial 'incitement'; dep. *'akūna* reduced to *'akun* for phonological reasons (*'akūna min* ⪢ *'akūm-min* ⪢ *'akummin*, avoiding the over-long syllable *kūm* (cf. 2.5 n 3), *'akummin* being in any case the correct pronunciation of *'akun min* according to the rules of Qur'anic recitation). On the form *'aṣṣaddaqa* see Cantineau, *Études* 34, and cf.

بعد الفاء والواو في هذه الامثلة كلها منصوب بان مضمرة وجوبا تنبيه لو قال
والفاء والواو في الجواب لكان اوضح لان الجواب منصوب لا ناصب وخرج بالنفي
المحض النفي المبطل بالا نحو ما انت الا تأتينا فتحدثنا ومن الامر باسم الفاعل
نحو نزال فنكرمك فالرفع في هذين ليس الا والسادس او العاطفة اذا صلح في
موضعها الى او الا فالاول نحو قولك لالزمنك (20b) او تقضيني حقي اي الى ان
تقضيني وكقول الشاعر

لاستسهلن الصعب او ادرك المنى فما انقادت الامال الا لصابر

اي الى ان ادرك والثاني نحو لاقتلن الكافر او يسلم اي الا ان يسلم فيسلم وتقضي

if only I were with them and then I might gain'.[8]

The response after the *fa* and *wa* in all these examples is made dependent by a compulsorily suppressed *'an* 'that'.[9]

5.551 Note: If the author had said '*fa* and *wa* in response' it would have been clearer, because the response does not make anything dependent, but is itself made dependent.

5.552 By 'pure negation'[1] is excluded negation voided by *'illā* 'except', e.g. *mā 'anta 'illā ta'tīnā fa-tuḥaddiṯunā* 'you do nothing except come and talk to us', and by 'imperative'[2] is excluded the agent noun, as in *nazāli fa-nukrimuka* 'dismount and we will honour you'. In both of these cases there is nothing but the independent form.

5.56 (6) *'aw* 'or',[1] the conjunction, whenever *'ilā* 'until' or *'illā* 'except' can properly occur in its place.[2] The former is illustrated by *la-'alzimannaka (20b) 'aw taqḍiyani ḥaqqī* 'I shall surely stick close to you or you will give me my due', i.e. *'ilā 'an taqḍiyanī* 'until you give me', cf. the verse

la-'astashilanna ṣ-ṣa^{c}ba 'aw 'udrika l-munā
fa-mā nqādat il-'āmālu 'illā li-ṣābirin

'I shall surely face all difficulties lightly, or I shall achieve my desire, for hopes submit only to the steadfast',[3] i.e. *'ilā 'an 'udrika* 'until I achieve'. An example of the latter is *la-'aqtulanna l-kāfira 'aw yuslima* 'I shall surely kill the unbeliever or he will become a Muslim',[4] i.e. *'illā 'an yuslima* 'except he become a Muslim'. The verbs

Rabin, *Anc. West-Ar.* 147. In passing note that the construction evidently aroused the suspicion of Sībawayhi, who queried it with his master al-Kalīl (*Kitāb* I, 452).

(8) S. 4 v 73; this differs from the previous specimen only in that a specific 'particle of hoping' is used, q.v. at 10.45. Note the use of the vocative particle *yā* (23.0, and cf. 23.21) to intensify the exclamation, comparable to the English 'Oh' (but 'O' for vocative!).

(9) Once again the 'Baṣran' interpretation, see 5.5.

5.552 (1) 'Pure negation' (*nafy maḥḍ*, 5.54 n 3, 5.55 n 1) excludes also such double negatives as *mā tazālu ta'tīnā fa-tuḥaddiṯunā* 'you never stop coming and talking to us', where the intrinsic negative meaning of *tazālu* 'you cease' (v. 10.19) is cancelled by *mā* 'not' (on *mā* with the imperfect tense see 5.76 n 1). By the same token *fa* takes indep. verbs when preceded by purely rhetorical negation, e.g. S. 22 v 63; *'a-lam tara 'anna llāha 'anzala min as-samā'i mā'an fa-tuṣbiḥu l-'arḍu mukḍarratan* 'Have you not seen how God has sent down water from heaven and the earth has become green?'.

(2) Here *'amr* 'imperative' replaces *ṭalab* 'demand' used above, 5.54. The pattern *fa^{c}āli* is highly obscure: there are invariable proper names in this form, e.g. *ḥaḏāmi* (23.411), and pseudo-imperatives such as *nazāli* here, which are interpreted as agent nouns (*fā^{c}il*, 7.01) with an affirmative meaning, and are therefore excluded from the conditions under which *fa* operates as a subordinating conjunction. The form has been exhaustively studied by Canard, *A.E.I.O.* 1, 5-72, where he finds that *fa^{c}āli* is an infinitival pattern. Rabin, *Anc. West-Ar.* 156 points out that this form has strong South Arabian and Ethiopic associations, and never was a true imperative. *Muf.* #193 distinguishes four types of *fa^{c}āli* patterns, viz. two already mentioned above, one synonymous with verbal nouns and one anomalous (*ma^{c}dūl*, 3.89 n 8) adjective type.

5.56 (1) *Jum.* 197; *Muf.* #411; *Alf.* v 684; *Qaṭr* 70; Nöldeke 71. For *'aw* as a coordinating conjunction see 12.4. In spite of the paraphrases offered in the text, a conditional structure seems to be at least as probable as the assumed consecutive structure, and Nöldeke provides examples of apocopated (i.e. conditional, 5.81) verbs after *'aw*.

(2) Note the use of the substitution principle: *'iḏā ṣaluḥa fī mawḍi^{c}ihā*, lit. 'whenever (*'ilā* or *'illā*) can properly occur in its place' might easily be translated 'whenever it has the function of ...', cf. 3.1 n 4. On *ṣaluḥa* 'to be proper' see 11.82 n 2.

(3) *Schaw. Ind.* 107. On *la-'astashilanna* and *la-'aqtulanna* in the next paragraph see 13.6 n 3, 26.34 n 2.

(4) Not from the Qur'ān, but reminiscent of S. 48 v 16, *tuqātilūnahum 'aw yuslimūna*, with indep. *yuslimūna*, interpreted as a simple alternative, 'either you will fight them or they will become Muslims'. A variant, however, with dep. *yuslimū* exists, viz. 'you will fight them or (= unless) they become Muslims' (so al-Bayḍāwī ad loc.).

منصوبان بان مضمرة بعد او وجوبا تنبيه حاصل ما مر ان ان تضمر بعد ثلاثة من
حروف الجر وهي اللام وكي التعليلية وحتى وبعد ثلاثة من حروف العطف وهي الفاء والواو
واو ولما فرغ من نصب المضارع بالنواصب شرع في جزم المضارع بالجوازم فقال والجوازم
ثمانية عشر جازما وهي قسمان قسم يجزم فعلا واحدا وقسم يجزم فعلين وقد بدأ
بالقسم الاول وهو ستة مبتدئا بالاول منها فقال لم وهي حرف نفي وجزم تجـــزم
المضارع وتقلب معناه الى المضي نحو قوله تعالى لم يلد ولم يولد ولم يكن لــه
كفوا احد فلم حرف نفي وجزم ويلد ويولد ويكن كل منها فعل مضارع مجزوم بلــم
وعلامة جزمه السكون والثاني لما النافية وهي حرف يجزم المضارع وينفي معنـــاه
ويقلبه الى المضي نحو قوله تعالى لما يقض ما امره فيقض فعل مضارع مجزوم بلما
وعلامة جزمه حذف حرف العلة نيابة عن السكون فلما تشارك لم في الحرفية والاختصاص
بالمضارع والنفي والجزم والقلب والمضي وجواز دخول همزة الاستفهام عليها وتنفرد
لم عنها بامور ذكرتها في شرح القطر لا يحتملها هذا المختصر فائدة قد تتقارض

yuslima 'he (may) become a Muslim', *taqḍiya* 'you (may) give' and *'udrika* 'I (may) achieve'[5] are all made dependent by a compulsorily suppressed *'an* 'that' after the *'aw* 'or'.

5.6 Note:[1] The gist of the above is that there is a suppressed *'an* 'that' after three of the particles of obliqueness, viz. *li* 'for', the causative *kay* 'so that', *ḥattā* 'until', and after three of the particles of coordination, viz. *fa* 'and then', *wa* 'and', *'aw* 'or'. Having finished with the operators which make the imperfect tense verb dependent, the author now turns to the operators which apocopate it:

5.7 The operators of apocopation are eighteen in number:[1] they are divided into two kinds, those which apocopate a single verb, and those which apocopate two verbs.[2] The author begins with the first kind, of which there are six, the first being,

5.71 (1) *lam* 'not',[1] a particle of negation and apocopation which negates the imperfect tense and converts its meaning to the past,[2] as in the Qur'anic *lam yalid wa-lam yūlad wa-lam yakun lahu kufuwan 'aḥadun* 'he did not bear, nor was he born, nor has there been anyone his equal',[3] where *lam* 'not' is a particle of negation and apocopation and *yalid* 'he (might) bear', *yūlad* 'he (might) be born' and *yakun* 'he (might) be' are all imperfect tense verbs apocopated by *lam*, with vowellessness as their marker of apocopation.

5.72 (2) *lammā* 'not yet',[1] i.e. the negative *lammā*, a particle of apocopation which negates the imperfect tense and converts its meaning to the past, as in the Qur'anic *lammā yaqḍi mā 'amarahu* 'he has not yet performed what he commanded him',[2] where *yaqḍi* 'he (might) perform' is an imperfect tense verb apocopated by *lammā* 'not yet', with elision of the defective consonant as its apocopation marker instead of vowellessness.

5.721 *lammā* 'not yet' has the following in common with *lam* 'not':[1] it is a particle, specific to the imperfect tense, it negates, apocopates, converts the meaning to the past, and may be prefixed with the inter-

(5) The text omits *'udrika*; note that the weak 3rd rad. verb *yaqḍiya* is regular in the dep. form (2.42 n 1).

5.6 (1) His note (which is copied from al-Azharī, *Āj*. 47) simply reiterates the 'Baṣran' position (5.5). For prepositional *li* see 1.709, how *kay* functions as a particle of obliqueness is not clear, but see 26.1 n 7. There is no systematic treatment of *ḥattā* in this work, but see 26.31 for *ḥattā* as a preposition, and 12.91 for *ḥattā* as a coordinating conjunction. For the coordinating particles see 12.1 for *wa*, 12.2 for *fa* and 12.4 for *'aw*.

5.7 (1) *Jum*. 215; *Muf*. #419; *Alf*. v 695; *Qaṭr* 74; Beeston 84; Fleisch 168 n 1; apocopated paradigms 4.82 n 2, 3.92 n 1. The actual number of apocopating operators varies according to whether *lam* and *'a-lam* etc. are counted separately.

(2) This division at least serves to distinguish the conditional function of the apocopated form ('two verbs') from its other functions ('one verb'), but gives no idea of the diversity of functions of the single apocopated verb: negation after *lam* etc. (5.72-74), indirect imperative (5.75) and direct prohibition (5.76) are not an obviously homogeneous group, especially when the conditional function is taken into account. Almost the only semantic feature they have in common is that all denote one kind or another of non-event, a quality for which (at least within the Arabic framework) neither indep. nor dep. verbs are suitable: an equation non-event = zero morpheme is thus very tentatively suggested. (Is Fleisch 107 any more convincing?).

5.71 (1) *Jum*. 2.5; *Muf*. #419; *Alf*. v 695; *Qaṭr* 81; Beeston 99; an etymology **lā-mā* is proposed by Reckendorf, *Synt. Verh*. 85, though it leaves the problem of *lammā* (5.72) unsolved (**lā-mā-mā* seems unlikely).

(2) Why this is so is not known, but see 3.91 n 2 for Jouon's theory. In addition it may be remarked that there is, historically speaking, no reason why the 'imperfect tense' form should not have had a past tense meaning, as indeed is the case in some Semitic languages (cf. Moscati #16.30, Fleisch, *Tr*. 149w).

(3) S. 112 vv 3, 4; verse 3 has already been quoted in 5.02 as an illustration of *lam*, q.v. note 4 for *yalid* and *yūlad*. On *yakun* see 10.11 for the syntax and 10.23 n 2 for the form.

5.72 (1) *Jum*. 215; *Muf*. #419; *Alf*. v 695; *Qaṭr* 81. This *lammā* is evidently a reinforcement of *lam* with the suffix *mā* (9.83 n 2), and is not related to the 'temporal *lammā*' at 5.413.

(2) S. 80 v 23. See 3.92 on *yaqḍi*.

5.721 (1) Since the whole of this paragraph is copied from al-Azharī, *Taṣr*. II, 247 (who in turn has it from al-Ušmūnī on *Alf*. v 695, or perhaps from *Qaṭr* 82), it is more than likely that the relevant section of aš-Širbīnī's missing commentary on *Qaṭr* would likewise be close to al-Azharī, who goes on to summarize the difference between *lam* and *lammā* as follows: (a) only *lam* may be preceded by the conditional *'in*

ان المصدرية ولم فيجزم بان وينصب بلم وقد قرئ شاذا الم نشرح بالنصب وقد
تهمل حملا على لا النافية فيرتفع بعدها الفعل كقول الشاعر لم يوفون بالجار والثالث
الم نحو قوله تعالى الم نشرح لك صدرك فالم حرف تقرير وجزم ونشرح مجزوم
بالم وعلامة جزمه السكون وفاعله مستتر فيه (21a) تقديره نحن في محل رفع به ولك
جار ومجرور متعلق بنشرح وصدرك مفعول به منصوب بنشرح وعلامة نصبه الفتحة
والكاف في محل جر باضافة صدر اليها والرابع الما اخت الم نحو الم احسن اليك
فالما حرف تقرير وجزم واحسن فعل مضارع مجزوم بالما وعلامة جزمه السكون وفاعله
ضمير مستتر فيه تقديره انا في محل رفع باحسن واليك جار ومجرور متعلق باحسن

rogative *'a* '?'. But *lam* 'not' differs from *lammā* 'not yet' in various ways that I have mentioned in my *Commentary on Qaṭr an-nadā* and which are not suitable for this short work.

5.722 Additional Note: The 'verbal noun *'an*' 'that' and *lam* 'not' sometimes overlap, so that *'an* apocopates and *lam* makes dependent.[1] There is a rare Reading of the Qur'anic *'a-lam našraḥ* 'did we not expand?' as *našraḥa* 'we (may) expand'[2] in the dependent form. Occasionally *lam* 'not' is made inoperative by treating it as *lā* 'not', so that the following verb remains independent, as in the verse fragment *lam yūfūna bi-l-jāri* 'they have not kept their word to their neighbour'.[3]

5.73 (3) *'a-lam* 'not...?',[1] as in the Qur'anic *'a-lam našraḥ laka ṣadraka* 'did we not expand for you your breast?',[2] where *'a-lam* 'not..?' is a particle of affirmation and apocopation, *našraḥ* 'we (might) expand' is apocopated by *'a-lam* with vowellessness as its apocopation marker, and its agent is concealed[3] in it *(21a)* with the implicit meaning of *naḥnu* 'we' and has independent status; *laka* 'for you' is an operator of obliqueness and oblique element connected with *našraḥ* 'we (might) expand', *ṣadraka* 'you breast' is a direct object made dependent by *našraḥ* with *a* as its dependence marker, and *ka* 'your' has oblique function by having *ṣadra* 'heart' annexed to it.[4]

5.74 (4) *'a-lammā* 'not yet...?',[1] which is closely related[2] to *'a-lam* 'not...?', e.g. *'a-lammā 'uḥsin 'ilayka* 'have I not yet been good to you?'. Here *'a-lammā* 'not yet...?' is a particle of affirmation and apocopation,[3] *'uḥsin* 'I (might) be good' is an imperfect tense verb apocopated by *'a-lammā* with vowellessness as its apocopation marker, and its agent is a pronoun concealed in it with the implicit meaning of *'anā* 'I' and has independent status, and *'ilayka* 'towards you' is an operator of obliqueness and oblique element connected with *'uḥsin* 'I (might) be good'.[4]

'if' (5.81); (b) the event negated by *lam* may subsequently be asserted, e.g. *lam yakun ṯumma kāna* 'it was not, and then it was', which is not possible with *lammā*; (c) the verb may be elided after *lammā*, e.g. *qārabtu l-madīnata wa-lammā* 'I approached the town, but had not yet (scil. entered it)'; (d) *lammā* presupposes the event might actually occur, cf. the counter-example **lammā yajtami*[c] *iḍ-ḍiddāni* 'the two opposites have not yet united'. As a rule of thumb *lam* may be regarded as the negative of the past tense verb with 'static' aspect (Beeston 99), whether marked with *qad* or not (1.81 n 1), and *lammā* as meaning only 'not yet' (cf. Cantarino, I, 129).

5.722 (1) The phenomenon is exceedingly rare and possibly of interest only to grammarians. There are one or two more examples of *lam* followed by the dep. verb (cf. al-Ušmūnī on *Alf.* v 695), but apparently only one specimen of *'an* with an apocopated verb, viz. *'ilā 'an ya'tinā ṣ-ṣaydu* 'until the quarry comes to us', with apocopated *ya'ti* instead of dep. *ya'tiya* (from a verse quoted by Yāsīn in his supercommentary on al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* II, 247; not in *Schaw. Ind.* or A. S. Hārūn, *Mu*[c]*jam aš-šawāhid al-*[c]*arabiyya*. The rhyme is *naḥṭibu*, the metre *ṭawīl*). Poetic licence cannot be ruled out as a reason for this aberration.

(2) S. 94 v 1. The grammarians can offer no explanation for the dep. form, except to speculate that it may be reduced from an emphatic *našraḥan* (cf. 5.32 n 4), or be nothing more than a unique instance of vowel harmony (all the vowels in the verse are *a*, see the full text in next paragraph). No authority is known for the variant *našraḥa*, nor is the problem raised by the early grammarians.

(3) *Schaw. Ind.* 103; the correct apoc. form is *yūfū*, i.e. Stem IV (8.63 n 1) of the first rad. *w* (5.02 n 4) and third rad. *y* (3.92 n 1) verb *wafā* 'to fulfil', the rules for both weak radicals applying simultaneously. On 'inoperative' see 5.431 n 3.

5.73 (1) Refs. as for *lam* at 5.71, and cf. 5.741.

(2) S. 94 v 1, see 5.722 n 2. 'Nonne' questions are asked with *'a-lam*, in the Qur'ān often with divine sarcasm (cf. example in 5.552 n 1).

(3) Concealed agents 7.8; 'status' 5.81 n 3; 'connected' 5.82 n 6.

(4) Direct object ch. 16; annexation 26.7 (poss. pronouns 4.72 n 2).

5.74 (1) Refs. as for *lammā* at 5.72.

(2) Lit. the 'sister' of *'a-lam*, cf. 3.1 n 2 on this and other anthropomorphisms.

(3) Like all particles (i.e. elements which do not fall within the morphological or semantic range of nouns and verbs, cf. 1.25, 1.92) *'a-lammā* is identified (scil. defined) by its function(s), in this case affirmation (*taqrīr*) and apocopation (*jazm*): because it has the same functions as *'a-lam* (5.73) it has the same definition. Like *'a-lam* also, *'a-lammā* is originally a combination of interrogative (5.741) and negative, yielding an exact equivalent of Lat. *nonne*.

تنبيه الم والما هما لم ولما كررهما المصنف مع الهمزة تقريبا على المبتدئ
والخامس لام الامر نحو لينفق ذو سعة من سعته فاللام لام الامر وينفق فعل مضارع
مجزوم بلام الامر وعلامة جزمه السكون وذو فاعل مرفوع به وعلامة رفعه الواو نيابة
عن الضمة لانه من الاسماء الخمسة وسعة مضاف اليه مجرور بالمضاف ومن سعته جار
ومجرور متعلق بينفق ولام الدعاء وهي لام الامر في الحقيقة ولكن سميت لام الدعاء
تأدبا نحو ليقض علينا ربك فاللام لام الدعاء ويقض فعل مضارع مجزوم بلام الدعاء
وعلامة جزمه حذف حرف العلة نيابة عن السكون وعلينا جار ومجرور متعلق بيقض
ورب فاعل يقض مرفوع به وعلامة رفعه الضمة والكاف مضاف اليه مجرور بالمضاف
تنبيه الفرق بين لام الامر والدعاء ان الامر لمن دونك والدعاء لمن هو اعلى منك

5.741 Note: *'a-lam* 'not...?' and *'a-lammā* 'not yet...?' are simply *lam* and *lamma* repeated by the author with the interrogative prefix *'a* '?'[1] to make it easier for the beginner.

5.75 (5) the imperative *li*,[1] as in the Qur'anic *li-yunfiq ḏū saᶜatin min saᶜatihi* 'let the man of means spend from his means'.[2] Here *li* is the 'imperative *li*', *yunfiq* 'he (might) spend' is an imperfect tense verb apocopated by the imperative *li* with vowellessness as its apocopation marker, *ḏū* 'possessor of' is its agent made independent by it with *ū* as its independence marker instead of *u* (because it is one of the 'five nouns'), *saᶜatin* 'means' has *ḏū* 'possessor of' annexed to it and this makes it oblique, and *min saᶜatihi* 'from his means' is an operator of obliqueness and oblique element connected with *yunfiq* 'he (might) spend'.

5.751 and the *li* of request,[1] which is really an imperative *li* but is called the '*li* of request' out of politeness, as in the Qur'anic *li-yaqḍi ᶜalaynā rabbuka* 'let your Lord judge us'.[2] Here *li* is the '*li* of request', *yaqḍi* 'he (might) judge' is an imperfect tense verb apocopated by the *li* of request with elision of the defective consonant as its apocopation marker instead of vowellessness; *ᶜalaynā* 'over us' is an operator of obliqueness and oblique element connected with *yaqḍi* 'he (might) judge', *rabbu* 'lord' is the agent of *yaqḍi* and is made independent by it with *u* as its independence marker, and *ka* 'your' has *rabbu* 'lord' annexed to it, which makes it oblique.

5.752 Note: The difference between the 'imperative *li*' and the '*li* of request' is that commands are only given to inferiors, while requests are made of superiors. If you ask something from an equal it is called 'solicitation'.[1]

(4) On status see 5.81 n 3; *'ilā-ka*>*'ilayka* 1.702 n 1; other refs. as in 5.73 nn 2, 3.

5.741 (1) Interrogation, *istifhām* (lit. 'seeking to understand') is not set out in detail by aš-Širbīnī, but see *Muf.* #581-84, Beeston 102, Fleisch 151 (*E.I.* (2), art. 'Istifhām'); Yushmanov 66. The principal interrogative particle is *'a*, prefixed to the first word in the utterance (even to other particles, including conjunctions) and capable of causing inversion, e.g. *'a-zaydan ḍarabta* 'Zayd have you struck?'; see Ibn Hišām, *Muḡnī* I, 9, and cf. 12.5, 12.51 for *'a* in alternative questions. The other interrogative particle is *hal*, a separate word which is placed first in the utterance, but which is more restricted in distribution (it cannot precede other particles or conjunctions, and inversion is not permitted after it), see Ibn Hišām, *Muḡnī* II, 28, and a detailed treatment by Worrell, *Z.A.* 21, 116-150. Interrogation is also effected by pronouns, all of which also function as conditionals, q.v. 5.83 n 2, and by adverbs, which likewise occur as conditionals, q.v. 5.87 n 2.

5.75 (1) *Jum.* 216; *Muf.* #419; *Alf.* v 695; *Qaṭr* 83; Beeston 84; Fleisch 218. The function of this *li* is quite different from that of the 'causative *li*' in 5.51, though Brockelmann, *Grundr.* II, 28 regards the two as cognate (cf. also Bravmann, *J.Q.R.* (NS) 42, 51). This *li*, as its name (*lām al-'amr*, v. 5.51 n 1 on *lām*, 5.03 n 1 on *'amr*) implies, produces indirect imperatives (it is rare with direct imperatives, e.g. *fa-l-tafraḥū* 'let you rejoice', *Jum.* 216, and note *li*>*l* after *fa*, probably to avoid sequence of short vowels).

(2) S. 65 v 7; on *ḏū* and the 'five nouns' see 3.42. Note the vowel harmony in the possessive suffix *hu* 'his' after *i*, and see further 13.9 n 9.

5.751 (1) Apart from the considerations raised further down in the paragraph and in 5.752, this *li* (called *lām ad-duᶜā'*, v. 5.51 n 1 on *lām*, 5.55 n 3 on *duᶜā'*) is exactly the same as the 'imperative *li*' of 5.75. As will be clear from the examples, it is purely out of theological scruples that the term 'imperative' is felt to be inapplicable, placing God under an obligation. Such religious hyper-sensitivity is apparent from an early period (cf. Kopf, *S.I.* 5, 33), though it does not impose itself so formally upon grammar until relatively late (e.g. Ibn Hišām; cf. also Haarmann, *Z.D.M.G.* Suppl. II, 1974, 149). Other examples: 5.761, 11.711, 14.11, 19.34, 26.96.

(2) S. 43 v 77. Normal word order (7.9 n 1) would be *li-yaqḍi rabbuka ᶜalaynā*, but by inversion the less important element *ᶜalaynā* is brought into a less prominent position, with corresponding emphasis on the agent *rabbuka* (cf. 5.82 n 6 on the tendency for prepositional phrases to be structurally redundant and therefore syntactically mobile, also Bloch, op. cit. 5.431 n 5, 105 and refs. there).

5.752 (1) The third type mentioned here is *iltimās*, lit. 'touching' (as in the somewhat archaic English 'may I touch you for a fiver?'). This rather unhelpful category seems to go back no further than the time of

وان طلبت من مساويك كان التماسا والسادس لا المستعملة في النهي نحو لا تضرب
فلا حرف نهي وجزم وتضرب فعل مضارع مجزوم بلا الناهية وعلامة جزمه السكون
وفاعله ضمير مستتر فيه تقديره انت في محل رفع به ولا المستعملة في الدعاء
وهي لا الناهية في الحقيقة ولكن (21b) سميت دعائية تأدبا نحو لا تؤاخذنا فلا
حرف دعاء وجزم وتؤاخذنا فعل مضارع مجزوم باللام الدعائية وعلامة جزمه السكون
وفاعله ضمير مستتر فيه تقديره انت في محل رفع به ونا مفعول به في محل نصب
بتؤاخذنا ولما فرغ مما يجزم فعلا واحدا شرع فيما يجزم فعلين وهو اثنا عشر
مبتدئا بالاول منها فقال وان الشرطية بكسر الهمزة وسكون النون وهو حرف يجزم
المضارع لفظا والماضي محلا ويقلب معنى الماضي الى الاستقبال عكس لم نحو وان

5.76 (6) *lā* 'not' used in prohibition,[1] e.g. *lā taḍrib* 'do not strike', where *lā* 'not' is a particle of prohibition and apocopation, *taḍrib* 'you (might) strike' is an imperfect tense verb apocopated by the '*lā* of prohibition' with vowellessness as its apocopation marker, and its agent is a pronoun concealed in it with the implicit meaning of *'anta* 'you' (masc. sing.) and independent status through the verb.

5.761 and also the *lā* 'not' used in request, which is really the *lā* of prohibition, but *(21b)* is called the '*lā* of request' out of politeness,[1] e.g. *lā tu'āḵiḏnā* 'do not blame us',[2] where *lā* 'not' is a particle of request and apocopation, *tu'āḵiḏnā* 'you (might) blame us' is an imperfect tense verb apocopated by the '*lā* of request' with vowellessness as its apocopation marker, its agent is a pronoun concealed in it with the implicit meaning of *'anta* 'you' (masc. sing.) and independent status through the verb, and *nā* 'us' is a direct object with dependent status through *tu'āḵiḏ* 'you (might) blame'.

5.8 Having finished with the operators which apocopate a single verb, the author now turns to those which apocopate two verbs,[1] of which there are twelve, the first being:

5.81 (1) *'in* 'if',[1] i.e. the 'conditional *'in*' spelt with *i* after the ' and unvowelled *n*.[2] This is a particle which apocopates the imperfect tense formally and the past tense verb in status,[3] and changes the meaning of the past tense to the future (the opposite of *lam* 'not'), as

ad-Damāmīnī (d. 1424), quoted by aṣ-Ṣabbān on *Alf.* v 695 and by Goguyer (without attribution) in *Qaṭr* 83, n 6.

5.76 (1) *Jum.* 216; *Muf.* #419; *Alf.* v 695; *Qaṭr* 83. 'Prohibition' is *nahy*, a subdivision of *nafy* 'negation' in general, on which see *Muf.* #546-550; Beeston 99; Fleisch *Tr.* #149t, v; Yushmanov 77; Nöldeke 88; Wehr, *Z.D.M.G.* 103, 27. In brief, the negating elements are:
lā 'no, not', negates: indep. imperfect tense (e.g. 13.13), apoc. imperf. tense (= prohibition, 5.76, 5.761), optative verbs (14.34 n 3), nouns categorically (ch. 22). Conjunction *lā* 12.8, as a repeater for other neg. particles, 12.8 n 2.
mā 'what' (Wehr 35), negates: past tense verbs (e.g. 5.52) also, in affective use, imperfect tense verbs (Wehr 32), sentences (as synonym of *laysa*), 5.84 n 3.
lam, lammā negate apoc. imperfect tense verbs and convert to past tense meaning (5.71, 5.72).
lan negates dep. imperfect tense verbs and gives future meaning (5.42).
'in, rare synonym of *mā* (Wehr 37, Beeston 100, Nöldeke 89).
laysa 'not be', negates existence (10.18).
lāta, rare synonym of *laysa*, poss. *lā* + *ta* (Aartun, op. cit. 1.83 n 3).
'illā 'unless' (*'in* 'if' + *lā* 'not'), ch. 21.
ġayr 'other than', though positive, has become a synonym of *'illā* (21.4) and *lā*; see further 21.42 n 1.

5.761 (1) The difference between 'prohibition' and 'request' is one of pure theology, cf. the identical scrupulosity in 5.751.

(2) S. 2 v 286. In the light of the above comment it is perhaps worth noting that here and in several other places in this chapter aš-Širbīnī neglects to follow the convention of introducing Qur'anic quotations with such formulae as 'Almighty God said', 'in the words of Almighty God' etc. (1.01 n 3). This is doubtless due to the fact that his source for most of this chapter (al-Azharī, *Āj.* 38-50) does not observe the convention either.

5.8 (1) That is, conditional sentences, see 5.811 for terminology and syntax.

5.81 (1) *Jum.* 217, 332; *Muf.* #419, 585; *Alf.* v 696; *Qaṭr* 84; Beeston 104; Fleisch 211; Yushmanov 73. The particle *'in* 'if' is generally held to be cognate with those of similar form and meaning in other Semitic languages (e.g. Hebrew *'im*), but see Brockelmann, *Grundr.* II, 635 for other possibilities.

(2) The spelling instructions (3.44 n 2) are to avoid confusion with *'an* (5.41), *'inna* (10.41) and *'anna* (10.42), all of whose unvowelled consonantal skeleton consists of *'n*.

(3) 'Status' renders *maḥall*, lit. 'untying place for camping', hence 'place' in general. It is not found in the earliest grammar, and it is arguable whether it is to be understood as a synonym of *mawḍi*^{c}, 'place' = 'function' (3.1 n 4), which is the opinion of Versteegh in *Arabica* 25, 278, or of *manzila*, 'place' = 'status' (23.2 n 1). The latter is

تؤمنوا وتتقوا يؤتكم اجوركم فان حرف شرط وجزم وتؤمنوا فعل مضارع مجزوم
بان وعلامة جزمه حذف النون نيابة عن السكون لانه من الافعال الخمسة وتتقوا
معطوف عليه مشارك له في جزمه بان وعلامة جزمه حذف النون ايضا نيابة عن
السكون والواو في الفعلين فاعل مرفوع بهما محلا ويؤت فعل مضارع مجزوم بان
وعلامة جزمه حذف حرف العلة نيابة عن السكون وفاعله ضمير مستتر فيه تقديره
هو في محل رفع به وكم مفعول به في محل نصب بالفعل واجوركم مفعول ثان
منصوب بالفعل وكم مضاف اليه مخفوض بالمضاف والفعل الاول الذي هو تؤمنوا
يسمى فعل الشرط ويؤت يسمى جواب الشرط لانه مرتب على الشرط كما يترتب الجواب
على السؤال ويسمى جزاء ايضا لان مضمونه جزاء لمضمون الشرط والثاني ما الشرطية

in the Qur'anic *wa-'in tu'minū wa-tattaqū yu'tikum 'ujūrakum* 'and if you believe in and fear God he will bring you your rewards'.[4] Here *'in* 'if' is a particle of condition and apocopation, *tu'minū* 'you (might) believe' (masc. plur.) is an imperfect tense verb apocopated by *'in* with elision of *n* as its apocopation marker instead of vowellessness (because it is one of the 'five verbs'), and *tattaqū* 'you (might) fear' (masc. plur.) is coordinated with *tu'minū* and shares in its apocopation by *'in*, and its apocopation marker is also elision of *n* instead of vowellessness.[5] In both verbs the *ū* is an agent with independent status through them. The verb *yu'ti* 'he (might) bring' is an imperfect tense verb apocopated by *'in* 'if' with elision of the defective consonant as its apocopation marker instead of vowellessness, and its agent is a pronoun concealed in it with the implicit meaning of *huwa* 'he'; *kum* 'you' (masc. plur.) is a direct object with dependent status through the verb, *'ujūrakum* 'your rewards' is a second direct object made dependent by the verb, and *kum* 'your' (masc. plur.) has *'ujūra* 'rewards' annexed to it, which makes it oblique.

5.811 The first verb, namely *tu'minū* 'you (might) believe' is called the 'verb of the condition' and the second, namely *yu'ti* 'he (might) bring' is called the 'response to the condition', because it follows from the condition just as an answer follows from the question. It is also called the 'requital', because its contents are a requital of the contents of the condition.[1]

5.82 (2) <u>*mā* 'whatever',</u>[1] i.e. the 'conditional *mā*', as in the Qur'anic

preferred here for three reasons: (a) lexically *maḥall* is closer to *manzila* (lit. 'dismounting place for camping'), (b) *manzila* is infrequent in later texts (including this one), and its displacement by *maḥall* seems more likely than the evolution of a redundant synonym for the frequently occurring *mawḍi*^{c}, (c) the phrase *fā*^{c}*il marfū*^{c} *maḥallan* in the present paragraph can only mean 'agent independent in status' because 'agent' is already a functional category and all agents are independent, so that a translation 'agent independent in function' is tautologous. In other words, the agent pronoun ū, being incapable of inflection, can never have indep. form, but it has the status of an indep. element because it has the function of one. We should not be misled by the fact that *maḥall* and *mawḍi*^{c} sometimes appear to be used interchangeably, see further 5.84 n 4.

(4) S. 47 v 36. See 5.71 on *lam*. The aspectual nature of the Arabic verbal system is nowhere clearer than here, for conditional sentences are intrinsically timeless, cf. Beeston 104.

(5) For the various grammatical points raised here see: apocopation markers 3.91-92; concealed agent pronouns 7.58; direct object pronouns 16.3 (16.306); doubly transitive verbs 10.6, 16.310 n 1.

5.811 (1) Conditional terminology: *fi*^{c}*l aš-šarṭ* 'verb of the condition' i.e. protasis (*šarṭ* 'condition' is undoubtedly an early borrowing from law); *jawāb aš-šarṭ* 'response to the condition', i.e. apodosis, evidently a coinage of the early grammarians. The other term for apodosis is *jazā'* 'requital' (same root as *yujza* in 5.83), and is at least as ancient as *jawāb*, though it is not clear whether they are technically distinct (e.g. both are used in the same sentence by Sībawayhi, *Kitāb* I, 435). However, *jazā'* and the etymologically related *mujāzāh* ('act of requiting') are also used as the name of the conditional construction, unlike *jawāb* or its cognates.
Conditional syntax: (a) 'real' conditions start with *'in* 'if', and the verbs of protasis and apodosis are normally both past or both imperfect tense apocopated (exceptions 5.93), e.g. *'in darastahu fahimtahu* or *'in tadrushu tafhamhu* 'if you studied it you would understand it/if you study it you will understand it'; (b) 'unreal' conditions start with *law* 'if (only)', and both verbs are usually past tense, that of the apodosis normally being prefixed with *la* (13.6 n 3), e.g. *law darastahu la-fahimtahu* 'if you had studied it you would have understood it'. See further the references at 5.81 n 1, and cf. also 5.90 n 2, 5.93 n 1.

5.82 (1) *Jum.* 310; *Muf.* #419; *Alf.* v. 696; *Qaṭr* 84; Fleisch 218. The 'conditional *mā*', *mā aš-šarṭiyya*, is formally identical with both the 'interrogative *mā*', *mā al-istifhāmiyya* (5.83 n 2) and the 'relative *mā*', *mā al-mawṣūla* (11.755). Historically the chain of evolution was most likely from interrogative to relative and thence to conditional (cf. Brockelmann, *Grundr.* II, 570, 660, Moscati #13.42, Fleisch 218). The Arabs were well aware of the connection between conditional and interrogative functions: in *Kitāb* I, 433 Sībawayhi takes issue with some of his colleagues, who over-generalize by asserting that that all interrogatives may be used as conditionals. Cf. also 5.87 n 2.

نحو ما ننسخ من آية او ننسها نأت بخير منها او مثلها فما اسم شرط وجزم
وننسخ فعل مضارع مجزوم بما الشرطية وعلامة جزمه السكون وفاعله ضمير مستتر فيه
في محل رفع به تقديره نحن ومن آية جار ومجرور متعلق بننسخ واو ننسها معطوف
(22a) باو على ننسخ مشارك له في جزمه بما الشرطية وها مفعول به في محل نصب
بننس وفاعل ننسها ضمير مستتر فيه مرفوع به تقديره نحن وهو اسم لاسناد الفعل
اليه ونأت فعل مضارع مجزوم بما الشرطية وعلامة جزمه حذف حرف العلة نيابة عن
السكون وفاعله ضمير مستتر فيه تقديره نحن في محل رفع به وننسخ فعل الشرط
ونأت جواب الشرط وبخير جار ومجرور متعلق بنأت ومنها جار ومجرور متعلق
بخير ومثل معطوف باو على خير مشارك له في خفضه والهاء مخفوضة باضافة مثل
اليها والثالث من الشرطية نحو من يعمل سوءا يجز به فمن اسم شرط جازم ويعمل

mā nansak̲ min 'āyatin 'aw nunsihā na'ti bi-k̲ayrin minhā 'aw mit̲lihā 'whatever we cancel of a verse or cause it to be forgotten, we shall bring one better than it or like it'.[2] Here *mā* 'whatever' is a noun of condition and apocopation, *nansak̲* 'we (might) cancel' is an imperfect tense verb apocopated by the 'conditional *mā*' with vowellessness as its apocopation marker, its agent being a pronoun concealed in it with the implicit meaning of *naḥnu* 'we' and independent status through the verb; *min 'āyatin* 'of a verse' is an operator of obliqueness and oblique element connected[3] with *nansak̲* 'we (might) cancel', *'aw nunsihā* 'or we (might) cause it to be forgotten' is coordinated *(22a)* by *'aw* 'or' with *nansak̲* 'we (might) cancel' and shares in its apocopation by the conditional *mā*, and the *hā* 'it' is a direct object with dependent status through *nunsi* 'we (might) cause to forget'; the agent of *nunsi* is a concealed pronoun made independent by it with the implicit meaning of *naḥnu* 'we' (so that the latter is a noun by virtue of having the verb predicated of it);[4] *na'ti* 'we (might) bring' is an imperfect tense verb apocopated by the conditional *mā* with elision of the defective consonant as its apocopation marker instead of vowellessness, and its agent is a pronoun concealed in it with the implicit meaning of *naḥnu* 'we'. Here *nansak̲* 'we (might) cancel' is the verb of the condition and *na'ti* 'we (might) come' is the response to the condition; *bi-k̲ayrin* 'with a better one'[5] is an operator of obliqueness and oblique element connected with *na'ti*, *minhā* 'than it' is an operator of obliqueness and oblique element connected[6] with *k̲ayrin* 'a better one', *mit̲lihā* 'like it' is coordinated by *'aw* 'or' with *k̲ayrin* and shares in its obliqueness, and *hā* 'it' is made oblique by the annexation of *mit̲li* 'like' to it.

5.83 (3) <u>*man* 'whoever'</u>,[1] i.e. the 'conditional *man*', as in the Qur'anic *man ya^{c}mal sū'an yujza bihi* 'whoever does evil will be requited for it'.[2] Here *man* 'whoever' is a noun of condition and apocopation, *ya^{c}mal*

(2) S. 2 v 106.

(3) On the nature of the 'connection' see n 6 below. The *min*-phrase is a common device for amplifying the meaning of a vague antecedent pronoun, and is called the 'explanatory *min*', *min al-bayāniyya* or *min li-l-bayān* (cf. 26.72). It is related to the 'partitive *min*', (*min li-t-tab*ᶜ*īḍ*: not dealt with in text, but see 9.03 n 4, *Muf.* #499; Beeston 49; Nöldeke 52). Normally the 'explanatory *min*' is followed by undefined sing. nouns, and 'partitive *min*' by defined plur. nouns, the two together having in this regard similar syntax to *kull*, v. 13.4 n 6.

(4) Since verbs are all predicates of their agents (3.73 n 5), and since predicability is a nominal feature (1.6), even elements which can never be formally expressed, such as concealed agent pronouns, are nouns: a good example of *taqdīr*, q.v. 2.101 n 1.

(5) The word *ḵayr* 'good, better/best' and its antonym *šarr* 'bad, worse/worst', are nouns which have become assimilated to the comparative/superlative structure (20.4). They thus occur as simple nouns, e.g. *hāḏā ḵayrun* 'this is a good thing', and with the sense of comparatives and superlatives, e.g. *hāḏā ḵayrun min ḏālika* 'this is better than that', *huwa ḵayruhum* 'he is the best of them' (other examples 5.41, 5.55(c), 10.62, 20.6). Note *'atā bi*, lit. 'to come with', i.e. 'to bring': many verbs of motion are used in this way, e.g. *ḏahaba bi*, lit. 'to go with', i.e. 'to take away'. A causative of *'atā* also exists, the Stem IV *'ātā* 'to make come', i.e. 'bring' (e.g. 5.81). From *jā'a bi* 'to come with, bring', a new colloquial verb *jāb* has evolved, the *bi* 'with' having become a new third radical after regular loss of the original third radical *'* in dialect (Yushmanov 62).

(6) 'Connected', *muta*ᶜ*alliq*, lit. 'hanging from' is a term applied usually to prepositional phrases, whose presence is dictated more by semantic than structural necessity. Hence these phrases should not occur without the element upon which they depend (but cf. 9.71) and, in common with several other elements which simply provide additional information about the main components of the sentence, they are structurally redundant (in particular space/time qualifiers, ch. 18, circumstantial qualifiers, ch. 19, and specifying elements, ch. 20). Whether prepositional phrases or dependent nouns, all are invariably operated upon by verbs (but see 19.25 n 1): even in the present case involving *ḵayr* 'better' the comparative function is traced to an underlying verb (see 20.41), with which *minhā* 'than it' is 'connected'. These elements are by nature likely to have no fixed place in the sentence: they are often 'neutralized' (*mulḡā*) or 'rendered inoperative' (*muhmal*), see 5.431 nn 2, 3.

5.83 (1) *Jum.* 311; *Muf.* #419; *Alf.* v 696; *Qaṭr* 84; Fleisch 218. The *man aš-šarṭiyya* 'conditional *man*', like 'conditional *mā*' (5.82) is also identical with its interrogative counterpart, *man al-istifhāmiyya* (see n 2) and 'relative *man*', *man al-mawṣūla* (11.754).

(2) S. 4 v 123; with appropriate intonation the original interrogative sense of *man* can be detected: "Who will do evil?--he will be requited

فعل مضارع مجزوم بمن وهو فعل الشرط وعلامة جزمه السكون وفاعله ضمير مستتر فيه
تقديره هو في محل رفع وسواء مفعول به منصوب بيعمل وعلامة نصبه الفتحة ويجز
فعل مضارع مبني للمفعول مجزوم بمن وهو جواب الشرط وعلامة جزمه حذف حرف العلة
من اخره نيابة عن السكون وفيه ضمير مستتر تقديره هو في محل رفع بالفعل لنيابته
عن الفاعل وبه جار ومجرور متعلق بيجز والضمير في يجز عائد على من وعوده اليها
علامة على اسميتها لان الضمير لا يعود الا على الاسماء والرابع مهما نحو قوله
تعالى مهما تأتنا به من آية لتسحرنا بها فما نحن لك بمؤمنين فمهما اسم شرط
وجزم وتأتنا فعل الشرط وهو مجزوم بمهما وعلامة جزمه حذف الياء وبه جار
ومجرور متعلق بتأتنا ومن آية بيان لمهما في موضع نصب على الحال من الهاء في
به ولتسحرنا فعل مضارع منصوب بان مضمرة جوازا بعد لام كي والفاعل مستتر فيه
وجوبا ونا مفعول به وفما الفاء رابطة للجواب وما نافية ونحن اسمها ان قدرت
حجازية ولك (22b) جار ومجرور متعلق بمؤمنين وبمؤمنين في موضع نصب خبر ما

'he (might) do' is an imperfect tense verb apocopated by *man* 'whoever' (and is the verb of the condition), with vowellessness as its apocopation marker, its agent being a pronoun concealed in it with the implicit meaning of *huwa* 'he' and independent status through the verb; *sū'an* 'evil' is a direct object made dependent by *ya*^{c}*mal* 'he (might) do' with *a* as its dependence marker: *yujza* 'he (might) be requited' is an imperfect tense verb constructed with its object as agent[3] and apocopated by *man* 'whoever' (and is the response to the condition), with elision of the final defective consonant as its apocopation marker instead of vowellessness, and containing a concealed pronoun with the implicit meaning of *huwa* 'he' and independent status through the verb because it replaces[4] the original agent; *bihi* 'for it' is an operator of obliqueness and oblique element connected with *yujza* 'he (might) be requited', and the pronoun in *yujza* refers[5] to *man* 'whoever' (this referring is a sign that *man* is a noun, because pronouns can only refer to nouns).

5.84 (4) *mahmā* 'whatever',[1] as in the Qur'anic *mahmā ta'tinā bihi min 'āyatin li-tasḥaranā bihā fa-mā naḥnu laka bi-mu'minīna* 'whatever you bring in the way of verses to bewitch us with, we shall not believe in you'.[2] Here *mahmā* 'whatever' is a noun of condition and apocopation, *ta'tinā* 'you (might) come to us' (masc. sing.) is the verb of the condition, apocopated by *mahmā* with elision of the final *ī* as its apocopation marker; *bihi* 'with it' is an operator of obliqueness and oblique element connected with *ta'tinā* 'you (might) come to us' and *min 'āyatin* 'of a verse' is explanatory to *mahmā* 'whatever' with dependent function as a circumstantial qualifier of the *hi* 'it' in *bihi* 'with it', and *li-tasḥaranā* 'that you (masc. sing.) may bewitch us' is an imperfect tense verb made dependent by the *'an* 'that' optionally suppressed after the '*li* of *kay*' 'so that', with its agent compulsorily concealed in it and *nā* 'us' being its direct object. In *fa-mā* 'and not', the *fa* 'and' is a link for the response and *mā* 'not' is the negative particle, with *naḥnu* 'we' as its subject-noun (if it is understood as a 'Ḥijāzī *mā*');[3] *laka* 'in you' *(22b)* is an operator of obliqueness and oblique element connected with *mu'minīna* 'believing' (masc. plur.), and *bi-mu'minīna* 'believing' has dependent function as the predicate of *mā* 'not'. The

for it!'. The same can be done with S. 2 v 106 in 5.82: 'What verse do we cancel or cause to be forgotten?--we bring one better than it or like it!'. On interrogatives in general see 5.87 n 2.

(3) 'Constructed with its object as agent' renders *mabnī li-l-maf*ᶜ*ūl*, lit. 'built for the direct object', one of the various periphrastic terms for the passive verb, q.v. at 8.0 n 1.

(4) According to the Arab interpretation, the grammatical agent of the passive verb is only a 'substitute' (*nā'ib*, see further 8.2) for the logical agent which it displaces. Moreover the passive cannot be used when the logical agent is expressed (unlike English 'he was run over by a bus'), hence the passive is sometimes termed *majhūl*, lit. 'unknown (scil. agent)'. Cf. 8.11.

(5) The 'referring' of an Arabic pronoun is specifically backwards, the term being ᶜ*ā'id*, lit. 'going back'. Forward reference is not very common (cf. Beeston 41: 'a fairly strong objection is felt to placing a pronoun before the overt term to which it alludes'). One modern example is found on a Bahrain aerogramme: *'iḏā wuḍi*ᶜ*a 'ayyu šay'in bi-dāḵilihā qad tursalu hāḏihi r-risālatu bi-l-barīdi s-saṭḥī* 'if anything is put inside it, this letter will be sent by surface post'. See further 11.75 on relative pronouns. Note that pronominalization is a noun marker: this feature is seldom, if ever mentioned in the enumeration of noun markers, cf. 1.8 n 1.

5.84 (1) *Jum.* 217; *Muf.* ##181, 419; *Alf.* v. 696; *Qaṭr* 26, 84. The etymology of *mahmā* has caused the Arabs some problems, and their solutions are perhaps less satisfactory than Western explanations: Ibn Yaᶜīš, for example, (on *Muf.* #419) claims that *mahmā* is not a compound but a simple noun of the pattern *fa*ᶜ*lā* (this is also the view of aš-Širbīnī, in his Commentary on the Qur'ān, I, 485). Others suggest that the first element *mah* is a 'noun of action' like *ṣah* 'ssh!' (q.v. 1.42). Those who see the *h* as a device to prevent the repetition in **mā-mā* are at least on the right track, in recognizing that it is a compound word: the second element is very likely the indefinite *mā* 'what(ever)' which is suffixed to other elements and converts them into conjunctions (e.g. *'iḏmā*, 5.85, *'aynamā*, 5.89), and the first element is probably the interrogative *mā* (see below, n 3). The *h* can be compared with the *h* in *mah*, a 'pausal' (2.14 n 2) form of *mā* found, for example in *kaymah* 'so that' (cf. 5.44 n 4). See Brockelmann, *Grundr.* II, 574, and cf. also Moscati, #13.42, Fleisch, *Tr.* #36ii.

(2) S. 7 v 132. See 5.51 on the '*li* of *kay*', 5.86 n 4 on *rābiṭa* 'link'. The parsing of *min 'āyatin*, lit. 'of a verse', as a circumstantial qualifier (ch. 19) as well as an example of the 'explanatory *min*' (see 5.82 n 3) seems rather unnecessary, and may be an initiative of aš-Širbīnī's immediate source, al-Azharī, *Āj.* 49.

(3) Negative *mā* 'not' may negate sentences in exactly the same way as the verb *laysa* 'not to be' (10.18), in which case it is called the 'Ḥijāzī *mā*' (*mā al-ḥijāziyya*). The alternative construction, in which *mā* has no grammatical effect on components of the sentence, is called

وجملة فما نحن لك بمؤمنين في موضع جزم جواب الشرط والخامس اذما نحو اذما
تقم اقم معك فاذما حرف على الاصح وهو اداة شرط وجزم وتقم فعل مضارع مجزوم
باذما وعلامة جزمه السكون ويسمى فعل الشرط وفاعله ضمير مستتر فيه تقديره انت
في محل رفع بالفعل واقم فعل مضارع مجزوم باذما ايضا وعلامة جزمه السكون ويسمى
جواب الشرط وفاعله ضمير مستتر فيه تقديره انا في محل رفع بالفعل ومعك ظرف
متعلق باقم والسادس اي نحو قوله تعالى ايا ما تدعوا فله الاسماء الحسنى فايا
اسم شرط جازم منصوب بتدعوا وما صلة وتدعوا فعل الشرط مجزوم بايا وعلامة
جزمه حذف النون وفله الفاء رابطة للجواب وله جار ومجرور خبر مقدم والاسماء

sentence *fa-mā naḥnu laka bi-mu'minīna* 'then we will not believe in you' has apocopated function[4] as the response to the condition.

5.85 (5) *'iḏmā* 'whenever',[1] e.g. *'iḏmā taqum 'aqum ma^caka* 'whenever you stand I shall stand with you'. Here *'iḏmā* 'whenever' is (according to the best view) a genuine particle, namely a particle[2] of condition and apocopation, and *taqum* 'you (might) stand' (masc. sing.) is an imperfect tense verb apocopated by *'iḏmā* 'whenever', with vowellessness as its apocopation marker, and is termed the 'verb of the condition', its agent being a pronoun concealed in it with the implicit meaning of *'anta* 'you' (masc. sing.) and independent status through the verb: *'aqum* 'I (might) stand' is an imperfect tense verb also apocopated by *'iḏmā* 'whenever', with vowellessness as its apocopation marker, and is termed the 'response to the condition', its agent being a pronoun concealed in it with the implicit meaning of *'anā* 'I' and independent status through the verb, and *ma^caka* 'with you' is a space/time qualifier connected with *'aqum* 'I (might) stand'.

5.86 (6) *'ayyun* 'who(ever)',[1] as in the Qur'anic *'ayyan mā tad^cū fa-lahu l-'asmā'u l-ḥusnā* 'whoever you pray to, His are the finest names'.[2] Here *'ayyan* 'whoever' is an apocopating noun of condition made dependent by *tad^cū* 'you (might) pray to' (masc. plur.), *mā* is a relative and *tad^cū* 'you (might) pray to' is the verb of the condition apocopated by *'ayyan* 'whoever', with elision of the final *n* as its apocopation marker; in *fa-lahu* 'and to him' the *fa* 'and' is a link[3] for the response and *lahu* 'to him' is an operator of obliqueness and oblique element forming a preposed predicate,[4] *al-'asmā'u* 'the names' is a delayed

the 'Tamīmī *mā*' (*mā at-tamīmiyya*): contrast the official 'Ḥijāzī' reading of S. 12 v 31, *mā hāḏā bašaran* 'this is not a mortal' with the 'Tamīmī' equivalent *mā hāḏā bašarun*, and see further Rabin, *Anc. W.-Ar.* 174. On the artificial polarization of Classical Arabic into Eastern ('Tamīmī') and Western ('Ḥijāzī') varieties cf. Rabin, op. cit. 7. This negative function of *mā* is assumed to have developed out of an original interrogative function: a rhetorical question such as 'What, is this a mortal!?' (or 'What is this, a mortal!?') is, after all, intended to mean 'This is not a mortal'. See also 21.31 n 2.

(4) Cf. Carter, *J.A.O.S.* 93, 154 on the axiom that compound elements function as single elements (v. also 7.02, 9.7). 'Function' here is *mawḍi*^{c} ('place', 3.1 n 4), denoting the substitutability of an apocopated verb (*lā nu'min* 'we would not believe') for the sentence having that function. It thus differs from *maḥall* 'status' (q.v. 5.81 n 3), which certainly implies functional equivalence but seems to be restricted to cases where no substitution is possible. This may be either because the morpheme in question is a bound agent pronoun which cannot therefore be displaced by an element of identical function (see examples 5.81-92 passim), or because there is no single element available to replace a compound one (thus in 9.75 and 9.76 the complex predicates cannot be substituted by a single term). See also 12.51 n 3 for a good illustration of this principle. Versteegh's observations in *Arabica* 25, 277 are a good preliminary survey of the problem.

5.85 (1) *Jum.* 217, 223; *Muf.* ##204, 419; *Alf.* v 696; *Qaṭr* 26, 85; Fleisch 219. Despite the opinion of aš-Širbīnī is the ensuing lines, there seems no reason to doubt that this element is anything other than the noun *'iḏ* (1.441) suffixed with the indefinite pronoun *mā* 'whatever', known as *mā az-zā'ida* 'the redundant *mā*'. This *mā* is a variety of the interrog./relative *mā*, functioning like Latin *quod* (Fleisch 203, and cf. 18.207 n 1). On *'iḏmā* as a particle see al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* II, 247.

(2) Here instead of *ḥarf* for 'particle' (1.25) the synonym *'adāh* (q.v. 21.02 n 1) is used, apparently an arbitrary whim of aš-Širbīnī.

5.86 (1) *Jum.* 312; *Muf.* ##184, 419; *Alf.* v 696; *Qaṭr* 84; Fleisch 219. Like *mā, man,* originally an interrog./relative, cf. Moscati #13.40.

(2) S. 17 v 110; the *mā* here is termed *ṣila*, normally 'relative clause' (11.752 n 1) but translated 'relative' for clarity, cf. 5.89 n 2.

(3) 'Link' translates *rābiṭa*, lit. 'tether', a term which, as well as being a late-comer into grammar, has only a very marginal application: it is used (in various forms) (a) as a synonym for ^{c}*ā'id* 'referential (pronoun)', e.g. 9.76 (masc. *rābiṭ*), 13.41 (verbal noun *rabṭ* 'linking'), (b) approximately meaning 'copula', e.g. 10.1, (c) for 'conjunction' as in this paragraph. All three uses are clearly the result of influence from logic, cf. the cognate term *ribāṭ* 'tie', which occurs as a translation of Gk. *syndesmos* (Versteegh 38, 46). On *fa* as a 'link' see further 5.90 n 2.

(4) See 9.8 on word order in equational sentences.

مبتدأ مؤخر والحسنى نعت الاسماء وجملة فله الاسماء الحسنى في موضع جزم جواب
الشرط فائدة اي بحسب ما تضاف اليه فهي في قولك اي يقم اقم من باب من وفي
قولك اي الدواب تركب اركب من باب ما وفي قولك اي وقت تصم اصم من باب
متى وفي قولك اي مكان تجلس اجلس من باب اين والسابع متى نحو متى تقم اقم
فمتى اسم شرط جازم وتقم فعل مضارع مجزوم بمتى وعلامة جزمه السكون وفاعله
مستتر فيه مرفوع به تقديره انت واقم فعل مضارع مجزوم بمتى ايضا وعلامة
جزمه السكون وفاعله مستتر فيه تقديره انا وتقم فعل الشرط واقم جواب الشرط
والثامن ايان بفتح الهمزة نحو قوله فايان ما تعدل به الريح تنزل فايان اسم
شرط جازم وما زائدة وتعدل فعل الشرط وعلامة جزمه السكون وتنزل جواب الشرط
وعلامة جزمه سكون اخره وكسره عارض له لان حرف الروي مكسور والتاسع اينما

subject and *al-ḥusnā* 'the finest' is an epithet[5] of *al-'asmā'u* 'the names'. The sentence *fa-lahu l-'asmā'u l-ḥusnā* 'and His are the finest names' has apocopated function as the response to the condition.

5.861 Additional Note:[1] The meaning of *'ayyun* 'whoever' depends on what it is annexed to: in *'ayyun yaqum 'aqum* 'whoever stands I will stand'[2] it is equivalent to *man* 'whoever'; in *'ayya d-dawābbi tarkab 'arkab* 'whichever of the beasts you ride I shall ride' it is equivalent to *mā* 'whatever';[3] in *'ayya waqtin taṣum 'aṣum* 'whatever time you fast I shall fast' it is equivalent to *matā* 'whenever',[4] and in *'ayya makānin tajlis 'ajlis* 'whatever place you sit I shall sit' it is equivalent to *'ayna* 'wherever'.[5]

5.87 (7) <u>*matā* 'when(ever)'</u>,[1] as in *matā taqum 'aqum* 'whenever you stand I shall stand'. Here *matā* 'whenever'[2] is an apocopating noun of condition, *taqum* 'you (might) stand' (masc. sing.) is an imperfect tense verb apocopated by *matā* 'whenever', with vowellessness as its apocopation marker, its agent being concealed in it and made independent by it with the implicit meaning of *'anta* 'you' (masc. sing.); *'aqum* 'I (might) stand' is an imperfect tense verb also apocopated by *matā* 'whenever', with vowellessness as its apocopation marker, its agent being concealed in it with the implicit meaning of *'anā* 'I': *taqum* 'you (might) stand' is the verb of the condition and *'aqum* 'I (might) stand' is the response to the condition.

5.88 (8) <u>*'ayyāna* 'whenever'</u>,[1] (spelt with *a* after the *'*), as in the verse

fa-'ayyāna mā ta^{c}dil bihi r-rīḥu tanzili

'and then whenever the wind turns aside she stops',[2] where *'ayyāna* 'whenever' is an apocopating noun of condition, *mā* '-ever' is redundant,[3] *ta^{c}dil* 'she (might) turn aside' is the verb of the condition, with vowellessness as its apocopation marker, and *tanzili* 'she (might) stop' is the response to the condition, with final vowellessness as its apocopation marker (the final *i* is purely accidental, as it is the vowel of the rhyming consonant).[4]

(5) See 11.0 n 1 on the term *na^{c}t* 'epithet', which overlaps the term *ṣifa* 'adjective'.

5.861 (1) This note is copied verbatim from al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* II, 248.

(2) Aš-Širbīnī's source (see n 1) actually has *'ayyuhum yaqum 'aqum ma^{c}ahu* 'whichever of them stands I will stand with him', which makes more sense of the assertion that *'ayyu* depends for its meaning upon what it is annexed to; however, *'ayyu* is also found standing alone, as in the Qur'anic verse quoted in 5.86.

(3) This time *'ayyu* is formally annexed to *ad-dawābbi* and is thus equivalent to *mā* 'whatever' (5.82). Note that the dependent form *'ayya* is required, as it is a preposed direct object of *tarkub* 'you (might) ride', and see n 4.

(4) Observe that the word order of all four examples preserves that of *'ayyu* in its original interrogative function (cf. 5.82 n 1), i.e. with agents, direct objects and other qualifiers preceding their operators, though still marked accordingly. See 5.87 on *matā*.

(5) See 5.89 on *'ayna*. Cf. also 13.91 n 1 for a corroborative construction with *'ayyu*.

5.87 (1) *Jum.* 217; *Muf.* ##206, 419; *Alf.* v. 696; *Qaṭr* 84; Fleisch 219. For *matā* as an interrogative see next note; as a synonym of *'iḏā* 5.94; as a preposition 26.1.

(2) The particles *'a* and *hal* convert statements into questions (5.741 n 1), and for other types of questions there is a set of interrogative nouns, most of which also function as conditionals: 'what?' *mā*, also lengthened to *māḏā* (see 11.731 on *ḏā* 'this'); 'who?' *man*; 'where' *'ayna*; 'which?' *'ayyu*; 'how?' *kayfa*; 'when?' *matā*. Note also the compounds *li-mā* 'why?' (= 'for what?'), *li-man* 'whose?' (= 'for whom?'). See further 9.94 n 1 and, on indirect questions, 12.51 n 6.

5.88 (1) *Jum.* 217; *Muf.* ##206, 419; *Alf.* v 696; *Qaṭr* 85; Fleisch 219. The spelling instruction (3.44 n 2) may be to avoid confusion with *'iyyānā* (v. 16.502), though it is more likely to be a sign that this word is not very familiar. It is *'ayya* (5.86) + *'ānin* 'time' (q.v. 18.113 n 1 (b)).

(2) *Schaw. Ind.* 199, add Fleischer, *Kl. Schr.* II, 86, and al-Ušmūnī on *Alf.* v. 696. The first hemistich is *'iḏā n-na^{c}jatu l-^{c}ajfā'u bātat bi-qafrin* 'when the emaciated ewe spends the night in the desert' (cf. 10.16 on *bāta*). There are other translations of the second hemistich: 'whenever the wind moderates, she descends' (Goguyer, *Qaṭr* 85), 'whenever the wind leads it aside, it sinks down' (Fleischer, loc. cit.).

(3) The parsing is copied exactly from al-Azharī, *Āj.* 50, but it is left to aš-Šarqawī, in his Commentary on al-Azharī, loc. cit., to point out that the 'redundant *mā*' (5.89 n 2) is here introduced for purely metrical reasons.

(4) Classical Arabic verse rhymes throughout in the same consonant (so that a poem may be referred to as *al-lāmiyya* 'the one in *l*' etc.) and,

نحو اينما تجلس (23a) اجلس فاين اسم شرط جازم وما صلة وتجلس فعل مضارع مجزوم باين على انه فعل الشرط وعلامة جزمه السكون وفاعله ضمير مستتر فيه مرفوع به تقديره انت واجلس فعل مضارع مجزوم باين ايضا وعلامة جزمه السكون وفاعله ضمير مستتر فيه تقديره انا والعاشر انى بفتح الهمزة والنون المشددة نحو انى تجلس اجلس فانى اسم شرط جازم وتجلس فعل مضارع مجزوم بانى على انه فعل الشرط وعلامة جزمه السكون وفاعله ضمير مستتر فيه تقديره انت مرفوع به واجلس فعل مضارع مجزوم بانى على انه جواب الشرط وعلامة جزمه السكون وفاعله مستتر فيه مرفوع به تقديره انا والحادي عشر حيثما نحو حيثما تقم اقم واعرابه كاعراب

5.89 (9) *'aynamā* 'wherever',[1] as in *'aynamā tajlis (23a) 'ajlis* 'wherever you sit I shall sit', where *'ayna* 'where' is an apocopating noun of condition, *mā* '-ever' is a relative,[2] *tajlis* 'you (might) sit' (masc. sing.) is an imperfect tense verb apocopated by *'ayna* 'where', with vowellessness as its apocopation marker, its agent being a pronoun concealed in it with the implicit meaning of *'anta* 'you' (masc. sing.), and *'ajlis* 'I (might) sit' is an imperfect tense verb also apocopated by *'ayna* 'where', with vowellessness as its apocopation marker, its agent being a pronoun concealed in it with the implicit meaning of *'anā* 'I'.

5.90 (10) *'annā* 'wherever',[1] (spelt with *a* after the *'*, and double *n*), as in *'annā tajlis 'ajlis* 'wherever you sit I shall sit', where *'annā* 'wherever' is an apocopating noun of condition, *tajlis* 'you (might) sit' (masc. sing.) is an imperfect tense verb apocopated by *'annā* 'wherever' as the verb of the condition, with vowellessness as its apocopation marker, its agent being a pronoun concealed in it with the implicit meaning of *'anta* 'you' (masc. sing.); *'ajlis* 'I (might) sit' is an imperfect tense verb apocopated by *'annā* 'wherever' as the response to the condition,[2] with vowellessness as its apocopation marker, its agent being concealed in it and made independent by it with the implicit meaning of *'anā* 'I'.

5.91 (11) *ḥayṯumā* 'wherever',[1] as in *ḥayṯumā taqum 'aqum* 'wherever you stand I shall stand, with the same parsing as the preceding example.[2]

if that consonant is vowelled, the same vowel must also be maintained. All such vowels are pronounced long, even when grammatically short, so *tanzili* could rhyme with *manzilī* 'my abode' (but we transcribe all vowels as written, so as not to obscure the inflections). *Tanwīn* is not usual in rhyme, but see 1.45 n 3 for some exceptions. The final *i* of *tanzili* is an automatic juncture feature, q.v. 13.12 n 1, hence 'purely accidental', *ᶜāriḍ* (cf. 18.3 n 1), i.e. non-phonemic.

5.89 (1) *Jum.* 217; *Muf.* #206, 419; *Alf.* v 696; *Qaṭr* 84; Fleisch 219. As an interrogative (5.87 n 2), *'ayna* also makes compounds such as *'ilā 'ayna* 'whither' ('to where', cf. 13.12) and *min 'ayna* 'whence' ('from where'). Cf. also 18.41 n 3.

(2) At least one grammarian (az-Zamaḵšarī, *Muf.* #206) disagrees with the interpretation of *mā* as a 'relative' (*ṣila*, (cf. 5.86 n 2), and treats it as a 'redundant *mā*' (*zā'ida*, 5.85 n 1). The boundary between the two is often vague, and perhaps it is better instead to consider the following: *mā* occurs regularly after nouns in a purely indefinite function, e.g. *rajulun mā* 'a certain man' (see Nöldeke 59) and it also occurs as a pure nominalizer, e.g. *mā dumtu* 'for as long as I remain' (10.23), *ᶜindamā jā'a* 'when he came' (scil. 'at his coming', cf. 18.207 n 1). 'Redundant *mā*' seems to lie somewhere in between.

5.90 (1) *Jum.* 217; *Muf.* #207; *Alf.* v 697; *Qaṭr* 85; Fleisch 219. To judge by the entry in Lane's dictionary for this item ('whence, where, whencesoever, wheresoever, when, how, however' etc.), the meaning of the word has never been accurately known.

(2) Two further features of the conditional structure may as well be dealt with here: (a) it is possible for the protasis not to be a genuine condition, but an imperative, e.g. *kūnū hūdan 'aw naṣārā tahtadaw* 'be Jews or Christians and you will be rightly guided' (S. 2 v 135) or a proposal, e.g. *'a-lā tanzil ta'kul* 'will you not dismount and eat?' (cf. the similar constructions with dep. verb after *fa*, in 5.55, also Beeston 107, Fleisch 217). (b) In certain circumstances the apodosis must be 'linked' by *fa*, viz. when the apodosis is a nominal sentence (example in 5.86), when the verb of the apodosis is preceded by a particle, e.g. *'in saraqa fa-qad saraqa 'aḵun lahu min qablu* 'if he stole, then a brother of his has stolen before' (S. 12 v 77), when the apodosis is an imperative verb, e.g. *'in kuntum tuḥibbūna llāha fa-ttabiᶜūnī* 'if you love God, then follow me' (S. 3 v 31), and if the apodosis must have past tense meaning, e.g. *'in kāna qamīṣuhu qudda min qubulin fa-ṣadaqat* 'if his shirt is torn from the front, then she has been telling the truth' (S. 12 v 26). See *Muf.* #587; *Alf.* v 701; *Qaṭr* 86; Fleisch 215; Nöldeke 111. Semantic considerations, Beeston 106.

5.91 (1) *Jum.* 217; *Muf.* #202, 419; *Alf.* v 697; *Qaṭr* 85; Fleisch 219. This is a compound of the indefinite *mā* suffix (5.85 n 1) and the noun of place *ḥayṯu*: the latter is a member of a small group of space/time qualifiers which end in an invariable *u*, thought to be a remnant of an old locative case (cf. Brockelmann, *Grundr.* II, 533, and 18.41 n 2). In the context of conditionals, *ḥayṯu* is unusual in not being an

المثال الذي قبله والثاني عشر كيفما نحو كيفما تصنع اصنع فكيفما اسم شرط جازم وتصنع فعل مضارع مجزوم بكيفما على انه فعل الشرط وعلامة جزمه السكون وفاعله ضمير مستتر فيه تقديره انت واصنع فعل مضارع مجزوم بكيفما على انه جواب الشرط وعلامة جزمه السكون وفاعله ضمير مستتر فيه تقديره انا في محل رفع باصنع فائدة فعل الشرط وجوابه لهما اربعة احوال فاما ان يكونا فعلين ماضيين نحو وان عدتم عدنا او مضارعين نحو ان تبدوا ما في انفسكم او تخفوه يحاسبكم به الله او الاول ماض والثاني مضارع نحو من كان يريد حرث الاخرة نزد له في حرثه او الاول مضارع والثاني ماض نحو قول القائل

من يكدني بسيء كنت منه   كالشجا بين حلقه والوريد

ولاصح منع ذلك لعدم وروده في النثر ويوجد في بعض النسخ واذا في الشعر خاصة

5.92 (12) *kayfamā* 'however',[1] as in *kayfamā taṣna*^{c} *'aṣna*^{c} 'however you act I shall act', where *kayfamā* 'however'[2] is an apocopating noun of condition, *taṣna*^{c} 'you (might) act' (masc. sing.) is an imperfect tense verb apocopated by *kayfamā* 'however' as the verb of the condition, with vowellessness as its apocopation marker, its agent being a pronoun concealed in it with the implicit meaning of *'anta* 'you' (masc. sing.); *'aṣna*^{c} 'I (might) act' is an imperfect tense verb apocopated by *kayfamā* 'however' as the response to the condition, with vowellessness as its apocopation marker, its agent being a pronoun concealed in it with the implicit meaning of *'anā* 'I' and independent status through *'aṣna*^{c} 'I (might) act'.

5.93 Additional Note:[1] The verb of the condition and its response have four states:[2] (a) both may be past tense verbs, as in *wa-'in* ^{c}*udtum* ^{c}*udnā* 'and if you (masc. plur.) returned we would return',[3] or (b) both may be imperfect tense verbs, as in *'in tubdū mā fī 'anfusikum 'aw tuḵfūhu yuḥāsibkum bihi llāhu* 'if you (masc. plur.) reveal what is in your souls or hide it, God will assess you by it',[4] or (c) the first verb may be past tense and the second imperfect tense, as in *man kāna yurīdu ḥarṯa l-'āḵirati nazid lahu fī ḥarṯihi* 'whoever was wanting to cultivate the afterlife, we shall increase for him his cultivation',[5] or (d) the first verb may be imperfect tense and the second past tense, as in the verse

man yakidnī bi-sayyi'in kunta minhu
ka-š-šajā bayna ḥalqihi wa-l-warīdi

'whoever might trick me into some evil, you would become towards him like the bone stuck between his windpipe and his jugular vein',[6] but in the best opinion this last is forbidden, since it does not occur in prose.[7]

interrogative.

(2) See 8.21 n 1 on *'i^{c}rāb* in the sense of 'parsing'. The sudden loss of energy on the part of aš-Širbīnī is inexplicable: certainly his immediate source (al-Azharī, *Āj.* 50) does not flag in his treatment of *ḥayṯumā*.

5.92 (1) *Jum.* 217; *Muf.* #207, 419; not in *Alf.* but see al-Ušmūnī on v 697; not in *Qaṭr* but see *Muḡnī* I, 173; Fleisch 219. For *kayfa* as an interrogative cf. 19.8, *kayfa ji'ta* 'how did you come?'.

(2) The legitimacy of *kayfa* alone as a conditional element, as in *kayfa taṣna^c 'aṣna^c*, of whose flavour the English 'how you act I shall act' gives some idea, has been a subject of dispute since the earliest grammar: Sībawayhi asked his master al-Ḵalīl (0.1 n 1) about it, and was told that the construction is 'felt to be reprehensible', (*mustakrah*), because *kayfa* is not a conditional. It comes to be used as one only because it is synonymous with *^{c}alā 'ayyi ḥālin* 'in what(ever) state' (cf. 5.861), *Kitāb* I, 433. The 'Kūfans' (9.4 n 3) on the other hand, allow *kayfa* as a conditional, *Inṣāf*, prob. 91.

5.93 (1) See also general references at 5.81 n 1. Here we may also remark on two more aspects of conditional sentences: (a) the compound *wa-'in* 'and if' has become fixed in a purely adversative sense, 'even though, even if', e.g. *'anā ma^{c}ahu wa-'in lam ya^{c}rifnī* 'I am with him even though he does not know me'. If this is not simple inversion of protasis and apodosis, it is ellipsis of an apodosis identical with the preposed clause, scil. *'I am with him: even though he does not know me I am with him'; (b) with *wa-law* 'even if' elision of the apodosis is compulsory, e.g. *'awlim wa-law bi-šātin* 'have a feast, even if only with a single sheep' (cf. Beeston 106; Fleisch 215). On its own *wa-law* is used approximately as 'so what?, what if it is?'.

(2) See 11.2 n 1 on 'states', *'aḥwāl*.

(3) S. 17 v 8, both verbs being past tense forms of the 'hollow verb' (10.23 n 2) *^{c}āda* 'to return', root *^{c}-w-d*.

(4) S. 2 v 284. Note that a second, alternative protasis is coordinated by *'aw* 'or' (12.4).

(5) S. 42 v 20. The mixture illustrated here is not common, and in most cases *kāna* is the verb involved, where it clearly has a modal, rather than a temporal function, in keeping with the meaning that *kāna* sometimes has: 'it most certainly is' (e.g. in 5.52 n 2). There are other methods, e.g. the use of *qad* (1.81), for indicating a specific past reference, cf. Beeston 106.

(6) *Schaw. Ind.* 73, add al-Mubarrad, *Muqtaḍab* II, 56. This variety is even rarer than the previous example, and is regarded by most as a poetic licence. However, Ibn Mālik seems to have been in favour of admitting it as a regular construction, cf. *Ḵizāna* III, 655, where, contrary to aš-Širbīnī's statement, a prose example is adduced, viz. *man yaqum laylata l-qadri 'īmānan wa-ḥtisāban ḡufira lahu mā taqaddama*

زيادة على الثمانية عشر ومثالها قول الشاعر
واذا تصبك خصاصة فتجمل
فاذا اسم شرط وتصبك فعل الشرط وعلامة جزمه السكون وتجمل فعل امر وفاعله (23b) مستتر فيه وجوبا وهو وفاعله جملة فعلية في موضع جزم على انها جواب الشرط وقرن بالفاء لانه فعل طلب وانما عملت اذا وان كانت شرطا غير جازم جملا على متى كما اهملت متى حملا عليها كقول عائشة رضي الله عنها ان ابا بكر رجل اسيف وانه متى يقوم مقامك لا يسمع الناس رواه ابن الجوزي في جامع المسانيد كما قال ابن مالك

5.94 In some copies[1] we also find: <u>and *'iḏā* 'when', but only in poetry.</u> This is in addition to the eighteen already listed. There is an example in the verse of the poet:

wa-'iḏā tuṣibka ḵaṣāṣatun fa-tajammal

'and when some privation afflicts you, be patient',[2] where *'iḏā* 'when' is a conditional noun and *tuṣibka* 'it (fem. sing.) (might) afflict you' is the verb of the condition, with vowellessness as its apocopation marker; *tajammal* 'be patient!' (masc. sing.) is an imperative verb whose agent *(23b)* is compulsorily concealed in it. This verb and its agent make a verbal sentence with apocopated function[3] as the response to the condition, and is connected[4] by *fa* 'and so' because it is a verb of demand. Although *'iḏā* 'when' does not normally apocopate verbs when used as a conditional,[5] it can operate in this way by being treated like *matā* 'when',[6] just as *matā* can be made inoperative by treating it like *'iḏā*, as in the saying of ᶜĀ'iša (may God be pleased with her), *'inna 'abā bakrin rajulun 'asīfun wa-'innahu matā yaqūmu maqāmaka la yusmiᶜu n-nāsa* 'Verily Abū Bakr is a soft-hearted man, and if he takes your place he will not make the people hear him', as transmitted by Ibn al-Jawzī in his *Jāmiᶜ al-masānīd*, according to Ibn Mālik.[7]

min danbihi 'whoever rises on Laylat al-Qadr (the night of the 26th of Ramaḍān) in belief and hope of reward, he will be forgiven what sins he has committed' (a 'Tradition', 1.01 n 4, cf. Wensinck, *Concord*. V 315).

(7) 'Prose' is *naṯr* lit. 'scattering', contrasting with *naẓm* 'poetry', lit. 'arranging' (also *ši*^{c}*r* in 5.94, lit. 'knowledge', cf. *poiesis*).

5.94 (1) In all copies of the *Ājurrūmiyya*, as far as can be discovered but not in other treatises. Cf. Beeston 104; Fleisch 206; 12.3 n 3.

(2) *Schaw. Ind.* 202, with variant *taḥammal* 'bear it' (cf. 5.90 n 2 (b) for apodosis introduced by *fa*). See Nöldeke, note 1 to p.111.

(3) Note that the 'verbal sentence' (cf. 7.1) may function as a single element (5.84 n 4).

(4) On the rules for *fa* in the apodosis cf. 5.90 n 2 (b). Here the phrase *qurina bi-l-fā'* 'is connected by *fa*' expresses the function of *fa* as the 'link' between protasis and apodosis (see *rābiṭa*, 5.86 n 4), cf. the cognate term *qarīna* in 11.7 n 1.

(5) That *'in* 'if' and *'iḏā* 'when' are not completely interchangeable is well illustrated by contrasting the correct utterance *'ātīka 'iḏā ḥmarra l-busru* 'I will come to you when the grapes go red' and the incorrect *'ātīka 'in iḥmarra l-busru* 'I will come to you if the grapes go red'. The latter is wrong not so much because the condition is a false one, but because *'in* cannot refer to a specific future time (so al-Kalīl, in *Kitāb* I, 433).

(6) See 5.87 on *matā*.

(7) See Wensinck, *Concordance* I, 63 for the various forms and locations of this Tradition, whose variants (*matā yaqum, matā mā yaqum, 'iḏā qāma, 'in yaqum*) suggest much grammatical uncertainty. The book *Jāmi*^{c} *al-masānīd* ('Collection of Traditions arranged according to the chain of transmission') is not yet published; its author was the most prolific and outstanding Ḥanbalī polymath of his day (1126-1200, see *G.A.L.* I, 503, *E.I.* (2), art. 'Ibn al-Djawzī'). No doubt the source for aš-Širbīnī was al-Azharī, *Āj.* 50, and he in turn probably had it from Ibn Hišām, *Muġnī* II, 201. The Ibn Mālik mentioned here is the familiar grammarian (1.02 n 2) rather than the famous theologian of Medina (d. 709-11), and the information may have come from *Tashīl* 237 (it is not in *Alf.*).

باب مرفوعات الاسماء خاصة المرفوعات من الاسماء سبعة وهي الفاعل كقام زيد
والثاني المفعول الذي لم يسمى فاعله كضرب عمرو بضم الضاد وكسر الراء الثالث
والرابع المبتدأ وخبره كزيد قائم والخامس اسم كان ككان زيد قائما واسم
اخواتها كأمسى زيد ضاحكا والسادس خبر ان كان زيدا قائم وخبر اخواتها
كليت عمرا موسر والسابع التابع للمرفوع وهو اي التابع اربعة اشياء الاول النعت
نحو قام زيد العاقل وثانيها العطف نحو قام زيد وعمرو وثالثها التوكيد كقام
زيد نفسه ورابعها البدل كقام زيد اخوك هذا على سبيل الاجمال واما على سبيل
التفصيل فقد ذكر لكل واحد منها بابا على هذا الترتيب وقد بدأ بالاول فقال

CHAPTER SIX

6.0 Chapter on the independent forms of nouns:[1] (i.e. of nouns in particular). The independent forms of nouns are seven, viz.

6.1 (1) the agent,[1] e.g. *qāma zaydun* 'Zayd stood';

6.2 (2) the object of an unnamed agent,[1] e.g. *ḍuriba ᶜamrun* 'ᶜAmr was struck' (spelt with *u* after the *ḍ* and *i* after the *r*);

6.3 (3) the subject and (4) the predicate,[1] e.g. *zaydun qā'imun* 'Zayd is standing';

6.4 (5) the subject-noun of *kāna* 'to be',[1] e.g. *kāna zaydun qā'iman* 'Zayd was standing', and of its related verbs,[2] e.g. *'amsā zaydun ḍāḥikan* 'in the evening Zayd was laughing';

6.5 (6) the predicate of *'inna* 'verily',[1] e.g. *'inna zaydan qā'imun* 'verily Zayd is standing', and of its related particles, e.g. *layta ᶜamran mūsirun* 'would that ᶜAmr were well off';

6.6 (7) the concordant[1] of an independent noun, which comprises (i.e. the concordant) four items: (a) the adjective,[2] e.g. *qāma zaydun il-ᶜāqilu* 'Zayd the intelligent stood', (b) the coordinate,[3] e.g. *qāma zaydun wa ᶜamrun* 'Zayd and ᶜAmr stood', (c) the corroborative,[4] e.g. *qāma zaydun nafsuhu* 'Zayd himself stood', and (d) the substitute,[5] e.g. *qāma zaydun 'akūka* 'Zayd, your brother, stood'.

This is a summary presentation:[6] in the detailed account the author has treated each one in a separate chapter arranged in the same sequence, starting with the first:

6.0 (1) *al-marfū^{c}āt*, lit. 'those things which have been made independent', sound fem. plur. (cf. 3.231 n 2). On 'independence' see 3.1 n 1. 'Nouns in particular' includes adjectives (3.41 n 2) but not verbs, whose independent forms have already been dealt with in 5.33.

6.1 (1) *al-fā^{c}il*, lit. 'the doer', see ch. 7, esp. 7.0, 7.01.

6.2 (1) *al-maf^{c}ūl alladī̲ lam yusamma fā^{c}iluh*, lit. 'the direct object of which no agent has been named', i.e. the passive, see ch. 8, esp. 8.1, 8.11. The spelling instructions are required here because the passive differs from the active only in vocalization, cf. 8.2, 8.3.

6.3 (1) *al-mubtada'* (*bih*), lit. 'that which is begun (with)', and *k̲abaruh*, lit. 'the information about it', see ch. 9, esp. 9.01, 9.1. Both subject and predicate normally have independent form (cf. 9.11), but see 6.4, 6.5 for the exceptions.

6.4 (1) *ism kāna*, lit. 'the noun of *kāna* "to be"', see 10.1 on why it may not be termed a true agent (*fā^{c}il*) or subject (*mubtada'*).

(2) Relationships between elements are often expressed anthropomorphically, e.g. 'mother' (5.41 n 9, 26.21 n 1), 'sister' (10.1), 'daughter' (3.1 n 2); see Carter, *R.E.I.* 40, 83.

6.5 (1) *k̲abar 'inna*, lit. 'the information (about the noun operated on by) *'inna* "verily"', q.v. at 10.4. As with *kāna* in the previous note, the elements related to *'inna* are termed its 'sisters'.

6.6 (1) *tābi^{c}*, lit. 'following' (scil. the inflection of its antecedent). Naturally if the antecedent is dependent or oblique, so is the concordant, and no longer belongs to this chapter (cf. 11.01). Some grammarians arrive at five concordants by distinguishing between sequential coordination (*^{c}aṭf nasaq*) and explanatory coordination (*^{c}aṭf bayān*), cf. 12.0.

(2) *na^{c}t*, usually rendered 'epithet' but see 11.0 n 1. On adjectives in general, see 11.01 to 11.61.

(3) *^{c}aṭf*, lit. 'inclining towards', see ch. 12.

(4) *tawkīd*, lit. 'confirming, affirming', see ch. 13.

(5) *badal*, translated literally. See ch. 14.

(6) We may add here the particle *lawlā* 'if not for ...' (from *law* 'if', 5.811 n 1, and *lā* 'not', 5.76 n 1), e.g. *lawlā zaydun la-ji'tuka* 'if it were not for Zayd I would come to you', scil. 'if Zayd were not (in existence ...)'; other examples 5.55(f), 7.11, and see 9.94 n 1. *Jum.* 301; *Muf.* #169; *Alf.* v 714; *Qaṭr* 125; Fleisch 214; Nöldeke 112.

باب الفاعل وقدمه المصنف على المبتدأ وذلك مبني على ان اصل المرفوعات هل
هو المبتدأ او الفاعل وجه الاول أن المبتدأ مبتدأ به في الكلام وانه لا يزول عن
كونه مبتدأ وان تأخر والفاعل تزول فاعليته اذا تقدم وانه عامل معمول والفاعل
معمول ليس غير ووجه الثاني ان عامله لفظي وهو اقوى من عامل المبتدأ المعنوي.
والفاعل لغة من اوجد الفعل واصطلاحا اسم صريح او ما في تأويله اسند اليه فعل
تام او ما في تأويله مقدم على المسند اليه فارغ اصلي المحل والصيغة (24a) فمثال
الاسم الصريح اذا تقدمه فعل نحو تبارك الله او مؤول بالفعل نحو مختلف الوانه
اي صنف مختلف الوانه او مؤول بالاسم نحو اولم يكفهم انا انزلنا اي انزالنا
وقيد التمام يخرج كان والتقديم يخرج المبتدأ والفارغ يخرج نحو يقومان الزيدان

CHAPTER SEVEN

7.0 Chapter on the agent.[1] The author gives the agent priority over the subject of the equational sentence,[2] an arrangement based on the question of whether the subject or the agent is the original independent form. The case for the former is that the subject is the first element of an utterance and remains the subject even in inversion, while the agent ceases to be an agent when inverted.[3] Furthermore, the subject operates on other elements, while the agent is without exception operated upon by something else.[4] The case for the latter is that the operator of the agent is formal and therefore stronger[5] than the abstract operator of the subject.

7.01 Lexically the agent[1] is the person who brings the action into existence, but its technical meaning is 'the plain noun (or paraphrase)[2] of which is predicated a syntactically complete verb (or paraphrase); this verb must precede the agent, be devoid of personal endings, and occur in its normal status and form'.[3] *(24a)*

7.02 An example of the plain noun preceded by a verb is *tabāraka llāhu* 'God be blessed';[1] by a verbal paraphrase, *muḵtalifun 'alwānuhu* 'its colours varying'[2] (i.e. *ṣinfun muḵtalifun 'alwānuhu* 'a type varying in colours'); an example of a nominal paraphrase is *'a-wa-lam yakfihim 'annā 'anzalnā* 'and has it not sufficed them that we sent down...?'[3] (i.e. *'inzālunā* 'our sending down').

7.03 The feature of syntactic completeness excludes such verbs as *kāna* 'to be';[1] 'preceding the agent' excludes the subject of the equational sentence;[2] 'devoid of personal endings' excludes expressions of the type

7.0 (1) *Jum.* 23; *Muf.* #20; *Alf.* v 225; *Qaṭr* 178; Beeston 63, 71; Fleisch 166; Bateson 44; Yushmanov 64, 68. For *fā*ᶜ*il* 'agent' see 7.01 n 1. On *fā*ᶜ*il* as a morphological category see 10.34 n 1.

(2) This follows the order in which they are dealt with by Sībawayhi (*Kitāb* I, 14, 278 respectively), also az-Zamakšarī and az-Zajjājī, while Ibn Mālik and Ibn Hišām (*Qaṭr* only) treat the subject before the agent. For 'subject' see 9.01 and cf. below, 7.12; for *'aṣl* 'original form' see 3.0 n 2.

(3) See 19.73 n 1 on inversion in general; agents become subjects when they precede their verbs, cf. 7.12, 9.82, 12.903.

(4) This assumes that the predicate is made independent by the subject, although there is some dispute over the problem (see 9.11). On 'operation' see 2.11 and n 5 below.

(5) Operators are either 'formal' (*lafẓī*) or 'abstract' (*ma*ᶜ*nawī*, see 2.1 n 2), that of the agent being the verb which formally precedes it, while that of the subject is assumed to be abstract because the subject has nothing formally preceding it (9.11, and cf. 5.34 n 1). On the hierarchical considerations here cf. 22.0 n 4.

7.01 (1) Both *fā*ᶜ*il* 'agent' and *fi*ᶜ*l* 'verb' (see 16.01) are terms which ambiguously denote both the real actor and act and the agent and verb in purely linguistic form (similar ambiguity in 23.0 n 1, *munādā*, either 'person called' or 'vocative noun'). This overlap is both ancient and deliberate (for Sībawayhi speech is a set of acts of the speaker, Carter, *J.A.O.S.* 93, 147, 151), though only later did this same duality acquire philosophical proportions (see Versteegh 151).

(2) On 'plain noun', *ism ṣarīḥ*, and 'paraphrase', *ta'wīl*, see 9.02 n 1. The 'syntactically complete' (*tāmm*) verb is one which needs no further complements, contrasting with the 'syntactically defective' (*nāqiṣ*) verbs in 10.1-38, and cf. 9.71.

(3) These are explained in 7.03.

7.02 (1) S. 7 v 54. Here *tabāraka* is an optative verb, q.v. 14.34 n 3.

(2) S. 16 v 69; the masc. noun *ṣinfun* 'type' introduced in an attempt to account for the masc. *mukhtalifun* by attraction, even though its agent is grammatically fem. (4.12 n 3, and see 26.95 n 2).

(3) S. 29 v 51; see further 9.6 n 2, 10.42 on *'anna* clauses.

7.03 (1) See 10.11; these verbs have nominal sentences as their agent and complement, and are incomplete without the latter.

(2) An indep. noun preceding a verb is reckoned to be a subject, not an

واصلي المحل يخرج نحو قائم زيد فانه اصلي التأخير فانه خبر وزيد مبتدأ واصلي
الصيغة يخرج النائب عن الفاعل ثم ان المصنف عرفه ببعض خواصه تقريبا على
المبتدئ فقال الفاعل هو الاسم المرفوع بفعله المذكور قبله فعله كقام زيد فقام
فعل ماض وزيد مرفوع فاعل به وعلامة رفعه الضمة وانما كان زيد فاعلا لانه يصدق
عليه انه اسم مرفوع مذكور قبله فعله الذي رفعه ففهم من قوله الاسم ان الفاعل
لا يكون الا اسما فلا يكون فعلا ولا حرفا وفهم من قوله المرفوع ان الفاعل لا يكون
الا مرفوعا لا مجرورا ولا منصوبا وهذا هو الاصل وقد يجر لفظا لاضافة المصدر نحو
لولا دفع الله الناس او بمن او بالباء الزائدتين والاول نحو قوله تعالى ان
تقولوا ما جاءنا من بشير اي ما جاءنا بشير والثاني نحو قوله تعالى كفى بالله
شهيدا اي كفى الله وقد ينصب شذوذا اذا فهم المعنى سمع من كلامهم خرق الثوب
المسمار وكسر الزجاج الحجر برفع اولهما ونصب ثانيهما واستأنس بعضهم لذلك
لقراءة عبدالله فتلقى ادم من ربه كلمات بنصب ادم ورفع كلمات وفهم من

yaqūmāni z-zaydāni 'they are both standing, the two Zayds';[3] 'normal status' excludes the type *qā'imun zaydun* 'standing is Zayd', which is an inversion of the regular order[4] (for *qā'imun* 'standing' is a predicate and *zaydun* 'Zayd' is a subject); 'normal form' excludes the substitute agent.[5]

7.1 The author now explains the agent in terms of some of its special characteristics to make it easier for the beginner. <u>The agent is the independent noun</u> (made so by its verb) <u>which is preceded by its verb,</u>[1] e.g. *qāma zaydun* 'Zayd stood', where *qāma* 'stood' is a past tense verb and *zaydun* 'Zayd' is its agent made independent by it, with *u* as its independence marker: *zaydun* must be an agent because it is true of it that it is an independent noun preceded by the verb which makes it independent. We understand from the word 'noun' that the agent can only be a noun, not a verb or particle, and from the word 'independent' that the agent can only be independent, not oblique or dependent.

7.11 This is the norm, but the agent can be made formally oblique by having a verbal noun annexed to it, as in *lawlā dafᶜu llāhi n-nāsa* 'if it were not for God's holding back the people',[1] or by redundant *min* 'from' or *bi* 'by', as in the Qur'anic *'an taqūlū mā jā'anā min bašīrin* 'that you should say, "No bringer of good tidings has come to us"',[2] i.e. *mā jā'ana bašīrun* 'no bringer of good tidings came to us', and also the Qur'anic *kafā bi-llāhi šahīdan* 'God is sufficient as a witness',[3] i.e. *kafā llāhu* 'God suffices'. Rarely, if the meaning is clear, the agent may be dependent: some Arabs[4] have been heard to say *k̲araqa t̲-t̲awbu l-mismāra* 'the garment tore the nail', *kasara z-zujāju l-ḥajara* 'the glass broke the stone',[5] with independent and dependent forms respectively in both. Some are prepared to accept this in the Reading of ᶜAbdullāh[6] of the Qur'anic *fa-talaqqā 'ādamu min rabbihi*

agent, cf. 7.12.

(3) 'Devoid of personal endings' is a rather free translation of *fāriġ* lit. 'empty', but the meaning is clear from the context. Concordance rules (7.22 n 1) require that verbs preceding their agents should not be inflected for number: hence in *yaqūmāni z-zaydāni* the dual verb is already a complete verbal sentence, 'they two are standing', and the following *az-zaydāni* 'the two Zayds' cannot be its agent, but is in apposition to the agent. A type *'akalūnī l-barāġīṯu* 'the fleas bit me' with plural verb, was indeed recorded and discussed (e.g. *Kitāb* I, 5, 6, 39, 237, II, 8), but is dismissed as dialect usage (see also 7.23 n 1).

(4) Though *qā'imun* 'standing' has verbal meaning it is a noun, and so *zaydun* is an inverted subject, not an agent. See 3.0 n 2 on 'normal'.

(5) i.e. the agent of a passive verb, see ch. 8.

7.1 (1) What is offered is a purely formal definition of the 'verbal sentence' (*jumla fi*ᶜ*liyya*) in keeping with the elementary nature of the work. More detailed treatments are available in Ibn Yaᶜīš on *Muf.* #20, al-Astarābāḏī on *Kāfiya* I, 62 (ed. Istanbul 1858), aṣ-Ṣabbān on al-Ušmūnī on *Alf.* v 225. The central point of these considerations is that the agent is that of which an act is predicated (cf. 1.6 n 3), and which must be preceded by its verb because the verb operates on the agent. A typical pedantry is the assertion that the agent remains an agent even when there is no 'act', e.g. dying (*Qaṭr* 181, and cf. 16.11).

7.11 (1) S. 2 v 251. Here *allāhi* 'of God' is the logical agent, in subjective genitive relationship to the verbal noun *daf*ᶜ*u* 'holding back'. After such annexation constructions (cf. 26.92) a direct object may follow in dependent form, as *an-nāsa* 'the people' here (and cf. 16.312 n 1), or it may be paraphrased with *li* (examples in 24.31 n 1). Another kind of subjective genitive in 10.34. See 6.6 n 1 on *lawlā*.

(2) S. 5 v 19. The *min* here is only called redundant because the verb before it is negated: otherwise it would certainly be regarded as a 'partitive *min*', q.v. in 9.03 n 4. On 'redundant' cf. 5.413 n 1.

(3) S. 4 v 79 or 166, and cf. redundant *bi* in subjects, 9.03 n 5. It is tempting to associate this *bi* with the redundant *bi* which occurs in the predicate of *laysa* 'not to be' (10.18 n 4). Cf. also Nöldeke 76.

(4) This always means the desert Arabs, contemporaries perhaps of the early grammarians, but certainly not of aš-Širbīnī! See 1.21 n 1.

(5) According to as-Suyūṭī (*Ham*ᶜ *al-hawāmi*ᶜ I, 186) these curious sentences are quoted by Ibn Mālik in his commentary on *Kāfiya* (though aš-Širbīnī has them directly from al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* I, 270). In all probability they are not themselves genuine utterances, but rather prose imitations of the structure of a few odd verses of poetry (q.v. in *Jum.* 211f, which seems to be the earliest location, but cf. *Kitāb* I, 145-6, Howell I, 155). See also Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.* 79,

(6) This is the 'Reader' (21.21 n 2) ᶜAbdullāh ibn Kaṯīr, d. 738 (see

قوله المذكور قبله فعله ان الفاعل لا يتقدم على فعله ومتى تقدم الاسم الظاهر
على الفعل كان الاسم الظاهر مبتدأ وفاعل الفعل ضمير عائد على المبتدأ نحو زيد
(24b) قام والزيدان قاما والزيدون قاموا فالفاعل في هذة الامثلة ضمير عائد
على المبتدأ ولما فرغ من تعريف الفاعل شرع في تقسيمه فقال وهو اي الفاعل على
قسمين قسم ظاهر وقسم مضمر ثم الظاهر اقسام ذكر المصنف منها عشرة امثلة الاول
المفرد المذكر فالظاهر نحو قولك قام زيد ويقوم زيد فاتى بالفاعل مفردا وهو
فاعل مرفوع وعلامة رفعه الضمة ونوع الفعل الذي رفعه الى ماض وهو قام والى مضارع
وهو يقوم والثاني المثنى المذكر نحو قولك قام الزيدان ويقوم الزيدان فاتى بالفاعل
مثنى مرفوعا بالالف ونوع الفعل الذي رفعه الى ماض وهو قام والى مضارع وهو
يقوم والثالث جمع المذكر السالم نحو قولك قام الزيدون ويقوم الزيدون فاتى
بالفاعل جمعا مرفوعا بالواو وهو الزيدون ونوع الفعل الذي رفعه الى ماض وهو قام

kalimātin 'and Adam encountered words from his Lord',[7] which he reads with the dependent form *'ādama* 'Adam' and the independent form *kalimātun* 'words'.

7.12 We understand from the author's words 'preceded by its verb' that the agent does not precede its verb.[1] Whenever an overt noun does precede its verb, that overt noun is a subject and the agent of the verb is a pronoun referring to the subject, as in *zaydun (24b) qāma* 'Zayd, he stood', *az-zaydāni qāmā* 'the two Zayds, they both stood', and *az-zaydūna qāmū* 'the Zayds, they stood': the agent in all these examples is a pronoun referring to the subject.

7.2 Having finished with the definition of the agent, the author now turns to its subdivisions: and it (i.e. the agent) is of two kinds, one overt[1] and one pronominalized. The overt is further divided into various kinds, of which the author gives ten[2] examples:

7.21 (1) The overt masculine singular is exemplified by *qāma zaydun* 'Zayd stood' and *yaqūmu zaydun* 'Zayd stands', where he gives the agent as singular, it being an agent of independent form with *u* as its marker of independence. Two kinds of verb are given which make the agent independent, viz. the past tense (namely *qāma* 'stood') and the imperfect tense (namely *yaqūmu* 'stands').[1]

7.22 (2) The masculine dual, as in *qāma z-zaydāni* 'the two Zayds stood' and *yaqūmu z-zaydāni* 'the two Zayds stand', where he gives the agent as dual and independent in *ā*, viz. *az-zaydāni* 'the two Zayds', and the verb which makes it independent is given in two kinds, viz. the past tense (namely *qāma* 'stood') and the imperfect tense (namely *yaqūmu* 'stands').[1]

7.23 (3) The sound masculine plural, as in *qāma z-zaydūna* 'the Zayds stood' and *yaqūmu z-zaydūna* 'the Zayds stand', where he gives the agent as plural and independent in *ū*, viz. *az-zaydūna* 'the Zayds', and the verb which makes it independent is given in two kinds, viz. the past tense[1] (namely *qāma* 'stood') and the imperfect tense (namely *yaqūmu*

E.I. (2), art. 'Ibn Kat͟hīr', *G.A.S.* I, 7).

(7) S. 2 v 37. In his comments on this verse (*Maᶜānī* I, 28), al-Farrā' argues that both 'Readings' amount to the same thing 'because whatever encounters you, you encounter it', and cites another example from the Qur'an (S. 2 v 124) involving the word *nāla* 'to obtain'.

7.12 (1) See the definition of the 'verbal sentence' (*jumla fiᶜliyya*) in 7.1. The translations in this paragraph are intended to emphasize that the verb in these positions is felt to be a complete sentence, consisting of the verb itself and its pronominalized agent, together functioning as a predicate of the preceding noun (similar to 9.75). There are thus three possibilities: the true verbal sentence *qāma z-zaydāni* (see 7.22 n 1), the nominal sentence *az-zaydāni qāmā* as in the present paragraph, and the single term verbal sentence with an overt noun in apposition to the pronominalized agent, viz. *yaqūmāni z-zaydāni*, as in 7.03. A comparison of the three shows that in the verbal sentence with an overt agent the verb is not inflected for number, see further 7.22 n 1, and cf. Anshen and Schreiber, *Language* 44, esp. 792.

7.2 (1) 'Overt' is *ẓāhir*, lit. 'showing, apparent' (synonym *muẓhar*, lit. 'shown, made apparent', as in 1.24), a self-explanatory term for explicit nouns. On the antithesis *muḍmar* 'pronominalized': 7.31 n 1.

(2) The manuscripts say four, but for different reasons: C. counts 7.21 and 7.24 as being the four examples, while B. and D. (judging from the photographs) regard 7.21-22-23-24 as four sets of examples. Here, however, we follow al-Azharī, *Āj.* 52 and other printed editions, where all ten are presented as part of Ibn Ājurrūm's original text.

7.21 (1) See 3.2 on independence marker *u*, 5.01 on past tense verb, 5.02 on imperfect tense verb.

7.22 (1) As the examples demonstrate, the verb before an overt agent is always singular (cf. 7.23 n 1). It is marked only for gender, viz. (a) masc. (unmarked sing. verb) for agents of natural or grammatical masc. gender, regardless of number (7.21-25), including non-humans. (b) fem. (marked with *t*, q.v. 5.01) for agents of natural fem. gender (7.26-29) or grammatical fem. gender, in both cases regardless of number, e.g. *nabaḥat kalbatāni* '2 bitches barked', *našibat ḥarbun* 'a war started' (agent is unmarked fem., cf. 11.43 n 3), *našibat ḥurūbun* 'wars started', *nabaḥat kilābun* 'dogs barked' (see 4.12 n 3 on syntax of broken plural).

7.23 (1) Historically the past tense verb is a noun (concrete, in the view of Fleischer, *Kl. Schr.* I, 368), to which agent suffixes have been added. These suffixes are cognate with the free pronouns, as can still be clearly seen by comparing them (listed in 9.22) with the agent suffixes in ch. 7 or 8. Hence *qāma* 'stood' is not so much sing. as impersonal (scil. 'a standing occurred, by an agent yet to be specified'), and this has been generalized to the imperfect tense also. It is misleading to regard this as 'incomplete concordance' (as Reckendorf, *Synt. Verh.* 69, *Ar. Synt.* 23), since overt nouns and agent

والى مضارع وهو يقوم والرابع المفرد المضاف لغير ياء المتكلم من الاسماء الخمسة
نحو قولك قام اخوك ويقوم اخوك فاتى بالفاعل من الاسماء الخمسة مرفوعا بالواو
ونوع الفعل الرافع له الى ماض وهو قام والى مضارع وهو يقوم والخامس جمع المذكر
المكسر نحو قولك قام الرجال ويقوم الرجال والسادس المفرد المؤنث نحو قولك قامت
هند وتقوم هند والسابع مثنى المؤنث نحو قولك قامت الهندان وتقوم الهندان
والثامن جمع المؤنث السالم نحو قولك قامت الهندات وتقوم الهندات والتاسع جمع
المؤنث المكسر نحو قولك قامت الهنود وتقوم الهنود والعاشر المضاف لياء المتكلم
نحو قولك (25a) قام غلامي ويقوم غلامي فغلامي فاعل مرفوع وعلامة رفعه ضمة مقدرة
على ما قبل الياء منع من ظهورها اشتغال المحل بحركة المناسبة للياء وهي الكسرة

'stands').

7.24 (4) The 'five nouns'[1] when singular and annexed to anything but the first person singular *ī* 'my', as in *qāma 'akūka* 'your brother stood' and *yaqūmu 'akūka* 'your brother stands', where he gives the agent from the 'five nouns' in the independent form with *u*, and the verb which makes it independent is given in two kinds, the past tense (namely *qāma* 'stood') and the imperfect tense (namely *yaqūmu* 'stands').

7.25 (5) The masculine broken plural, as in *qāma r-rijālu* 'the men stood' and *yaqūmu r-rijālu* 'the men stand'.[1]

7.26 (6) The feminine singular, as in *qāmat hindun* 'Hind stood' and *taqūmu hindun* 'Hind stands'.[1]

7.27 (7) The feminine dual, as in *qāmat il-hindāni*[1] 'the two Hinds stood' and *taqūmu l-hindāni* 'the two Hinds stand'.

7.28 (8) The sound feminine plural, as in *qāmat il-hindātu* 'the Hinds stood' and *taqūmu l-hindātu* 'the Hinds stand'.[1]

7.29 (9) The broken feminine plural, as in *qāmat il-hunūdu* 'the Hinds stood' and *taqūmu l-hunūdu* 'the Hinds stand'.[1]

7.30 (10) That which is annexed to the first person singular *ī* 'my',[1] as in *(25a) qāma ġulāmī* 'my boy stood' and *yaqūmu ġulāmī* 'my boy stands', where *ġulāmī* 'my boy' is an independent agent: its independence marker is an implicit *u* on the consonant immediately preceding the *ī* 'my', but the *u* is prevented from appearing by the fact that its place is already occupied[2] by the vowel of correspondence to *ī*, namely *i*.

pronoun suffixes are in complementary distribution. The most intrusive reaction to this situation must surely be Nöldeke's remark (78) on the grammatically wrong structure *'akalūnī l-barāġīṯu* 'the fleas bit me' (with plur. verb before the agent, cf. 7.03 n 3), that 'unfortunately it has not become universal'!

7.24 (1) These are the nouns whose inflectional vowels are long according to the conditions set out here and in 3.421. It is clearly gross negligence to invoke those conditions here as they are completely irrelevant to the agent function, and the examples could just as well have included *qāma 'aḵī* 'my brother stood'. In fact aš-Širbīnī is only reproducing the misplaced pedantry of al-Azharī, *Āj.* 52.

7.25 (1) These broken plurals must have natural masc. gender, or else the verb will have to be fem. sing. (7.22 n 1). On the assimilation of the def. art. see 11.41 n 2, and on the juncture feature 11.1 n 2.

7.26 (1) The fem. marker here and in 7.27-29 is not an agent suffix, cf. 7.59. Note that, like many fem. proper names (cf. 11.43 n 3), *hindun* is unmarked for gender.

7.27 (1) See 11.1 n 2 on the juncture feature of the def. art. The extra vowel (*i*) is orthographically attached to the *t* of *qāmat*, but it seemed better to preserve the morphological integrity in transcription.

7.28 (1) Segmentation of the past tense verb leads easily to the conclusion that the masc. *ḍarab-a* and the fem. *ḍarab-a-t* are of the same status as, say, the 2nd sing. masc. *ḍarab-t-a* (7.53) and fem. *ḍarab-t-i* (7.54), and they are often so presented in Western grammars (even in a modern analysis such as Trager and Rice, *Language* 30, 230). However, it is incompatible with Arabic syntax, see further 7.58 n 1, and cf. Beeston 72.

7.29 (1) Here, as with the masc. plurals in 7.23, 7.25, it makes no difference whether the plur. is 'sound' (3.23) or 'broken' (3.22), as only natural gender is relevant to the form of the verb. Contrast *an-niswatu yaḍribna* 'the women strike' in 3.241, where the verb follows its agent and therefore concords in number as well as gender.

7.30 (1) The suffix *ī* 'my' (cf. 4.72 n 2) obliterates any short vowel inflections, cf. 23.6 and following. However, the position of the agent is also one of its markers (7.12) and is sufficient here to identify *ġulāmī* as the agent of *qāma*. It stands to reason that in cases where two uninflected nouns follow the verb, the first is taken to be the agent and the second the direct object, e.g. *ḍaraba ġulāmī 'aḵī* 'my slave struck my brother', *iḵtāra mūsā ᶜīsā* 'Moses chose Jesus' (cf. 4.2 n 2(b) on these invariable proper names: they belong to the same class as *al-fatā* but have no undefined form **mūsan*).

(2) The phrase 'its place is already occupied' renders *ištiġāl al-maḥall*: on *maḥall* 'place' cf. 5.81 n 3, though here a purely literal translation has been preferred. Literal, too, is the translation of *ištiġāl*, on which see further 21.34 n 1. It does not seem likely that *maḥall* here can be equated with 'function' (*mawḍiᶜ*, cf. 5.84 n 4),

وما اشبه ذلك فالفاعل في هده الامثلة كلها اسم ظاهر ولما فرغ من قسم الفاعل
الظاهر شرع في قسم الفاعل المضمر فقال والمضمر وهو ما كني به عن الظاهر اختصارا
قسمان متصل ومنفصل فكل منهما اما لمتكلم وحده او معه غيره او لمخاطب او
لمخاطبة او لمثنيهما او لجمع الذكور المخاطبين او لجمع الاناث المخاطبات او للمفرد
الغائب او المفردة الغائبة او لمثنى الغائب مطلقا او لجمع الذكور الغائبين او لجمع
الاناث الغائبات والحاصل من كل من قسمي الاتصال والانفصال اثنا عشر قسما
ومجموعها اربعة وعشرون حاصلة من ضرب اثنين في اثني عشر والمتصل هو الذي لا
يبتدأ به ولا يلى الا في الاختيار ويرفعه المضارع والماضي والامر الاول من الاثني
عشر ضمير المتكلم وحده نحو قولك ضربت فضرب بفتح الضاد فعل ماض والتاء فاعل
في محل رفع بالفعل الذي قبله والثاني ضمير المتكلم ومعه غيره او المعظم نفسه

7.31 Finally: and the like. In all these examples the agent is an overt noun. Having finished with the section on the overt noun the author now turns to the pronominalized agent.[1]

7.4 The pronominalized, i.e. that which is used for brevity's sake to allude to the overt noun, is of two kinds, bound and free.[1] Both kinds denote the following: the speaker alone, the speaker with someone else, the male person addressed, the female person addressed, two persons (male or female) addressed, plural males addressed, plural females addressed, the absent male, the absent female, two absent persons absolutely, plural absent males, and plural absent females.[2] Each of the two kinds, bound and free, totals twelve pronouns, making twenty-four in all (by multiplying twelve by two).[3]

7.5 The bound pronoun is the one which cannot occur as the subject of an equational sentence,[1] not may it be suffixed in unconstrained usage[2] to *'illā* 'except', It is made independent by the imperfect tense, the past tense and the imperative verb.[3]

7.51 (1) The first of the twelve, the first person singular,[1] is exemplified by *ḍarabtu* 'I struck', where *ḍaraba* 'struck' (spelt with *a* after the *ḍ*) is a past tense verb and *tu* 'I' is an agent with independent status through the preceding verb.

7.52 (2) The first person plural, or the plural of self-magnification,[1]

because the independence marker *u* and the purely arbitrary *i* of the possessive suffix *ī* are respectively a morpheme and a phoneme, i.e. are not members of substitutable classes.

7.31 (1) 'Pronominalized agent' is *fā^cil muḍmar*, which could also be translated in non-linguistic terms as 'the actor who is kept in the mind': *muḍmar* has a broader significance than 'pronominalized', however, and may also denote suppressed elements such as the conjunction *'an* (see 5.4 n 2). The term *ḍamīr*, on the other hand, always denotes 'pronoun', q.v. at 11.71.

7.4 (1) See 11.715 for bound pronouns, 11.716 for free pronouns.

(2) See 9.22 n 2 for transliterations of these terms. Note also that, although the analysis recognizes the three numbers (sing., dual, plur.) and the two genders (masc., fem.), there are no higher order terms for 'number' and 'gender' as such, nor, as it happens, for 'case' or 'mood' either (cf. 11.02 n 1).

(3) See 9.3 n 1 on this practice of computing combinations.

7.5 (1) Here is as good a place as any to reassert the futility of using 'subject' both for true subjects and for agents of verbs (e.g. Reckendorf, Fleisch etc.): this obscures the structural difference between the two, subjects always being first in the sentence (9.01) and agents always after their verb (7.12), not to mention the problems it causes in the treatment of concordance between the verb and agent on the one hand, and subject and verb-phrase predicate on the other.

(2) This definition of the bound pronoun is from *Alf.* v 55, and will be found again in 11.715 and 16.3. 'Unconstrained' here renders *iḵtiyāran* lit. 'voluntarily, by choice', antonym of *iḍṭirāran* 'by constraint, involuntarily', the latter being characteristically used to denote poetic licence (11.715 n 2). Note that in *Muf.* #163 a verse is quoted in which a bound pronoun is suffixed to *'illā* (cf. also *Muḡnī* II, 78): this is precisely such a poetic licence.

(3) This echoes 7.0, where the priority of agent over subject and vice versa is argued.

7.51 (1) The ensuing paragraphs contain the complete paradigm of the active verb, sound Stem I, *ḍaraba* 'to strike' in its past tense form; for the imperfect tense paradigms see 4.4 n 5 etc., and cf. 7.8. Contrary to the convention outlined in 3.52 n 3, the verb will here be translated as an impersonal (i.e. stem-like) past tense and not as an infinitive: for the reasons given in 7.57 n 3, however, it cannot be transliterated as a past stem **ḍarab-*. Note the spelling instructions (3.44 n 2), which prevent confusion with the passive (cf. 8.61).

(2) Proto-Semitic probably had *k* for *t* here, but in Arabic and some other Semitic languages the *t* was generalized by analogy with the suffixes of the second person (Moscati #16.45).

7.52 (1) *al-mu^caẓẓim nafsah*, lit. 'he who exalts himself', i.e. our pluralis majestatis. See Moscati #16.47 on Proto-Semitic *na* suffix.

نحو قولك ضربنا بسكون الباء فضرب بفتح الضاد فعل ماض ونا فاعل في محل رفع
بالفعل الذي قبله لا يظهر فيه اعراب لانه ضمير وكذا حيث سكن ما قبل النون
وكان غير الالف فانه فاعله وان انفتح ما قبلها فهي مفعوله نحو ضربنا زيد
والثالث ضمير المخاطب وهو التاء المفتوحة نحو قولك ضربت فضرب بفتح الضاد
فعل ماض والتاء فاعل في محل رفع بالفعل الذي قبله لا يظهر فيه اعراب (25b)
والرابع ضمير المؤنثة المخاطبة وهو التاء المكسورة نحو قولك ضربت فضرب بفتح
الضاد فعل ماض والتاء فاعل في محل رفع بالفعل الذي قبله لا يظهر فيه اعراب
والخامس التاء المضمومة لمثنى المخاطب والمخاطبة نحو قولك ضربتما فضرب بفتح
الضاد فعل ماض والتاء فاعل في محل رفع بالفعل الذي قبله لا يظهر فيه اعراب
والالف والميم علامة التثنية والسادس التاء المضمومة لجمع الذكور المخاطبين نحو
قولك ضربتم فضرب بفتح الضاد فعل ماض والتاء فاعل في محل رفع بالفعل الذي
قبله لا يظهر فيه اعراب والميم علامة لجمع الذكور والسابع التاء المضمومة لجمع
المؤنثات المخاطبات نحو قولك ضربتن فضرب بفتح الضاد فعل ماض والتاء فاعل

is illustrated by *ḍarabnā* 'we struck' (with unvowelled *b*), where *ḍaraba* 'struck' (spelt with *a* after the *ḍ*) is a past tense verb, and *nā* 'we' is an agent with independent status through the preceding verb and it does not exhibit inflection because it is a pronoun. This is so if is preceded by an unvowelled consonant (excluding *ā*), in which case it is the agent of the verb: but if the preceding consonant is vowelled with *a*, then *nā* is the direct object of the verb, e.g. *ḍarabanā zaydun* 'Zayd struck us'.[2]

7.53 (3) The pronoun of the second person masculine singular, viz. *ta*,[1] is illustrated by *ḍarabta* 'you (masc. sing.) struck', where *ḍaraba* 'struck' (spelt with *a* after the *ḍ*) is a past tense verb, and *ta* 'you' (masc. sing.) is an agent with independent status through the preceding verb and it does not exhibit inflection. *(25b)*

7.54 (4) The pronoun of the second person feminine singular, viz. *ti*,[1] is illustrated by *ḍarabti* 'you (fem. sing.) struck', where *ḍaraba* 'struck' (spelt with *a* after the *ḍ*) is a past tense verb, and *ti* 'you' (fem. sing.) is an agent with independent status through the preceding verb and it does not exhibit inflection.

7.55 (5) The second person masculine and feminine dual, *tumā*,[1] is illustrated by *ḍarabtumā* 'you two (masc. & fem.) struck', where *ḍaraba* 'struck' (spelt with *a* after the *ḍ*) is a past tense verb, and *tu* '*you" is an agent with independent status through the preceding verb and it does not exhibit inflection; *mā* is the marker of the dual.[2]

7.56 (6) The second person masculine plural, viz. *tum*,[1] is illustrated by *ḍarabtum* 'you (masc. plur.) struck', where *ḍaraba* 'struck' (spelt with *a* after the *ḍ*) is a past tense verb, and *tu* '*you'[2] is an agent with independent status through the preceding verb and it does not exhibit inflection; *m* is the marker of the masculine plural.

7.57 (7) The second person feminine plural, viz. *tunna*,[1] is illustrated by *ḍarabtunna* 'you (fem. plur.) struck', where *ḍaraba* 'struck' (spelt

(2) In an unvowelled text *ḍarabnā* and *ḍarabanā* are indistinguishable, hence the comments and spelling instructions. But *ā* is a special case, being prosodically an unvowelled consonant (2.43 n 2) but never a verb radical: before object pronoun suffixes it is the reflex of the weak 3rd rad. *w* or *y* in the 3rd masc. sing., contrast *hadaynā* 'we led' with *hadānā* 'he led us' (**hadaya-nā*, see further 16.304 n 1).

7.53 (1) The *t* is evidently Proto-Semitic (Moscati #16.44); see 11.719 n 4 on the relationship between it and the *ta* of *'anta* 'you'.

7.54 (1) Both the 2nd person marker *t* and the gender marker *i* are probably Proto-Semitic (Moscati #16.44). Note that the transliteration *ti* (also *ta* above, and *tu* etc. in the following paragraphs) obscures the fact that only the consonant is named in the text (cf. 3.5 n 2, 5.1 n 5). In 8.67 the 2nd person *t* suffix is further analysed into its various genders, though by modern criteria not going far enough in segmenting the dual and plural (see following notes). The vowels of the singulars *tu* 'I', *ta* 'you' (masc.) and *ti* 'you' (fem.) are explained by aṣ-Ṣabbān (on al-Ušmūnī on *Alf.* v 55) in terms of a rather fanciful hierarchy *u*, *a*, *i*, with *u*, 'the noblest vowel' assigned to the 1st person and so on in descending order!

7.55 (1) Though not attested outside Arabic and Ugaritic, *tumā* is assumed by Moscati (#16.50) to be a Proto-Semitic form. There is also the possibility that it is a dualization of the masc. plur. *tum*, cf. n 2.

(2) The segmentation seems a little unadventurous when we compare the dual *tumā* with the plural *tum*. Perhaps what prevented the Arabs from isolating *ā* as a dual morpheme here (as Trager and Rice, *Language* 30, 225) was a sense of the contradiction in having simultaneous dual and plural markers (cf. 3.411 and 3.65 n 2 for examples of similar reasoning).

7.56 (1) Though there is variation in the forms between the Semitic languages, all 2nd masc. plur. suffixes consist of *t* and a following nasal element (cf. Moscati #16.47). See further 10.66 n 2 on the variant *tumū*.

(2) The transliteration here (also 7.55, 7.57) as *tu* is a compromise: only *t* stands in the text (see 7.54 m 1), and the *u* is certainly not to be confused with the 1st sing. (7.51). That the Arabs did not regard the *u* as associated with the *t* can be deduced from aṣ-Ṣabbān's comment (on al-Ušmūnī on *Alf.* v 55) that the vowel *u* occurs here only because of the bilabial *m*, homorganic with *w* (and hence with *u*, 3.1 n 2). The translation '*you' is adopted to signify that, at this stage, the 2nd person is still undifferentiated as to number and gender.

7.57 (1) A purely synchronic segmentation of *tunna* into masc. *tum* and fem. plur. *na* (q.v. 3.241, 7.62), as in Trager and Rice, *Language* 30, 225, is perfectly justifiable, but there is no evidence that *tunna* is historically a femininization of *tum* (cf. Moscati #16.37, #16.47, Brockelmann, *Grundr.* I, 576). The same applies to the free pronoun *hunna* and suffix *kunna*, see further 9.44 n 1.

في محل رفع بالفعل الذي قبله لا يظهر فيه اعراب والنون علامة لجمع النسوة والباء
من ضرب في الامثلة كلها ساكنة لاتصالها بالضمير المرفوع المتحرك كما مرت الاشارة
اليه والثامن الضمير المستتر للواحد الغائب نحو قولك زيد ضرب فضرب بفتح الضاد
فعل ماض والضمير المستتر فيه المقدر بهو فاعل في محل رفع بالفعل الذي قبله لا
يظهر فيه اعراب والتاسع الضمير المستتر للواحدة الغائبة نحو قولك هند ضربت
فضرب بفتح الضاد فعل ماض والتاء علامة للتأنيث والضمير المستتر فيه المقدر بهي
فاعل في محل رفع بالفعل الذي قبله لا يظهر فيه اعراب والعاشر الضمير البارز
لمثنى الغائب والغائبة نحو قولك الزيدان ضربا والهندان ضربتا فضرب بفتح الضاد
فعل ماض والالف فيه فاعل في محل رفع بالفعل الذي قبله لا يظهر فيه اعراب
والتاء في ضربتا (26a) علامة للتأنيث واصلها السكون لكن حركت لالتقاء الساكنين
وفتحت لمناسبة الالف وهذا المثال ساقط من اصل المصنف والحادي عشر الضمير
البارز لجمع الذكور الغائبين وهو الواو نحو قولك الزيدون ضربوا فضرب بفتح الضاد

with *a* after the *ḍ*) is a past tense verb, *tu* '*you' is an agent with independent status through the preceding verb and it does not exhibit inflection, and *nna*[2] is the marker of the feminine plural. In all the above examples the *b* of *ḍaraba* 'struck' is unvowelled because an independent vowelled pronoun has been suffixed,[3] as shown.

7.58 (8) The concealed pronoun[1] for the third person masculine singular is illustrated by *zaydun ḍaraba* 'Zayd, he struck', where *ḍaraba* 'struck' (spelt with *a* after the *ḍ*) is a past tense verb, and the pronoun concealed in it with the implicit meaning of *huwa* 'he' is an agent with independent status through the preceding verb and it does not exhibit inflection.

7.59 (9) The concealed pronoun for the third person feminine singular is illustrated by *hindun ḍarabat* 'Hind, she struck', where *ḍaraba* 'struck' (spelt with *a* after the *ḍ*) is a past tense verb, the *t* is a marker of the feminine,[1] and the pronoun concealed in it with the implicit meaning of *hiya* 'she' is an agent with independent status through the preceding verb and it does not exhibit inflection.

7.60 (10) The visible pronoun for the third person masculine and feminine dual is illustrated by *az-zaydāni ḍarabā* 'the two Zayds, they both struck', and *al-hindāni ḍarabatā* 'the two Hinds, they both struck', where *ḍaraba* 'struck' (spelt with *a* after the *ḍ*) is a past tense verb, and *ā* '*they two'[1] is an agent with independent status through the preceding verb and does not exhibit inflection. The *t* in *ḍarabatā* 'they two (fem.) struck' *(26a)* is a feminine marker and should normally be unvowelled; however, it has been given a vowel to avoid the clash of two unvowelled consonants,[2] that vowel being *a* because it corresponds to *ā*. This last example is omitted from the author's original text.[3]

7.61 (11) The visible pronoun for the third person masculine plural, namely *ū*,[1] is illustrated by *az-zaydūna ḍarabū* 'the Zayds, they struck',

(2) See 16.312 n 2 on the transliteration problem with *nna*.

(3) The final vowel of *ḍaraba* has no significance other than marking the verb, in the phonologically most convenient way, as being uninflect -ed (5.1), and is automatically displaced by the true agent pronoun suffixes. This being so, and since verbs are normally quoted in their 3rd sing. masc. form (3.52 n 3), *ḍaraba* is preferred over *ḍarab-* as a transliteration. This also serves to emphasize that that the status of the final *a* in *ḍaraba* is not the same as that of, say, the *tu* in *ḍarabtu* and the like (a fact which is obscured by treating the entire past tense as a uniform 'suffix conjugation', e.g. Beeston 76, Bateson 24, which then leads to syntactical complications, cf. 7.23 n 1).

7.58 (1) *mustatir* 'concealed (pronoun)', lit. 'hiding itself', is a subdivision of the *muḍmar* 'pronominalized' (7.31 n 1), the other being *bāriz* 'visible (pronoun)', lit. 'protruding, standing out' (see 11.71 et seq. for general treatment of pronouns). The existence of 'concealed pronouns' is inferred as follows: since masc. *ḍaraba* and fem. *ḍarabat* are followed by overt agents of sing., dual and plur. number (e.g. in 7.21-29), the final *a(t)* cannot be a pronoun of the same order as the agent suffixes *tu, ta, ti* etc., and therefore *a* is a purely lexical item (5.1) and *t* is only a gender marker (5.01), which must leave the true agent pronoun concealed within the verb. The same reasoning is applied to those imperfect tense verbs (namely all except the 'five verbs', 3.44) which do not carry what the Arabs interpret as an overt agent marker: see further 7.8 and note, and cf. 11.713, 11.714.

7.59 (1) See 5.01 on the fem. suffix. The Arab grammarians would not accept the implications of Fleisch 105, where *qatala* is correctly presented as an integral form, but the fem. *qatal-at* (sic) is set out as if the *a* belonged to the *t* suffix.

7.60 (1) Both masc. and fem. are evidently dualizations of their respective singulars (contrast 2nd person, 7.55, where the dual suffix is apparently attached to the masc. plur.), and are Proto-Semitic (Moscati #16.49). Note that there is no dual of the 1st person in Classical Arabic (only in Ugaritic, Moscati #16.51). See 11.715 on 'visible', *bāriz*.

(2) The difficulty is not so much phonological as orthographical. The mater lectionis for *ā* being historically the consonant *ʾ* (2.43 n 2), and only consonants being normally notated in the script (3.44 n 2), the suffixing of *ʾ* (= *ā*) to the unvowelled fem. *t* appears to produce the non-canonical cluster *tʾ* at the end of the syllable (see 2.5 n 3), viz. **ḍarabatʾ*. This, claims aš-Širbīnī, is resolved by arbitrarily vowelling the *t* (though it is a fact that, when it does not have the value *ʾ*, this character always has *a* before it to give *ā*!).

(3) The editorial comment and the contents of this paragraph are taken from al-Azharī, *Āj*. 54 (indeed almost the entire chapter is repeated by aš-Širbīnī).

7.61 (1) This ending is the same as the Proto-Semitic (Moscati #16.46).

فعل ماض والواو فاعل في محل رفع بالفعل الذي قبله لا يظهر فيه اعراب والالف
زائدة والثاني عشر الضمير البارز لجمع النسوة الغائبات وهو النون نحو قولك
الهندات ضربن فضرب بفتح الضاد فعل ماض والنون فاعل في محل رفع بالفعل الذي
قبله لا يظهر فيه اعراب والاسم المتقدم على الفعل والفاعل العائد عليه الضمير في
امثلة الفاعل الغائب مبتدأ والفعل والفاعل جملة فعلية محلها رفع خبر عن ذلك
المبتدأ تنبيه هذا كله حكم الفاعل الضمير المتصل واما حكم الفاعل الضمير
المنفصل فهو ما يقع بعد الا او ما في معناها نحو قولك ما ضرب الا انا وما ضرب
الا نحن وما ضرب الا انت وما ضرب الا انت وما ضرب الا انتما وما ضرب الا انتم
وما ضرب الا انتن وما ضرب الا هو وما ضرب الا هي وما ضرب الا هما وما ضرب الا
هم وما ضرب الا هن وتقول انما ضرب انا وانما ضرب نحن وكذا الباقي هذا كله في
الماضي وتقول في المضارع مع الاتصال اضرب بفتح الهمزة فاضرب فعل مضارع وفاعله
ضمير مستتر فيه متصل تقديره انا في محل رفع بالفعل الذي قبله لا يظهر فيه

where *ḍaraba* 'struck' (spelt with *a* after the *ḍ*) is a past tense verb, and *ū* 'they' (masc.) is an agent with independent status through the preceding verb and does not exhibit inflection. The final *'* is superfluous.[2]

7.62 (12) The visible pronoun for the third person feminine plural, namely *na*,[1] is illustrated by *al-hindātu ḍarabna* 'the Hinds, they struck', where *ḍaraba* 'struck' (spelt with *a* after the *ḍ*) is a past tense verb, and *na* 'they' (fem.) is an agent with independent status through the preceding verb and does not exhibit inflection.

7.63 The noun preceding the verb, and the agent to which the pronoun refers in all the above examples of the third person agent, are subjects of equational sentences, while the verb and its agent make verbal sentences with independent status as predicates to those subjects.[1]

7.7 Note: This is the rule for the agent as a bound pronoun. The rule for the free pronoun (i.e. that which may occur after *'illā* 'except' or a synonym)[1] is exemplified in *mā ḍaraba 'illā 'anā* 'none struck but I', *mā ḍaraba 'illā naḥnu* 'none struck but we', *mā ḍaraba 'illā 'anta* 'none struck but you' (masc. sing.), *mā ḍaraba 'illā 'anti* 'none struck but you' (fem. sing.), *mā ḍaraba 'illā 'antumā* 'none struck but you two', *mā ḍaraba 'illā 'antum* 'none struck but you' (masc. plur.), *mā ḍaraba 'illā 'antunna* 'none struck but you' (fem. plur.), *mā ḍaraba 'illā huwa* 'none struck but he', *mā ḍaraba 'illā hiya* 'none struck but she', *mā ḍaraba 'illā humā* 'none struck but they two', *mā ḍaraba 'illā hum* 'none struck but they' (masc.), *mā ḍaraba 'illā hunna* 'none struck but they' (fem.).[2] You likewise say *'innamā ḍaraba 'anā* 'it was only I who struck', *'innamā ḍaraba naḥnu* 'it was only we who struck', and so on for all the rest.[3]

7.8 These are all past tense verbs. In the imperfect tense you say *'aḍribu* 'I strike' (spelt with *a* after the *'*), where *'aḍribu* 'I strike' is an imperfect tense verb whose agent is a bound pronoun concealed[1] in

(2) There are insuperable transliteration problems here (and again at 8.72). It happens that *ḍarabū* is spelt (consonantally) *ḍ-r-b-w-'* (cf. 2.43 n 2 on long vowel markers), and no satisfactory explanation has been offered for the presence of *'* (the so-called 'otiose *'alif*', or *'alif zā'ida*) on the end of the word. It is also found on the end of dep. and apoc. verbs *taḍribū, yaḍribū* (paradigms 4.82 nn 1, 2), and on one or two unusual words (Fleischer, *Kl. Schr.* I, 29). The suggestion that *'* serves to prevent the previous *w* from being read as *wa* 'and' prefixed to the next word is not convincing: perhaps the *'* originally had something to do with stress (cf. 3.89 n 2). Certainly the final cluster *w'* breaks the phonological rules (cf. 7.60 n 2), which is why the *'* has to be declared non-existent! Cf. Fleisch, *Tr.* #119c n 2.

7.62 (1) As a past tense suffix *na* is an extension of the imperfect tense pronoun suffix *na* rather than an original Proto-Semitic form (Moscati #16.46). As a pronoun *na* is impervious to mood inflections: compare the paradigms in 4.4 n 5, 4.82 nn 1, 2, and see 7.8 n 1. On the transliteration *na* see 3.241 n 1. *Muf.* #406 deals wholly with *na*.

7.63 (1) The examples as given in the *Ājurrūmiyya* consist only of verb and agent suffix, to which al-Azharī (copied by aš-Širbīnī) has added preposed subjects, with the intention of making clear to the reader the exact reference of the suffixed pronoun (e.g. that *na* in 7.62 refers to plural females, exemplified by the preceding *al-hindātu*). That is the only purpose of these nouns, which must not be mistaken for preposed agents: according to 7.12 there is no such thing as a preposed agent, for by inversion the agent becomes a subject, and this is reflected in our translations ('the Hinds, they struck' etc.). Here, to borrow M. M. Bravmann's formulation (*Studies in Arabic and General Syntax,* Cairo 1953, 39), 'the two parts confront each other as independent entities', unlike verb and agent, which (with pronoun as agent) are literally bound to each other in an irreversible order. Cf. also 9.75, 9.76.

7.7 (1) Observe the distributional criterion (cf. 7.5) and note that, in these exceptive constructions, the verb displays absolutely no concordance (even of gender) with its logical agent, the ensuing free pronoun; see further 21.3.

(2) The list of examples here comprises all the free independent pronouns, hence they need not be tabulated in the notes (they are, in any case listed again in 8.8 and 9.24). The same pronouns also function as subjects of equational sentences, see 9.22. For segmentation of these pronouns see 9.4 et seq.

(3) *'innamā* 'only' is not exactly a synonym of *'illā* 'except', but it often amounts to one, as in the examples here. See further 9.83.

7.8 (1) Unlike the past tense, the imperfect tense is marked by both prefixes and suffixes (in modern terms, discontinuous morphemes). The Arab segmentation is as follows (refer to paradigms, 4.4 n 5, 4.82 nn 1, 2): (a) prefixes *'(a), t(a), y(a), n(a)*, being number and person markers (not agent pronouns) peculiar to the imperfect (5.3); (b) the

اعراب وكذلك قياس باقيها الى اخر الاثني عشر وفي الانفصال ما يضرب الا انا
وانما يضرب انا الى اخرها ومع الامر لا يكون الا متصلا فيكون للواحد المخاطب نحو
اضرب ولمثناه نحو اضربا ولجمعه نحو اضربوا وللمؤنثة المخاطبة نحو اضربي
ولمثناها نحو اضربا ولجمع النسوة نحو اضربن والضمير (26b) المتصل المستتر في
هذه الامثلة كلها فاعل في محل رفع لا يظهر فيه اعراب ولما فرغ من بيان
الفاعل شرع في بيان المفعول الذي لم يسم فاعله فقال

it with the implicit meaning of *'anā* 'I' and independent status through the preceding verb,[2] and does not exhibit inflection. The same applies by analogy to the rest of the twelve.

7.81 With the free pronouns you say *mā yaḍribu 'illā 'anā* 'none strikes but I', *'innamā yaḍribu 'anā* 'it is only I who strike' and so on.[1]

7.82 With the imperative there must always be a bound pronoun:[1] this is for the second person masculine singular in the example *iḍrib* 'strike, you!', for its dual in *iḍribā* 'strike, you two!', for its plural in *iḍribū* 'strike, you!', for the second person feminine singular in *iḍribī* 'strike, you!', for its dual in *iḍribā* 'strike, you two!', and for the feminine plural in *iḍribna* 'strike, you!'. In all these examples the *(26b)* bound, concealed pronoun is an agent with independent status and does not exhibit inflection.

7.9 Having finished with explaining the agent,[1] the author now turns to the object of the unnamed agent.

stem (taken for granted by the Arabs, but abstracted by quoting the required form of the symbolic verb *faᶜala* 'to do', v. 3.45 n 1: thus *yafᶜalu* implies the stem *-fᶜal-* etc.); (c) overt agent pronouns *ī* (fem. sing.), *ā* (dual), *ū* (masc. plur.) in the 'five verbs' only (3.44-45), and *na* (fem. plur.); (d) mood markers (except in fem. plur.), viz. end vowel alternation *u/a/Ø* or alternation *ni* (dual), *na* (masc. plur., see 3.241 n 3) and *Ø*. All four features can be seen in *ya-ḍrib-ā-ni*: 3rd person prefix, stem, dual agent pronoun, mood marker; cf. 3.93 n 2.

Further to the 'concealed' pronoun of the imperfect tense (7.58 n 1): from a comparison of *taḍribu* 'you (masc. sing.) strike' with its dual and plur. *taḍribāni, taḍribūna,* we might infer that the sing. was simply the unmarked form (zero morpheme). But this breaks down in the 3rd person, for *yaḍribu* 'strikes' may have sing., dual or plur. overt agents (7.21-29), and we can hardly posit three different zero morphemes (as least!) in the same word. It is this pitfall which the Arabs, with their 'concealed' pronoun, seem to be trying to avoid, though with what success is still a matter for investigation.

(2) This necessary fiction merely retains the morpheme sequence of the past tense verb.

7.81 (1) Compare the corresponding past tense forms in 7.7, or the passives in 8.8.

7.82 (1) The imperative is effectively the 2nd person imperfect tense verb minus (a) the 2nd person prefix *ta* (or *tu*), which is redundant in a verb form which can only be used in direct address, and (b) the mood inflections (i.e. is formally, if not actually identical with the apocopated form), because the imperative denotes a non-event (cf. 5.7 n 2). Only stem and pronoun agents, concealed or overt, remain. See also 5.2.

7.9 (1) The order Verb-Agent is only the minimal sentence pattern: see ch. 15 for a summary of the extended pattern Verb-Agent-Qualifier. Qualifiers, which are invariably dependent nouns or prepositional phrases (5.82 n 6) are syntactically mobile, and may occur in any position (viz. Qual.-Verb-Agent, Verb-Qual.-Agent), without disturbing the order of verb and agent (e.g. *ḍarabahu zaydun* 'Zayd struck him', where the object pronoun suffix intervenes between verb and agent (contrast the fully pronominalized *ḍarabtuhu* '*struck-I-him, which retains the normal word order). A consequence of the structure of the verb (cf. 7.58 n 1) is that it can never occur with an elided agent (which would be tantamount to a predicate without a subject, cf. 3.73 n 5), while equational sentences may elide either subject or predicate, q.v. 9.9.

باب المفعول الذي لم يسم فاعله اي لم يذكر فاعله الذي صدر منه الفعل واحسن
من هذه الترجمة ما ترجم به ابن مالك في الفيته بقوله النائب عن الفاعل لشموله
للمفعول وغيره ولصدق الاولى على المنصوب في قولك اعطي زيد درهما وليس مرادا
وانما ذكر هذا الباب عقب باب الفاعل لان حكم المفعول الذي لم يسم فاعله حكم
الفاعل في وجوه كثيرة كما ستعرفه ويرسمه المصنف ببعض خواصه تقريبا على
المبتدئ فقال وهو الاسم المرفوع الذي لم يذكر معه فاعله لقيامه مقامه في رفعه
وعمديته ووجوب تأخره عن الفعل وتأنيث الفعل لتأنيثه تنبيه فهم من قوله
الاسم انه لا يكون فعلا ولا حرفا ومن قوله المرفوع انه حكمه الرفع كما مر ومن
قوله لم يذكر معه فاعله ان فاعله لا يكون الا محذوفا اذ لو ذكر الفاعل لكان

CHAPTER EIGHT

8.0 Chapter on the object of an unnamed agent.[1] That is, where no mention is made of the agent from whom the action proceeds. A better title is the one used in the *Alfiyya* by Ibn Mālik,[2] who calls it the 'substitute agent',[3] because this latter embraces objects other than the direct object,[4] and because the former can apply to the dependent word *dirhaman* 'a dirham' in *'u^c^ṭiya zaydun dirhaman* 'Zayd was given a dirham',[5] which is not what is intended. The author treats this topic immediately after the chapter on the agent because the rules for the object of an unnamed agent are in many respects the same as those for the agent, as you are about to learn. He describes it now in terms of some of its special characteristics to make it easier for the beginner:

8.1 This is the independent noun with which there is no mention of an agent. The reason is that it takes the place of the agent[1] in being independent, in being the subject of a predicate,[2] in having to follow its verb, and in requiring a feminine verb when it is feminine itself.

8.11 Note: By 'noun' it is understood that it can be neither a verb nor a particle; by 'independent' that the rule is for it to be independent, as already stated; by 'with which there is no mention of an agent' that the agent can only be elided[1] (since, if the agent were to be mentioned, it would itself be independent and the direct object dependent).

8.0 (1) *Jum.* 88, 91; *Muf.* #436; *Alf.* v 242; *Qaṭr* 193; Beeston 82; Fleisch 117, 122, 246; Bateson 34; Yushmanov 51. There is no single term corresponding to 'passive': here we have *mā lam yusamma fā^{c}iluh*, lit. 'that whose agent has not been named', *an-nā'ib ^{c}an il-fā^{c}il*, lit. 'the deputy agent' (see n 3), *mabnī li-l-maf^{c}ūl*, lit. 'constructed for the direct object' (8.61 and passim) and, though not in our text, *majhūl*, lit. 'unknown'. See 8.67 n 1 on the historical problem.

(2) See 1.02 n 2 on Ibn Mālik; the reference is to *Alf.* v 242.

(3) The term *an-nā'ib ^{c}an il-fā^{c}il* is evidently a coinage of Ibn Mālik himself and, as such, constitutes one of the few innovations in later Arabic grammar. The verb *nāba* 'to deputize', from which *nā'ib* is derived, commonly denotes allomorphs, see 3.0 n 3.

(4) In fact only space/time qualifiers are likely to be found as agents of passive verbs, since they are also allowed to function as direct objects by 'latitude of speech' (v. 18.1 n 4): examples, *ṣīma ramaḍānu* 'Ramaḍān was fasted', *sīra yawmāni* 'two days were travelled'.

(5) The reason is that the verb in question is doubly transitive (see 16.310 n 1) and the second direct object *dirhaman* remains so after passivization. Normally only the first direct object becomes a passive agent, but sometimes the functional order (but not the word order) is reversed, e.g. *kusiya zaydun ṯawban* 'Zayd was clothed in a garment', but *kusiya zaydan ṯawbun* 'on Zayd a garment was clothed'.

8.1 (1) The text has *li-qiyāmihi maqāmahu*, lit. 'because of its standing in its place'; *maqām*, lit. 'standing-place', is one of the near synonyms of *mawḍi^{c}* 'function' (3.1 n 4) and *manzila* 'status' (23.2 n 2). particularly of *mawḍi^{c}* (pace Versteegh, *Arabica* 25, 275).

(2) 'Subject of a predicate' is a very free translation of *^{c}umdiyya*, lit. 'the quality of being an indispensable prop', referring to the structural bond between subject and predicate which also obtains between verb and agent (verb = predicate, 3.73 n 5). See 20.01 n 1.

8.11 (1) The elision (*ḥaḏf*, 3.73 n 2) must be deliberate, i.e. for metrical or stylistic reasons, or because the agent is not known, (though these considerations have been called 'an intrusion by the grammarians into the art of rhetoric' by Ibn Hišām, in aṣ-Ṣabbān on al-Ušmūnī on *Alf.* v 242). Note that these restrictions do not apply to the instrument of an action: the sentence in 1.701, *katabtu bi-l-qalami* 'I wrote by pen' has as its passive *kutiba bi-l-qalami* 'it was written by pen'. On the idiomatic use of the passive as a strictly impersonal verb cf. Fleisch 118 (frequent examples in aš-Širbīnī, *qīla* 'it is said', *'ujība* 'it is answered', and others in the present paragraph, *fuhima, ḏukira*).

مرفوعا والمفعول منصوب فان كان الفعل ماضيا واردت ان تنقل المفعول به من باب
المفعول الى هذا الباب عملت فيه ثلاثة اعمال الاول ان تحذف الفاعل الثاني ان
تقيم المفعول مقامه الثالث انك اذا اقمت المفعول مقام الفاعل التبس بالفاعل
صورة فاحتيج الى تمييز احدهما عن الاخر فابقي الفعل مع الفاعل على اصله وغير مع
نائبه فقيل في الماضي ضرب زيد بضم اوله وكسر ما قبل اخره تحقيقا كالمثال
المذكور او تقديرا كقيل وبيع والاصل قال وباع فلما بنيته للمفعول قلت قول
وبيع استثقلت الكسرة على الواو والياء فنقلت الى الفاء فسكنتها فقلبت الواو
ياء لسكونها (27a) بعد كسرة وسلمت الياء لسكونها بعد حركة تجانسها ونظير
ذلك قوله تعالى وقيل يا ارض ابلعي ماءك ويا سماء اقلعي وغيض الماء واعرابه
ضرب فعل ماض اسند الى المفعول الذي لم يسم فاعله وزيد هو المفعول الذي لم يسم
فاعله وهو مرفوع بضرب لقيامه مقام الفاعل وعلامة رفعه الضمة والاصل ضرب عمرو
زيدا فحذف عمرو الذي هو فاعل ضرب لغرض من الاغراض فيبقى الفعل محتاجا الى ما
يسند اليه فاقيم المفعول مقام الفاعل في الاسناد اليه فصار مرفوعا بعد ان كان
منصوبا وان كان مضارعا ضم اوله وفتح ما قبل اخره واسند للمفعول الذي لم يسم

8.2 If the verb is past tense and you wish to transfer its object from the category of direct object to that of object of an unnamed agent,[1] you perform on it three operations:[2] (1) you elide the agent, (2) you move the direct object into its place, (3) once the object is in the agent's place it becomes formally ambiguous with the agent, and it is necessary to distinguish one from the other, so the verb with the agent is left in its original form, while the verb with the substitute agent is changed.[3] Hence in the past tense you say *ḍuriba zaydun* 'Zayd was struck',[4] and it has *u* on the first letter and *i* before the last letter. This occurs either in fact, as in the example given, or implicitly, as in *qīla* 'it was said', *bī^{c}a* 'it was sold': the original forms are *qāla* 'he said', *bā^{c}a* 'he sold', and when you construct them to have their object as agent you should say **quwila, *buyi^{c}a*, but *i* is awkward to pronounce after *w* and *y*, so the *i* moves back to the first letter of the verb, leaving the *w* and *y* vowelless; the *w* then changes to *y* because it is unvowelled *(27a)* after *i*, while the *y* remains unaffected because it is unvowelled but preceded by a homogeneous vowel.[5] A comparable example is the Qur'anic *wa-qīla yā 'arḍu bla^{c}ī mā'aki wa-yā samā'u 'aqli^{c}ī wa-ḡīḍa l-mā'u* 'and it was said, "O earth, swallow down thy water" and "O heaven, hold", and the water was diminished'.[6]

8.21 The parsing[1] of *ḍuriba zaydun* 'Zayd was struck' is: *ḍuriba* 'was struck' is a past tense verb predicated of the object of an unnamed agent, *zaydun* 'Zayd' is the object of an unnamed agent and is made independent by *ḍuriba* because it takes the place of the agent, and its independence marker is *u*. The original form is *ḍaraba ^{c}amrun zaydan* '^{c}Amr struck Zayd', then ^{c}Amr, the agent of *ḍaraba* 'struck' was elided for some reason leaving the verb in need of something of which to be the predicate, so the formerly dependent object has been put in the place of the agent and has become independent.[2]

8.3 If the verb is imperfect tense it has *u* after the first letter and *a* before the last letter.[1] It then becomes a predicate of the object of

8.2 (1) On systematic grounds the assumption that the passive is derived from an underlying active verb is interesting enough (see following notes). What is also worth noting is that such detailed descriptions of the derivational process as we have here could only have become necessary in a period when the passive was felt to be difficult, mainly because (at least by aš-Širbīnī's time and probably much earlier) the formal passive had disappeared from colloquial Arabic, having been replaced by varieties of Stem VII (8.66 n 1) or Stem VIII (8.68 n 1), cf. Bateson 100, Yushmanov 57.

(2) This is a literal translation of ^{c}*amilta fīhi ṯalāṯata 'a^{c}mālin*, and uses the same notion of ^{c}*amal* 'operation' already applied to the grammatical effect of one element upon another (2.11 n 1). However, even in the earliest grammar it could also denote the operation of the speaker upon elements in an utterance (Carter, *J.A.O.S.* 93, 151, and cf. 20.12 n 2).

(3) "Original form' translates *'aṣl*, 'root, base' etc. (see 3.0 n 2), here clearly approaching the concept of a deep structure: the whole treatment here has a marked flavour of transformational grammar avant la lettre, with 'deletion' (*ḥaḏf*, 3.73 n 2) of the original agent, replacement of the agent by the object (cf. 8.1 n 1) and finally marking the new verb to distinguish it from the active. Whether the passive is historically a derivative of the active is arguable: Fleisch 246 connects it with the impersonal use of intransitive verbs.

(4) See the parsing in 8.21 for details.

(5) Prose is not the best medium for describing phonological changes, which may be more comprehensible when presented as follows:
active *qāla* (< **qawala*) > **quwila* > **qiwla* > *qīla* passive, 'was said';
active *bā^{c}a* (< **baya^{c}a*) > **buyi^{c}a* > **biy^{c}a* > *bī^{c}a* passive, 'was sold'.
These are 'hollow' verbs (10.23 n 2) whose middle radical is a semivowel. Note the principle of least phonological effort (2.31).

(6) S. 11 v 44. The example of *qīla* has already been explained; the other, *ġīḍa* 'was diminished' is from *ġāḍa* (< **ġayaḍa*). Note the direct speech after *qīla*, and cf. 10.64 n 1.

8.21 (1) In its narrower meaning *'i^{c}rāb* denotes 'inflection', q.v. at 2.0, but is here used in the sense of 'parsing' in which it often occurs in purely pedagogical contexts (other typical examples 5.91, 8.61-73, 14.52). The earliest occurrence of *'i^{c}rāb* in this sense is not known, but it can hardly be before the 10th century.

(2) On the various points raised here see: independence markers 3.2; original form (*'aṣl*) 8.2 n 3; reason for elision of agent 8.11 n 1; the verb's need of an agent 8.1 n 2; replacement of agent 8.1 n 1. In all this (and below) it is well worth maintaining a close comparison with the corresponding active forms in ch. 7, since active and passive differ formally only in their vowels.

8.3 (1) The full paradigm of the past tense sound verb (2.43 n 2) is displayed in 8.61-73. For hollow verbs see 8.2 n 5; weak 1st rad.

فاعله بعد ان كان مسندا الى الفاعل في نحو يضرب زيد بضم اوله وبفتح ما قبل
اخره واسند الى المفعول الذي لم يسم فاعله بعد ان كان مسندا الى الفاعل واصله
في باب الفاعل يضرب عمرو زيدا بفتح اوله وكسر ما قبل اخره فعمرو فاعل مرفوع
بيضرب وزيدا مفعول منصوب بيضرب فاذا اردت نقله الى هذا الباب حذفت الفاعل الذي
هو عمرو واقمت المفعول الذي هو زيد مقام عمرو فارتفع لقيامه مقامه وغيرت الفعل
من يضرب بفتح اوله وكسر ما قبل اخره الى يضرب بضم اوله وفتح ما قبل اخره واسندته
للمفعول الذي هو زيد وزيد هو المفعول الذي لم يسم فاعله فصار التركيب يضرب زيد واعرابه
يضرب فعل مضارع مسند الى المفعول الذي لم يسم فاعله الذي هو زيد وزيد مرفوع
لنيابته عن الفاعل وعلامة رفعه الضمة وقس على هذا المثال ما اشبهه تنبيه سكت
المصنف عن فعل الامر لانه لا يبنى للمفعول وهو اي المفعول الذي لم يسم فاعله
على قسمين ظاهر ومضمر كما في الفاعل فالظاهر المسند اليه الماضي (27b) نحو قولك
ضرب زيد بضم الضاد وكسر الراء وقد تقدم اعرابه والمسند اليه المضارع نحو قولك

an unnamed agent, having formerly been a predicate of the agent, as in *yuḍrabu zaydun* 'Zayd is struck' (with *u* after the first letter and *a* before the last), which is now a predicate of the object of an unnamed agent after being a predicate of the agent. The original form is *yaḍribu* ^{c}*amrun zaydan* '^{c}Amr strikes Zayd' (the verb spelt with *a* after the first letter and *i* before the last), where ^{c}*amrun* '^{c}Amr' is an agent made independent by *yaḍribu* 'strikes' and *zaydan* 'Zayd' is a direct object made dependent by *yaḍribu*. To transfer it into the category of passive you elide the agent (namely ^{c}*amrun*) and put the direct object (namely *zaydan*) in its place, which therefore becomes independent. Then you change the verb from *yaḍribu* 'strikes' (spelt with *a* after the first letter and *i* before the last) to *yuḍrabu* 'is struck' (with *u* after the first letter and *a* before the last) and make it a predicate of its former object, namely Zayd. Zayd then becomes the object of an unnamed agent and the construction is now *yuḍrabu zaydun* 'Zayd is struck', parsed as follows: *yuḍrabu* 'is struck' is an imperfect tense verb predicated of the object of an unnamed agent, i.e. *zaydun* 'Zayd', and *zaydun* is independent because it substitutes for the agent, with *u* as its independence marker. Use this as the analogy for all like cases.[2]

8.31 Note: The author says nothing about the imperative verb because it is not constructed to have its object as agent.[1]

8.4 It (i.e. the object of an unnamed agent) is of two kinds, overt and pronominalized. This is the same as the agent.[1]

8.5 The overt with a past tense verb predicated[1] of it *(27b)* is exemplified by *ḍuriba zaydun* 'Zayd was struck', (with *u* after the *ḍ* and *i* after the *r*, parsed as above), and with an imperfect tense verb as its

verbs are completely regular, *wujida* etc., as are weak 3rd rad. verbs, *luqiya* etc., having exactly the same endings as the active verb *laqiya* in 10.14 n 2. Here follow the imperfect tense paradigms, indep. form:

(a) sound verb *ḍaraba* 'to strike':

	sing.	dual	plur.
1st	*'uḍrabu*		*nuḍrabu*
2nd masc.	*tuḍrabu*	*tuḍrabāni*	*tuḍrabūna*
2nd fem.	*tuḍrabīna*		*tuḍrabna*
3rd masc.	*yuḍrabu*	*yuḍrabāni*	*yuḍrabūna*
3rd fem.	*tuḍrabu*	*tuḍrabāni*	*yuḍrabna*

Dep. endings same as active, 4.82 n 1, *'uḍraba* etc., apoc. endings same as active, 4.82 n 2, *'uḍrab* etc.

(b) weak 3rd rad. verb *ramā* 'to throw':

	sing.	dual	plur.
1st	*'urmā*		*nurmā*
2nd masc.	*turmā*	*turmayāni*	*turmawna*
2nd fem.	*turmayna*		*turmayna*
3rd masc.	*yurmā*	*yurmayāni*	*yurmawna*
3rd fem.	*turmā*	*turmayāni*	*yurmayna*

Dep. endings same as active, 4.82 n 1, *'urmā* etc., apoc. endings same as active, 3.92 n 1, *'urma* etc. If weak 3rd rad. is *w* it replaces *y* in the above paradigm except in the 2nd fem. sing., e.g. *tuḡzayna*.

(c) weak 1st rad. *w*, *wajada* 'to find':

	sing.	dual	plur.
1st	*'ūjadu*		*nūjadu*
2nd masc.	*tūjadu*	*tūjadāni*	*tūjadūna*
2nd fem.	*tūjadīna*		*tūjadna*
3rd masc.	*yūjadu*	*yūjadāni*	*yūjadūna*
3rd fem.	*tūjadu*	*tūjadāni*	*yūjadna*

Dep. endings same as active, 4.82 n 1, *'ūjada* etc., apoc. endings same as active, 4.82 n 2, *'ūjad* etc. On *'ūjadu* = *'uwjadu* see 2.43 n 2. Doubled verbs (10.61 n 1) are regular within their own system, thus past *murirtu*, *murra* (← **murira*), imperf. *'umarru* etc.

(2) Full paradigms of imperfect tense in n 1, and see 8.61-73 for past tense. 'Analogy' translates *qiyās*, originally referring to the analogy practised by speakers (cf. Troupeau, *Lex.-Index*, root *q-y-s*) but soon extended to denote analogy as perceived and imposed by grammarians (Weil, intro. to *Inṣāf*, 7, Versteegh, index, root *q-y-s*). From this it has developed into a near synonym of *'aṣl* (3.0 n 2), i.e. 'correct form according to the rules' (e.g. 3.412 (b), 17.4). The term itself may have entered grammar from law, which in turn probably borrowed it from a Greek source (see Versteegh, *Z.A.L.* 4, 7 for the latter aspect); see also *E.I.* (2), art. 'Ḳiyās', end.

8.31 (1) It is replaced by the paraphrase using the imperative *li* (q.v. 5.75), e.g. *li-tuḍrab* 'let you be beaten' (though this is excessively rare in all but the 3rd person).

8.4 (1) See 7.2.

8.5 (1) Syntax and concordance are the same in the passive as in the active (q.v. 7.21-30), e.g. *ḍuribat il-hindātu* 'the Hinds were struck', with fem. sing. verb as in 7.28. See 3.73 n 5 for verbs as predicates,

يضرب زيد بضم اوله وفتح ما قبل اخره وقد تقدم اعرابه ايضا ولا فرق في
الفعل بين ان يكون مجردا كما مر او مزيدا نحو قولك أكرم عمرو بضم الهمزة
وكسر الراء ويكرم عمرو بضم الياء وفتح الراء واعرابهما على وزن ما مر قبلهما
وقس من اقسام الظاهر المتقدمة في باب الفاعل ولما فرغ من القسم الظاهر شرع
في القسم الثاني وهو المفعول الذي لم يسم فاعله المضمر وهو قسمان متصل ومنفصل
وهما اثنا عشر ضميرا الاول التاء المضمومة للمتكلم وحده نحو قولك ضربت بضم
الضاد وكسر الراء وضم التاء واصله ضربني زيد فضرب بفتح الضاد فعل ماض والنون
للوقاية والياء مفعول به في محل نصب بضرب وزيد فاعل مرفوع بضرب وعلامة
رفعه الضمة ثم بنيته للمفعول فصار ضربت واعرابه ضرب بفتح الضاد فعل ماض
مبني للمفعول والتاء المضمومة هي المفعول الذي لم يسم فاعله في محل رفع بضرب

predicate it is exemplified by *yuḍrabu zaydun* 'Zayd is struck', (with *u* after the first letter and *a* before the last, parsed as above).

8.51 There is no difference between the unaugmented verb (as illustrated above) and the augmented verb,[1] e.g. *'ukrima ᶜamrun* 'ᶜAmr was honoured', (with *u* after the *'* and *i* after the *r*), and *yukramu ᶜamrun* 'ᶜAmr is honoured'. (With *u* after the *y* and *a* after the *r*, parsed as above). As an analogy for the remaining forms use the overt kinds already dealt with under the heading of the agent. Having finished with the overt kind, the author now turns to the other kind:

8.6 The pronominalized object of an unnamed agent is of two kinds, bound and free, each consisting of twelve pronouns.

8.61 (1) The *tu* 'I' of the first person singular is exemplified by *ḍuribtu* 'I was struck', (with *u* after the *ḍ*, *i* after the *r* and *u* after the *t*). The original form is *ḍarabanī zaydun* 'Zayd struck me', where *ḍaraba* 'struck' (with *a* after the *ḍ*) is a past tense verb, the *n* is the 'preserving *n*', the *ī* 'me' is a direct object with dependent status through *ḍaraba* 'struck' and *zaydun* 'Zayd' is an agent made independent by *ḍaraba* with *u* as its independence marker. You have then constructed this to have its object as agent, so that it becomes *ḍuribtu* 'I was struck', parsed as follows: *ḍuriba* 'was struck' (with *u* after the *ḍ*) is a past tense verb constructed to have its object as agent, and *tu* 'I' is the object of an unnamed agent with independent status through *ḍuriba* 'was struck' because it substitutes for the agent.[1]

8.9 n 1 for 'letter' (*ḥarf*) in this context, 8.21 n 1 on 'parsing'.

8.51 (1) Cf. 5.1 n 2. The range of augmented verb stems (excluding five rare ones, on which see Fleisch 124) is as follows (3rd masc. sing. only, cf. 3.52 n 3):

	Augment	Active past/imperf.	Passive past/imperf.
I	None	*ḍaraba/yaḍribu*	*ḍuriba/yuḍrabu*
II	Double 2nd rad.	*ḥassana/yuḥassinu*	*ḥussina/yuḥassanu*
III	Long 1st vowel	*kātaba/yukātibu*	*kūtiba/yukātabu*
IV	Prefix *'a*	*'aḥsana/yuḥsinu*	*'uḥsina/yuḥsanu*
V	Prefix *ta* to II	*taḥassana/yataḥassanu*	*tuḥussina/yutaḥassanu*
VI	Prefix *ta* to III	*takātaba/yatakātabu*	*tukūtiba/yutakātabu*
VII	Prefix *n*	*inkasara/yankasiru*	no passive
VIII	Infix *t*	*iqtaraba/yaqtaribu*	*uqturiba/yuqtarabu*
IX	Double 3rd rad.	*iḥmarra/yaḥmarru*	no passive
X	Prefix *st*	*istaḥsana/yastaḥsinu*	*ustuḥsina/yustaḥsanu*

Stems II to X are set out in the notes to 8.61 et seq. On augmented stems in Proto-Semitic see Moscati #16.1; although each augment is associated with a corresponding change in the root meaning of the verb, the system has become so irregular that generalizations can offer only a vague guide to the relationship between a simple stem and its augmented forms, but try Beeston 72, Fleisch 118, Bateson 30, Yushmanov 47, Schramm, *Language* 38, 60. For augmented stems of hollow verbs see 8.73 n 1, and for agent, patient and verbal nouns derived from augmented stems see 10.34 n 1.

8.61 (1) There being little more to add on the subject of the passive, most of the following notes will contain paradigms of the augmented verbs. Here Stem II, imperfect tense, independent form, of the sound verb *ḥassana* 'to improve' (Stem I *ḥasuna* 'to be good'):

	sing.	dual	plur.
1st	*'uḥassinu*		*nuḥassinu*
2nd masc.	*tuḥassinu*	*tuḥassināni*	*tuḥassinūna*
2nd fem.	*tuḥassinīna*		*tuḥassinna*
3rd masc.	*yuḥassinu*	*yuḥassināni*	*yuḥassinūna*
3rd fem.	*tuḥassinu*	*tuḥassināni*	*yuḥassinna*

Equally regular are: doubled verbs (*yuḥaddidu* etc.), weak 1st rad. verbs (*yuwaṣṣilu* etc.), hollow verbs (see 8.73 n 1), but weak 3rd rad. verbs all have the same endings as *yarmī* in 4.81 n 2 (b), e.g. *yusammī*, *yusammūna* etc. Stem II passive:

	sing.	dual	plur.
1st	*'uḥassanu*		*nuḥassanu*
2nd masc.	*tuḥassanu*	*tuḥassanāni*	*tuḥassanūna*
2nd fem.	*tuḥassanīna*		*tuḥassanna*
3rd masc.	*yuḥassanu*	*yuḥassanāni*	*yuḥassanūna*
3rd fem.	*tuḥassanu*	*tuḥassanāni*	*yuḥassanna*

Doubled, hollow and weak verbs are regular (*yuḥaddadu*, *yuwaṣṣalu* etc.), weak 3rd rad. verbs have same endings as *yaḵšā* in 4.81 n 2 (a), e.g. *yusammā*, *yusammawna* etc. Past tenses both active and passive have the same suffix pronouns as Stem I, e.g. *ḥassantu*, *ḥussintu* etc.

لنيابته عن الفاعل والثاني النون للمتكلم ومعه غيره او المعظم لنفسه نحو قولك
ضربنا بضم الضاد وكسر الراء وفتح النون والاصل ضربنا زيد بفتح الضاد فضرب فعل
ماض والنون مفعول به في محل نصب بضرب وزيد فاعل مرفوع به وعلامة رفعه
الضمة ثم بنيته للمفعول فصار ضربنا واعرابه ضرب فعل ماض مسند للمفعول الذي
لم يسم فاعله والنون هي المفعول الذي لم يسم فاعله في محل رفع بضرب لنيابته
عن الفاعل والثالث والرابع التاء المكسورة للمخاطبة او المفتوحة للمخاطب نحو
قولك ضربت (28a) بضم الضاد وكسر الراء اصلها ضربك زيد فضرب بفتح الضاد فعل
ماض والكاف مفعول به في محل نصب بضرب وزيد فاعل مرفوع به وعلامة رفعه
الضمة ثم بنيته للمفعول فصار ضربت واعرابه ضرب فعل ماض مبني للمفعول الذي
لم يسم فاعله والتاء هي المفعول الذي لم يسم فاعله في محل رفع بضرب لنيابته

8.62 (2) The *nā* 'we' of the first person plural or the plural of self-magnification is illustrated by <u>*ḍuribnā* 'we were struck',</u> (with *u* after the *ḍ*, *i* after the *r* and *ā* after the *n*). The original form is *ḍarabanā zaydun* 'Zayd struck us', where *ḍaraba* 'struck' (with *a* after the *d*) is a past tense verb, *nā* 'us' is a direct object with dependent status through *ḍaraba* 'struck' and *zaydun* 'Zayd' is an agent made independent by it with *u* as its independence marker. You have then constructed it to have its object as agent, so that it becomes *ḍuribnā* 'we were struck', parsed as follows: *ḍuriba* 'was struck' is a past tense verb predicated of the object of an unnamed agent and *nā* 'we' is the object of an unnamed agent with independent status through *ḍuriba* 'was struck' because it substitutes for the agent.[1]

8.63[1] (3) The *ti* 'you' of the second person feminine singular and (4) the *ta* 'you' of the second person masculine singular[2] are illustrated by <u>*ḍuribta* 'you (masc. sing.) were struck',</u> *(28a)* (with *u* after the *ḍ* and *i* after the *r*). The original form is *ḍarabaka zaydun* 'Zayd struck you' (masc. sing.), where *ḍaraba* 'struck' (with *a* after the *ḍ*) is a past tense verb, *ka* 'you' (masc. sing.) is a direct object with dependent status through *ḍaraba* 'struck' and *zaydun* 'Zayd' is an agent made independent by it with *u* as its independence marker. You have then constructed it to have its object as agent so that it becomes *ḍuribta* 'you (masc. sing.) were struck', parsed as follows: *ḍuriba* 'was struck' is a past tense verb constructed to have its object as agent and *ta* 'you' (masc. sing.) is the object of an unnamed agent with independent status through *ḍuriba* 'was struck' because it substitutes for the agent.

8.62 (1) Paradigm of Stem III, active, imperfect tense, independent form, of the sound verb *kātaba* 'to write to' (Stem I *kataba* 'to write'):

	sing.	dual	plur.
1st	*'ukātibu*		*nukātibu*
2nd masc.	*tukātibu*	*tukātibāni*	*tukātibūna*
2nd fem.	*tukātibīna*		*tukātibna*
3rd masc.	*yukātibu*	*yukātibāni*	*yukātibūna*
3rd fem.	*tukātibu*	*tukātibāni*	*yukātibna*

Weak verbs are regular, e.g. *yuwāṣilu* etc., *yuqāwimu* etc., *yuḥāmī* etc., cf. 8.61 n 1; the exception is doubled verbs, which assimilate even after the long vowel, e.g. *yuḥāddu* etc., see 21.22 n 4. Passive:

1st	*'ukātabu*		*nukātabu*
2nd masc.	*tukātabu*	*tukātabāni*	*tukātabūna*
2nd fem.	*tukātabīna*		*tukātabna*
3rd masc.	*yukātabu*	*yukātabāni*	*yukātabūna*
3rd fem.	*tukātabu*	*tukātabāni*	*yukātabna*

Weak verbs are regular, e.g. *yuwāṣalu* etc., *yuqāwamu* etc., *yuḥāmā* etc., hence doubled verbs (e.g. *yuḥāddu*) are the same in the active and passive (both very rare in fact). Past tenses both active and passive have the same suffix pronouns as Stem I, e.g. *kātabtu, kūtibtu* etc.

8.63 (1) Paradigm of Stem IV, active, imperfect tense, independent form, of the sound verb *'aḥsana* 'to do well' (Stem I *ḥasuna* 'to be good'):

	sing.	dual	plur.
1st	*'uḥsinu*		*nuḥsinu*
2nd masc.	*tuḥsinu*	*tuḥsināni*	*tuḥsinūna*
2nd fem.	*tuḥsinīna*		*tuḥsinna*
3rd masc.	*yuḥsinu*	*yuḥsināni*	*yuḥsinūna*
3rd fem.	*tuḥsinu*	*tuḥsināni*	*yuḥsinna*

Doubled verbs *yumiddu* etc., hollow verbs *yuqīmu* etc. (see 8.73 n 1), weak 1st rad. *yūjibu* etc. (= *yuwjibu*, cf. 8.3 n 1 (c)), weak 3rd rad. *yujrī* etc., same endings as *yarmī*, 4.81 n 2 (b). Note loss of prefix *'* in imperfect (Fleisch 119; Yushmanov 49): the vowel sequence *u-i*, however, is unique to Stem IV. Passive:

1st	*'uḥsanu*		*nuḥsanu*
2nd masc.	*tuḥsanu*	*tuḥsanāni*	*tuḥsanūna*
2nd fem.	*tuḥsanīna*		*tuḥsanna*
3rd masc.	*yuḥsanu*	*yuḥsanāni*	*yuḥsanūna*
3rd fem.	*tuḥsanu*	*tuḥsanāni*	*yuḥsanna*

Doubled verbs *yumaddu* etc., hollow verbs *yuqāmu* etc. (see 8.73 n 1), weak 1st rad. *yūjabu* etc. (= *yuwjabu*, cf. 8.3 n 1 (c)), weak 3rd rad. *yujrā*, same endings as *yak̲š̲ā*, 4.81 n 2 (a). Note that Stem IV and Stem I are identical in imperfect tense passive (cf. paradigm, 8.3 n 1). Past tenses, active and passive, have same pronoun suffixes as Stem I, e.g. *'aḥsantu, 'uḥsintu* etc.

(2) Here we follow MS C., which conflates (deliberately) the 2nd masc. and fem. (*t* stands for both *ta* and *ti*, cf. 7.54 n 1), a welcome abbreviation in this most tedious portion of the text. But printed editions of *Āj.* give both examples separate treatment.

عن الفاعل والخامس التاء المضمومة لمثنى المخاطب مذكرا كان او مؤنثا نحو قولك
ضربتما بضم الضاد وكسر الراء اصله ضربكما زيد فضرب بفتح الضاد فعل ماض والكاف
مفعول به في محل نصب بضرب وزيد فاعل مرفوع به وعلامة رفعه الضمة ثم بنيته
للمفعول فصار ضربتما واعرابه ضرب فعل ماض مسند للمفعول الذي لم يسم فاعله
والتاء هي المفعول الذي لم يسم فاعله في محل رفع بضرب لنيابته عن الفاعل والميم
والالف علامة التثنية والسادس التاء المضمومة لجمع الذكور المخاطبين نحو قولك
ضربتم بضم الضاد وكسر الراء وضم التاء المتصلة بالميم اصله ضربكم زيد فضرب بفتح
الضاد فعل ماض والكاف مفعول به في محل نصب بضرب وزيد فاعل مرفوع بضرب
ثم بنيته للمفعول فصار ضربتم واعرابه ضرب فعل ماض مسند للمفعول الذي لم يسم
فاعله والتاء هي المفعول الذي لم يسم فاعله في محل رفع بضرب لنيابته عن
الفاعل والميم علامة لجمع المذكر المخاطبين والسابع التاء المضمومة لجمع

8.64 (5) The *tu(mā)* 'you' of the second person dual, whether masculine or feminine, is illustrated by *ḍuribtumā* 'you two were struck', (with *u* after the *ḍ* and *i* after the *r*). The original form is *ḍarabakumā zaydun* 'Zayd struck you both', where *ḍaraba* 'struck' (with *a* after the *ḍ*) is a past tense verb, *kumā* 'you two' is a direct object with dependent status through *ḍaraba* 'struck' and *zaydun* 'Zayd' is an agent made independent by it with *u* as its independence marker. You have then constructed it to have its object as agent so that it becomes *ḍuribtumā* 'you two were struck', parsed as follows: *ḍuriba* 'was struck' is a past tense verb predicated of the object of an unnamed agent, *tu* '*you' is the object of an unnamed agent with independent status through *ḍuriba* 'was struck' because it substitutes for the agent, and *mā* is the marker of the dual.[1]

8.65[1](6) The *tu(m)* 'you' of the second person masculine plural is illustrated by *ḍuribtum* 'you (masc. plur.) were struck', (with *u* after the *ḍ*, *i* after the *r*, and *u* after the *t* suffixed with *m*). The original form is *ḍarabakum zaydun* 'Zayd struck you' (masc. plur.), where *ḍaraba* 'struck' (with *a* after the *ḍ*) is a past tense verb, *kum* 'you' (masc. plur.) is a direct object with dependent status through *ḍaraba* 'struck' and *zaydun* 'Zayd' is an agent made independent by *ḍaraba* 'struck'. You have then constructed it to have its object as agent so that it becomes *ḍuribtum* 'you (masc. plur.) were struck', parsed as follows: *ḍuriba* 'was struck' is a past tense verb predicated of the object of an unnamed agent, *tu* '*you'[2] is the object of an unnamed agent with independent status through *ḍuriba* 'was struck' because it substitutes for the agent, and *m* is the marker of the second person masculine plural.

8.64 (1) Paradigm of Stem V, active, imperfect tense, independent form, of the sound verb *taḥassana* 'to be improved' (cf. Stem II *ḥassana* 'to improve', transitive):

	sing.	dual	plur.
1st	*'ataḥassanu*		*nataḥassanu*
2nd masc.	*tataḥassanu*	*tataḥassanāni*	*tataḥassanūna*
2nd fem.	*tataḥassanīna*		*tataḥassanna*
3rd masc.	*yataḥassanu*	*yataḥassanāni*	*yataḥassanūna*
3rd fem.	*tataḥassanu*	*tataḥassanāni*	*yataḥassanna*

Equally regular are: doubled verbs, e.g. *yataḥaddadu* etc., hollow verbs (q.v. 8.73 n 1), e.g. *yataqawwamu* etc., weak 1st rad. verbs, e.g. *yatawaṣṣalu* etc.; weak 3rd rad. verbs have same endings as *yaḵšā*, 4.81 n 2 (a), e.g. *yatamannā* etc. Passive:

	sing.	dual	plur.
1st	*'utaḥassanu*		*nutaḥassanu*
2nd masc.	*tutaḥassanu*	*tutaḥassanāni*	*tutaḥassanūna*
2nd fem.	*tutaḥassanīna*		*tutaḥassanna*
3rd masc.	*yutaḥassanu*	*yutaḥassanāni*	*yutaḥassanūna*
3rd fem.	*tutaḥassanu*	*tutaḥassanāni*	*yutaḥassanna*

Passive, where it occurs, is mainly in impersonal sense (q.v. 8.11 n 1). Note that passive differs only in change of prefix vowel from *a* to *u*: all verbs follow this pattern, e.g. *yutaḥaddadu, yutaqawwamu, yutawaṣṣalu, yutamannā* etc. Past tenses, active and passive, have the same pronoun suffixes as Stem I, e.g. *taḥassantu, tuḥussintu* etc. (cf. 8.9 n 1).

8.65 (1) Paradigm of Stem VI, active, imperfect tense, independent form, of the sound verb *takātaba* 'to write to one another' (cf. Stem III *kātaba* 'to write to'):

	sing.	dual	plur.
1st	*'atakātabu*		*natakātabu*
2nd masc.	*tatakātabu*	*tatakātabāni*	*tatakātabūna*
2nd fem.	*tatakātabīna*		*tatakātabna*
3rd masc.	*yatakātabu*	*yatakātabāni*	*yatakātabūna*
3rd fem.	*tatakātabu*	*tatakātabāni*	*yatakātabna*

Doubled verbs almost non-existent, hollow verbs regular (cf. 8.73 n 1), e.g. *yatajāwaru* etc., likewise weak 1st rad. verbs, e.g. *yatawāṣalu* etc.; weak 3rd rad. verbs have same endings as *yaḵšā*, 4.81 n 2 (a), e.g. *yataḥāmā* etc. Passive:

	sing.	dual	plur.
1st	*'utakātabu*		*nutakātabu*
2nd masc.	*tutakātabu*	*tutakātabāni*	*tutakātabūna*
2nd fem.	*tutakātabīna*		*tutakātabna*
3rd masc.	*yutakātabu*	*yutakātabāni*	*yutakātabūna*
3rd fem.	*tutakātabu*	*tutakātabāni*	*yutakātabna*

Other verbs show the same change of prefix vowel from *a* to *u* (cf. Stem V), e.g. *yutajāwaru, yutawāṣalu, yutaḥāmā* etc. Past tenses, active and passive, have the same suffix pronouns as Stem I, e.g. *takātabtu, tukūtibtu* etc.

(2) See 7.56 n 2 on the problems of segmenting the 2nd person agent pronoun suffixes.

المخاطبات المؤنثات نحو قولك ضربتن بضم الضاد وكسر الراء واصله ضربكن زيد
فضرب بفتح الضاد فعل ماض والكاف مفعول به في محل نصب بضرب وزيد فاعل
مرفوع بضرب ثم بنيته للمفعول فصار ضربتن واعرابه ضرب فعل ماض مسند للمفعول
(28b) الذي لم يسم فاعله والتاء هي المفعول الذي لم يسم فاعله قي محل رفع بضرب
لنيابته عن الفاعل والنون المشددة علامة لجمع النسوة تنبيه الحاصل ان الفعل في
الجميع مضموم الاول مكسور ما قبل الاخر وان التاء في الجميع مفعول ما لم يسم
فاعله الا انها لما وضعت مشتركة بين المفرد المتكلم والمخاطب والمخاطبة والمثنى
والمجموع احتيج الى تمييز كل واحد عن الاخر فضموها في المتكلم وفتحوها في
المخاطب المذكر وكسروها في المخاطبة المؤنثة وزادوا الميم والالف في خطاب المثنى
والميم وحدها في خطاب الجمع في التذكير والنون المشددة في خطاب الجمع في
التأنيث ومناسبة كل بما اختص به لا تليق بهذا المختصر هذا كله في الحاضر

8.66 (7) The *tu(nna)* 'you' of the second person feminine plural is illustrated by *ḍuribtunna* 'you (fem. plur.) were struck', (with *u* after the *ḍ* and *i* after the *r*). The original form is *ḍarabakunna zaydun* 'Zayd struck you' (fem. plur.), where *ḍaraba* 'struck' (with *a* after the *ḍ*) is a past tense verb, *kunna* 'you' (fem. plur.) is a direct object with dependent status through *ḍaraba* 'struck' and *zaydun* 'Zayd' is an agent made independent by *ḍaraba* 'struck'. You have then constructed it to have its object as agent so that it becomes *ḍuribtunna* 'you (fem. plur.) were struck', parsed as follows: *ḍuriba* 'was struck' is a past tense verb predicated of the object *(28b)* of an unnamed agent, *tu* '*you' is the object of an unnamed agent with independent status through *ḍuriba* 'was struck', and the double *n* is the mark of the feminine plural.[1]

8.67 Note: To sum up, in every instance the verb has *u* after the first letter and *i* before the last, and the *t* in every instance is the object of an unnamed agent.[1] But since this *t* is by convention common to the first person singular, the second person masculine and feminine singular, the dual and the plural, it is necessary to distinguish one from the other: so *u* is added for the first person singular, *a* for the second person masculine singular, *i* for the second person feminine singular, *(u)mā* for the dual, *(u)m* alone for the second person masculine plural, and *(u)nna* for the second person feminine plural. It does not befit this short treatise to deal with their suitability for their own particular purposes.[2]

8.66 (1) Paradigm of Stem VII, active, imperfect tense, independent form, of the sound verb *inkasara* 'to break' (intransitive, contrast Stem I *kasara* 'to break', transitive):

	sing.	dual	plur.
1st	*'ankasiru*		*nankasiru*
2nd masc.	*tankasiru*	*tankasirāni*	*tankasirūna*
2nd fem.	*tankasirīna*		*tankasirna*
3rd masc.	*yankasiru*	*yankasirāni*	*yankasirūna*
3rd fem.	*tankasiru*	*tankasirāni*	*yankasirna*

Doubled verbs are regular within their own system, e.g. *yanḍammu* etc., likewise hollow verbs, e.g. *yanqādu* etc. and weak 3rd rad. verbs, e.g. *yanbarī* etc. (with same endings as *yarmī*, 4.81 n 2 (b)); but weak 1st rad. verbs do not form Stem VII, see further below. There is no passive of Stem VII.
Stem VII has the following peculiarities: (a) it is not formed from verbs whose first radical is *r, l, n, w, y*. In the rare cases where *m* is the first radical there may be assimililation of the prefix *n*, e.g. *inmā*^{c}*a*$>$*immā*^{c}*a* 'to melt'.
(b) The prefix *n* forms a consonant cluster with the first radical: in the imperfect tense this causes no problems, as the vowel of the personal prefix allows the *n* to close the syllable (*yan-ka-si-ru*, cf. 2.5 n 3). But in the past tense, **nkasartu* etc., the initial consonant cluster must be resolved by prefixing an empty syllable, pronounced and spelt *'i* only in utterance initial position, otherwise retained in the spelling (cf. 2.14 n 2) but elided in pronunciation, cf. 5.2 n 3. The same applies to the other Stems whose augment creates an initial consonant cluster, viz. VIII, IX and X.

8.67 (1) The terminology of the passive (cf. 8.0 n 1) is somewhat inconsistent. The chronology appears to be as follows:
(a) *mā lam yusamma fā*^{c}*iluh* 'that whose agent has not been named' and *mabnī li-l-maf*^{c}*ūl* 'constructed for the direct object' are early terms from the period when grammar was mainly structural in approach.
(b) *an-nā'ib* ^{c}*an il-fā*^{c}*il* 'the deputy agent' is ascribed to Ibn Mālik (d. 1274, v. 8.0 n 3): the need for this term may have arisen from the lumping together of all independent forms of the noun for pedagogical reasons, calling for a distinction between agents of active and passive verbs.
(c) *majhūl* 'unknown' is perhaps only a shorthand version of *mā lam yusamma fā*^{c}*iluh*, and seems to have been introduced very late (although Abū Ḥayyān, d. 1344, associates it with the early grammarian al-Kisā'ī, q.v. 18.0 n 2; *Manhaj as-sālik*, ed. S. Glazer, 1947, 114).
One thing seems clear, however, and that is that there are no obvious Greek models for these terms.

(2) In other words, why *a* is used for the masc. sing., *i* for the fem. sing. etc., cf. 7.54 n 1. See also 7.56 n 2 on the transliteration problems with the 2nd person agent pronoun suffixes.

وَاما في الغائب فتقول في ضمير المفرد الغائب المذكر ضرب بضم اوله وكسر ما
قبل اخره واعرابه ضرب فعل ماض مبني للمفعول وفيه ضمير مستتر جوازا مرفوع
المحل على انه مفعول ما لم يسم فاعله تقديره هو وَتقول في ضمير المفردة الغائبة
ضربت بضم الضاد وكسر الراء وسكون التاء واعرابه ضرب فعل ماض مبني للمفعول
والتاء الساكنة في اخره حرف تأنيث ومفعول ما لم يسم فاعله ضمير مستتر جوازا
في ضربت تقديره هي وَتقول في ضمير المثنى المذكر الغائب ضربا بضم اوله وكسر
ما قبل اخره واعرابه ضرب فعل ماض مبني لما لم يسم فاعله والالف المتصلة
بالفعل ضمير المثنى المذكر الغائب في موضع رفع على انه مفعول ما لم يسم فاعله

8.68 (8) All the above examples concern the first and second persons; the third person masculine singular pronoun is illustrated by *ḍuriba* 'he was struck', (with *u* after the first letter and *i* before the last), parsed as follows: *ḍuriba* 'was struck' is a past tense verb constructed to have its object as agent and containing an optionally concealed pronoun with independent status as the object of an unnamed agent, that pronoun having the implicit meaning of *huwa* 'he'.[1]

8.69 (9) The third person feminine singular pronoun is illustrated by *ḍuribat* 'she was struck', (with *u* after the *ḍ*, *i* after the *r*, and no vowel on the *t*), parsed as follows: *ḍuriba* 'was struck' is a past tense verb constructed to have its object as agent, and the final unvowelled *t* is the feminine particle. The object of the unnamed agent here is an optionally concealed pronoun in *ḍuribat* 'she was struck', that pronoun having the implicit meaning of *hiya* 'she'.[1]

8.70 (10) The pronoun of the third person masculine dual is illustrated by *ḍuribā* 'they two (masc.) were struck', (with *u* after the first letter and *i* before the last), parsed as follows: *ḍuriba* 'was struck' is a past tense verb constructed for an unnamed agent, and the suffixed *ā* is the pronoun of the third person masculine dual with independent function[1] as the object of an unnamed agent.

8.68 (1) Paradigm of Stem VIII, active, imperfect tense, independent form, of the sound verb *iqtaraba* 'to approach' (cf. Stem I *qaruba* 'to be near'):

	sing.	dual	plur.
1st	*'aqtaribu*		*naqtaribu*
2nd masc.	*taqtaribu*	*taqtaribāni*	*taqtaribūna*
2nd fem.	*taqtaribīna*		*taqtaribna*
3rd masc.	*yaqtaribu*	*yaqtaribāni*	*yaqtaribūna*
3rd fem.	*taqtaribu*	*taqtaribāni*	*yaqtaribna*

Doubled verbs are regular, e.g. *yamtaddu* etc., likewise hollow verbs (8.73 n 1), e.g. *yajtāzu* etc., and weak 3rd rad. verbs, e.g. *yantamī* etc. (same endings as *yarmī*, 4.81 n 2 (b)); for weak 1st rad. verbs see 10.68 n 2. Passive:

	sing.	dual	plur.
1st	*'uqtarabu*		*nuqtarabu*
2nd masc.	*tuqtarabu*	*tuqtarabāni*	*tuqtarabūna*
2nd fem.	*tuqtarabīna*		*tuqtarabna*
3rd masc.	*yuqtarabu*	*yuqtarabāni*	*yuqtarabūna*
3rd fem.	*tuqtarabu*	*tuqtarabāni*	*yuqtarabna*

Other verbs show same vowel sequence *u-a-a* (cf. 8.9 n 2), e.g. doubled verbs *yumtaddu* etc., hollow verbs *yujtāzu* etc., weak 3rd rad. verbs *yuntamā* etc. (same endings as *yakšā*, 4.81 n 2 (a)). Past tenses, both active and passive, have the same suffix pronouns as Stem I, e.g. *iqtarabtu, uqturibtu* (see 8.66 n 1 (b) on the initial consonant cluster).
Note that the infix *t* of Stem VIII assimilates with some 1st radicals, either wholly, e.g. *iḏḏakara* (*ḏ-k-r*) or partially, e.g. *iṣṭabara* (*ṣ-b-r*), *izdahara* (*z-h-r*), see Yushmanov 54, Fleisch, *Tr.* #15c-k. For assimilation to 1st rad. *'*, *w* (e.g. *ittazana* from *w-z-n*) see 10.68 n 2.

8.69 (1) Paradigm of Stem IX, active, imperfect tense, independent form, of the sound verb *iḥmarra* 'to go red' (cf. adj. *'aḥmaru* 'red'):

	sing.	dual	plur.
1st	*'aḥmarru*		*naḥmarru*
2nd masc.	*taḥmarru*	*taḥmarrāni*	*taḥmarrūna*
2nd fem.	*taḥmarrīna*		*taḥmarirna*
3rd masc.	*yaḥmarru*	*yaḥmarrāni*	*yaḥmarrūna*
3rd fem.	*taḥmarru*	*taḥmarrāni*	*yaḥmarirna*

Doubled verbs have no Stem IX, hollow verbs (8.73 n 1) are regular, e.g. *yaswaddu* etc., weak 1st and 3rd rad. verbs are hardly seen. There is no passive of Stem IX. Its past tense is regular, see below.
Stem IX has two peculiarities: (a) the doubled 3rd radical follows the behaviour of the regular doubled verb (q.v. 10.61 n 1), i.e. assimilation before vowels (e.g. past tense *iḥmarra*), dissimilation before consonants (e.g. past tense *iḥmarartu*); (b) it is derived only from roots denoting colours or physical defects, q.v. 3.411 n 7(d). The initial consonant cluster is resolved as in Stem VII, 8.66 n 1.

8.70 (1) Here and in 8.71, 8.72, *mawḍi*^{c} 'function' (3.1 n 4) occurs, although in similar contexts elsewhere the term *maḥall* 'status' has been preferred (e.g. 7.60, 7.71), doubtless because aš-Širbīnī is here following al-Azharī, *Āj.* 55; cf. also 5.84 n 4.

تنبيه اخل المصنف بضمير المثنى المؤنث الغائب ومثاله ضربتا واعرابه ضرب
فعل ماض مبني للمفعول والتاء (29a) حرف تأنيث والالف ضمير المثنى الغائب في
موضع رفع على النيابة عن الفاعل وتقول في ضمير الجماعة المذكرين الغائبين
ضربوا بضم اوله وكسر ما قبل اخره واعرابه ضرب فعل ماض مبني للمفعول
والواو في موضع رفع على النيابة عن الفاعل والالف حرف زائد وتقول في ضمير
الاناث الغائبات ضربن بضم الضاد وكسر ما قبل اخره واعرابه ضرب فعل ماض
مبني لما لم يسم فاعله والنون ضمير الاناث الغائبات في محل رفع على انه
مفعول ما لم يسم فاعله هذا كله اذا كان المفعول ضميرا متصلا بالفعل اما اذا
كان منفصلا عن الفعل فانه يكون ايضا في محل رفع بطريق النيابة عن الفاعل مثاله
ما ضرب الا انا وما ضرب الا نحن وما ضرب الا انت وما ضرب الا انت وما ضرب

8.71 Note: The author has overlooked[1] (11) the pronoun of the third person feminine dual, e.g. *ḍuribatā* 'they two (fem.) were struck', parsed as follows: *ḍuriba* 'was struck' is a past tense verb constructed to have its object as agent, the *t* is the *(29a)* feminine particle,[2] and the *ā* is the pronoun of the third person dual with independent function as the substitute for the agent.

8.72[1] (12) The pronoun of the third person masculine plural is illustrated by *ḍuribū* 'they (masc.) were struck', (with *u* after the first letter and *i* before the last), parsed as follows: *ḍuriba* 'was struck' is a past tense verb constructed to have its object as agent, *ū* 'they' (masc.) has independent function as the substitute for the agent, and the final *'* is a superfluous letter.[2]

8.73 (13) The pronoun of the third person feminine plural is illustrated by *ḍuribna* 'they (fem.) were struck', (with *u* after the *ḍ* and *i* before the last letter), parsed as follows: *ḍuriba* 'was struck' is a past tense verb constructed for an unnamed agent, and *na* 'they' (fem.) is the pronoun of the third person feminine plural with independent status through being the object of an unnamed agent.[1]

8.8 All this applies to the object when it is a pronoun bound to the verb: if it is separated from the verb it still has independent status by virtue of substituting for the agent, e.g. *mā ḍuriba 'illā 'anā* 'none was struck but I', *mā ḍuriba 'illā 'anta* 'none was struck but you' (masc. sing.), *mā ḍuriba 'illā 'anti* 'none was struck but you' (fem. sing.), *mā ḍuriba 'illā 'antumā* 'none was struck but you two',

8.71 (1) Here for once the MSS may be more reliable than the printed text of aš-Širbînî's immediate source (al-Azharî, *Āj.* 56): both read *'akalla bi* 'has omitted' against the printed *'adkala bi* 'has introduced into' (?) or *'udkila bi* 'has been introduced into' (?), neither of which are very comfortable in this context. From Ibn Ājurrūm's point of view the example is unnecessary, as the dual agent pronoun *ā* is of common gender and has already been illustrated in 8.70.

(2) Here 'particle', *ḥarf*, clearly has the sense of 'morpheme', cf. 1.25 n 2.

8.72 (1) Paradigm of Stem X, active, imperfect tense, independent form, of the sound verb *istaḥsana* 'to approve' (cf. Stem I *ḥasuna* 'to be good'):

	sing.	dual	plur.
1st	*'astaḥsinu*		*nastaḥsinu*
2nd masc.	*tastaḥsinu*	*tastaḥsināni*	*tastaḥsinūna*
2nd fem.	*tastaḥsinīna*		*tastaḥsinna*
3rd masc.	*yastaḥsinu*	*yastaḥsināni*	*yastaḥsinūna*
3rd fem.	*tastaḥsinu*	*tastaḥsināni*	*yastaḥsinna*

Doubled verbs *yastamirru* etc., hollow verbs (8.73 n 1) *yastaqīmu* etc., weak 1st rad. verbs *yastawjibu* etc., weak 3rd rad. verbs *yastaḥlī* etc., same endings as *yarmī*, 4.81 n 2 (b). Passive:

1st	*'ustaḥsanu*		*nustaḥsanu*
2nd masc.	*tustaḥsanu*	*tustaḥsanāni*	*tustaḥsanūna*
2nd fem.	*tustaḥsanīna*		*tustaḥsanna*
3rd masc.	*yustaḥsanu*	*yustaḥsanāni*	*yustaḥsanūna*
3rd fem.	*tustaḥsanu*	*tustaḥsanāni*	*yustaḥsanna*

Doubled verbs *yustamarru* etc., hollow verbs *yustaqāmu* etc., weak 1st rad. verbs *yustawjabu* etc., weak 3rd rad. verbs *yustaḥlā* etc., same endings as *yakšā*, 4.81 n 2 (a). Past tenses, active and passive, have the same suffix pronouns as Stem I, e.g. *istaḥsantu, ustuḥsintu* etc. The initial consonant cluster is resolved as in Stem VII, 8.66 n 1.

(2) See 7.61 n 2.

8.73 (1) Hollow verbs, augmented Stems, past and imperfect tenses:

	active		passive
II	*sawwada/yusawwidu*	'blacken'	*suwwida/yusawwadu*
	bayyaḍa/yubayyiḍu	'whiten'	*buyyiḍa/yubayyaḍu*
III	*jāwara/yujāwiru*	'adjoin'	*jūwira/yujāwaru*
	sāyara/yusāyiru	'go beside'	*sūyira/yusāyaru*
IV	*'ajāba/yujību*	'answer'	*'ujība/yujābu*
V	*tasawwada/yatasawwadu*	'be blackened'	*tusuwwida/yutasawwadu*
	tabayyaḍa/yatabayyaḍu	'be whitened'	*tubuyyiḍa/yutabayyaḍu*
VI	*tajāwara/yatajāwaru*	'adjoin o.a.'	*tujūwira/yutajāwaru*
	tasāyara/yatasāyaru	'go beside o.a.'	*tusūyira/yutasāyaru*
VII	*inqāda/yanqādu*	'be led'	no passive
VIII	*ijtāza/yajtāzu*	'traverse'	*ujtīza/yujtāzu*
IX	*iswadda/yaswaddu*	'go black'	no passive
	ibyaḍḍa/yabyaḍḍu	'go white'	no passive
X	*istamāla/yastamīlu*	'incline'	*ustumīla/yustamālu*

الا انتما وما ضرب الا انتم وما ضرب الا انتن وما ضرب الا هو وما ضرب الا هي وما ضرب الا هما وما ضرب الا هم وما ضرب الا هن وكذا تقول انما ضرب انا الى اخرها والفعل في الجميع مضموم الاول مكسور ما قبل الاخر وقس عليه ما امكن في المضارع فلا نطيل بذكره ولما فرغ من الثاني من المرفوعات شرع في الثالث والرابع منها وهما المبتدأ والخبر فقال

باب المبتدأ والخبر ثم شرع في تعريف المبتدأ بقوله المبتدأ هو الاسم الصريح او المؤول به المرفوع لفظا او محلا العاري اي المجرد عن العوامل اللفظية او

mā ḍuriba 'illā 'antum 'none was struck but you' (masc. plur.), *mā ḍuriba 'illā 'antunna* 'none was struck but you' (fem. plur.), *mā ḍuriba 'illā huwa* 'none was struck but he', *mā ḍuriba 'illā hiya* 'none was struck but she', *mā ḍuriba 'illā humā* 'none was struck but they two', *mā ḍuriba 'illā hum* 'none was struck but they' (masc.), *mā ḍuriba 'illā hunna* 'none was struck but they' (fem.). The same goes for *'innamā ḍuriba 'anā* 'it was only I who was struck' etc.[1]

8.9 In all these the verb has *u* after the first letter[1] and *i* before the last; do your best with analogy for the imperfect tense, for we are not going to say any more about it.[2] Having finished with the second of the independent forms, the author now turns to the third and fourth of them, namely the subject and predicate:

CHAPTER NINE

9.0 Chapter on the subject and predicate.[1] He next proceeds to define the subject:

9.01 The subject[1] is the noun (i.e. the 'plain noun' or paraphrase of one), of independent form (either formally or by status), and devoid of (i.e. unaffected by) formal operators. (Alternatively, having the

Conjugation of Stems II, III, V, VI is completely regular, see notes above. Stem IX behaves like a 'doubled verb' (q.v. 10.61 n 1). Stems IV, VII, VIII, X shorten the long internal vowel when the 3rd radical is followed by a consonant (i.e. is unvowelled and syllable-final), contrast *'ajāba:'ajabtu, ijtāza:ijtaztu, yanqādu:yanqadna, yastamīlu: yastamil* and see further 10.23 n 2.
In Stems IV, VII, VIII, X radicals *w* and *y* are neutralized, thus *'ajāba* from *j-w-b, 'ahāba* from *h-y-b* etc. Occasional anomalies: Stems IV, VIII and X sometimes show *w* retaining its consonantal (i.e. syllable-initial) status, e.g. *'aḥwaja/yuḥwiju* 'to need', *i^c^tawara/ya^c^tawiru* 'to befall', *istaḥwaḏa/yastaḥwiḏu* 'to overwhelm'.

8.8 (1) This is a repeat of 7.7 with the active verbs passivized and, like that paragraph and most of this chapter, is taken directly from al-Azharī, *Āj*. 56. On bound pronouns see 11.715, free pronouns 11.716.

8.9 (1) 'Letter' here is an explanatory translation of *'awwal* 'first' and *'āḵar* 'last', standing for *ḥarf* 'particle' in its narrower meaning of 'consonant' or 'radical' (1.25 n 2 and see also 5.31). With trisyllabic verb stems (viz. Stems V, VI, VIII, X) the *u* is repeated, e.g. *tuḥussina*) so that a more useful statement of the vowels of the passive would be *u-(u)-i*. Note that there is only one pattern of passive vowels for all the various active vowel sequences.

(2) The imperfect tense vowel sequence for the passive is uniformly *u-a-(a)-(a)*, with repetition of *a* if the stem is polysyllabic, e.g. *yutaḥassanu*. Dependent and apocopated endings are the same as for the active verb, see paradigms in 4.82 nn 1, 2. Note again that in the passive there is no variation of stem vowel as in the active (10.22 n 2).

9.0 (1) *Jum.* 48; *Muf.* #24; *Alf.* v 113; *Qaṭr* 119; Beeston 63; Fleisch 166; Bateson 46; Yushmanov 64. The terminology is diffuse, perhaps reflecting historical differences. On 'predication' (*'isnād, ibtidā'*) see 9.12 n 2; 'subject' (*mubtada', musnad*) 9.01 n 1; 'predicate' (*ḵabar, mabnī ^c^alayh, musnad 'ilayh*) 9.1 n 1; 'nominal sentence' 9.24 n 2.

9.01 (1) The term *mubtada'* (in full *mubtada' bih* 'what is begun with) is unmistakably structural (see further 9.12 n 2) and so, originally, must have been *musnad*, lit. 'propped up', i.e. thing on which a predicate is based, but the latter very soon became entangled with the imported concept of 'proposition' (cf. Versteegh 72, 9.11 n 1). However the logicians' term for 'subject' is *mawḍū^c^*, a literal translation of *hypokeimenon*, which eliminates Aristotelian logic as a source for the grammatical term, but hardly 'confirms' Stoic influence (Versteegh 74).

بمنزلة المجرد مخبر عنه او وصف رافع لمكتف به عن الخبر او بمنزلة الوصف
فالاسم الصريح نحو قول من يعتقد السامع عدم ايمانه الله ربنا ومحمد نبينا
والمؤول بالصريح هو (29b) المصدر المنسبك من ان والفعل نحو قوله تعالى وان تصوموا
خير لكم فان تصوموا مبتدأ وهو بمنزلة الاسم الصريح لانه تأويل صومكم وخير
لكم خبره فخرج بالاسم الفعل والحرف وبالمرفوع المنصوب والمجرور وبالعاري عن
العوامل اللفظية الفاعل واسم كان واخواتها لكون عاملهما لفظيا وهو الفعل فمثال
الاسم المجرد عن العوامل اللفظية ما مثلنا به للصريح والمؤول والذي بمنزلة المجرد
عن العوامل اللفظية ما دخل عليه حرف زائد او شبهه فالاول نحو هل من خالق
غير الله ونحو بحسبك درهم فخالق وحسبك مبتدآن وان كانا غير مجردين عن من
والباء الزائدتين لان وجود الحرف الزائد كلا وجود والخبر هو الاسم المرفوع المسند
اليه اي الى المبتدأ تنبيه قد علم ان المبتدأ والخبر مرفوعان وهذا لا خلاف فيه

status of being unaffected).[2] It either has a predicate, or is qualified by a descriptive element (or something having the status of a descriptive element), which makes it independent and dispenses with the need for a predicate.[3]

9.02 The 'plain noun'[1] occurs, for example, in the statement by one who believes the listener to be lacking faith: *allāhu rabbunā wa-muḥammadun nabiyyunā* 'God is our Lord and Muḥammad is our Prophet'. The paraphrase of a plain noun[2] is *(29b)* the verbal noun produced by the fusion of *'an* 'that' and its verb, as in the Qur'anic *wa-'an taṣūmū ḵayrun lakum* 'and that you should fast is best for you',[3] where *'an taṣūmū* 'that you (masc. plur.) should fast' is the subject, having the same status as a plain noun because it is a paraphrase of *ṣawmukum* 'your fasting', and *ḵayrun lakum* 'best for you' is its predicate.

9.03 'Noun" excludes the verb and the particle; 'of independent form' excludes dependent and oblique forms; 'devoid of formal operators' excludes agents[1] and the subject-noun of *kāna* 'to be'[2] and its related verbs, because their operators are formal, namely the verb itself. As examples of the noun unaffected by formal operators we cite the above illustrations of the 'plain noun' and the noun paraphrase. A noun has the status of being unaffected by formal operators when it is preceded by a redundant particle or the like:[3] an example of the former is the Qur'anic *hal min ḵāliqin ḡayru llāhi* 'is there any other creator but God?',[4] and *bi-ḥasbika dirhamun* 'a dirham is enough for you',[5] where *ḵāliqin* 'creator' and *ḥasbika* 'your sufficiency' are still subjects even though not unaffected by the redundant *min* 'of' and *bi* 'by', for the existence of a redundant particle is as non-existence.

9.1 The predicate is the independent noun based upon it,[1] i.e. upon the subject.

(2) See 9.11 for the dispute about nominal sentence operators.

(3) This does not mean elided predicates (q.v. 9.93-95), but the type *'a-qā'imun iz-zaydāni* 'standing, the two Zayds?'. Here *qā'imun* (masc. sing.) is a subject (it cannot be an inverted predicate because it does not concord with the dual *az-zaydāni*, but follows instead the rules for verb-agent concord, 7.22 n 1), and its predicate is dispensed with by *az-zaydāni*, the agent of the verb implicit in *qā'imun* 'standing'; cf. Ibn ᶜAqīl on *Alf.* v 114, *Qaṭr* 120. On *waṣf* 'descriptive element' see 11.0 n 1.

9.02 (1) 'Plain noun' is a literal translation of *ism ṣarīḥ*, a term perhaps coined no earlier than the 10th century (cf. Ibn Jinnī, d. 1002, *Kitāb al-lumaᶜ*, ed. H. M. Keshrida, Uppsala 1976, 23), possibly to avoid overworking the term *ẓāhir* 'overt, explicit' (7.2 n 1).

(2) 'Paraphrase of a plain noun' renders *al-mu'awwal bi-ṣ-ṣarīḥ*, lit. 'what can be interpreted by a plain noun', which comes very close to the contemporary notion of 'noun phrase', cf. Beeston 34, 56, Fleisch 201.

(3) S. 2 v 184; note the application of the substitution principle, and that the paraphrasing appears to operate in both directions. On the 'fusion' of *'an* with its verb see 5.41, 10.23 n 3.

9.03 (1) As set out in 7.0, agents, though independent in form, are operated upon by their verbs (but cf. 9.11).

(2) With *kāna* and its related verbs (see 10.1) the original subject of an equational sentence assumes the function of an agent.

(3) Cf. 7.11 for agents with redundant particles. By 'and the like' aš-Širbīnī means such particles as *rubba* 'many a...' (1.706), e.g. *rubba rajulin ṣāliḥin laqītuhu* 'many a good man have I met' (see 9.75 for verb phrase as predicate), and a rare case of *laᶜalla* 'perhaps' (cf. 26.1 n 5) followed by an oblique noun, viz. *laᶜalla 'abī l-miḡwāri minka qarībun* 'perhaps Abū Miḡwār is a relative of yours' (al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* I, 156).

(4) S. 35 v 3. This *min*, like that in 7.11, retains its primitive meaning of 'part' (1.701 n 1), and *min ḵāliqin* is equivalent to 'some member of the class "creator"'. Though treated here as redundant, this *min* is undoubtedly a variety of the 'partitive *min*', q.v. 5.82 n 3.

(5) Since *bi* often denotes price (e.g. 19.33) we might translate here 'the worth of your account is a dirham', thus retaining the original subject-predicate sequence of the Arabic (but cf. 9.73 n 1).

9.1 (1) All three terms for predicate, viz. *ḵabar* (lit. 'information'), *mabnī ᶜalayh* (lit. 'based on it', cognate with *binā'*, 1.41 n 4) and *musnad 'ilayh* (lit. 'propped up on it', i.e. on the subject) are part of the earliest grammatical vocabulary (v. Troupeau, *Lex.-Index*, roots *ḫ-b-r, b-n-y, s-n-d*). But the *s-n-d* set is very rare in the *Kitāb* and may represent either a later gloss or a tradition that failed to penetrate (contrast Versteegh 73). See also next note.

وانما اختلف في رافعهما والاصح ان المبتدأ مرفوع بالابتداء وهو التجرد للاسناد
وارتفاع الخبر بالمبتدأ وقيل ان كلا منهما رفع الاخر وقيل الرافع لهما الابتداء
ثم تارة يكون المبتدأ والخبر مفردين لمذكر نحو قولك زيد قائم فزيد مبتدأ
مرفوع بالابتداء وقائم خبره مرفوع بالمبتدأ وعلامة الرفع فيهما الضمة لانهما
اسمان مفردان وتارة يكونان مفردين لمؤنث نحو هند قائمة وتارة يكونان مثنيين
لمذكر كقولك الزيدان قائمان فالزيدان مبتدأ مرفوع بالابتداء وقائمان خبره
مرفوع بالمبتدأ وعلامة الرفع فيهما الالف نيابة عن الضمة وتارة يكونان مثنيين
لمؤنث نحو الهندان قائمتان وتارة يكونان مجموعين لمذكر جمع تصحيح كقولك
الزيدون (30a) قائمون فالزيدون مبتدأ مرفوع بالابتداء وقائمون خبره مرفوع
بالمبتدأ وعلامة الرفع فيهما الواو نيابة عن الضمة وتارة يكونان مجموعين لمؤنث
جمع تصحيح نحو الهندات قائمات وتارة يكونان مجموعين لمذكر جمع تكسير نحو
الزيود قيام وتارة يكونان مجموعين لمؤنث جمع تكسير نحو الهنود قيام ثم قسم

9.11 Note: It is well known that the subject and predicate[1] both have independent form—there is no dispute about that—but there is disagreement about what makes them independent. The soundest view[2] is that the subject is independent by virtue of beginning the sentence (i.e. has been made free of operators so as to be the basis of a predicate), and that the predicate is made independent by the subject. It is also claimed that each makes the other independent, and another view is that the equational sentence structure itself makes both independent.

9.12 Subject and predicate may both be masculine singular,[1] e.g. *zaydun qā'imun* 'Zayd is standing', where *zaydun* 'Zayd' is a subject made independent by being the subject and *qā'imun* 'standing' is its predicate made independent by the subject, both having *u* as their independence marker.[2] Both may also be feminine singular, as in *hindun qā'imatun* 'Hind is standing'. Both may be masculine dual, as in *az-zaydāni qā'imāni* 'the two Zayds are standing', where *az-zaydāni* 'the two Zayds' is a subject made independent by being the subject and *qā'imāni* 'both standing' is its predicate made independent by the subject, both with *ā* as their independence marker instead of *u*. Both may be sound masculine plural, as in *az-zaydūna (30a) qā'imūna* 'the Zayds are standing', where *az-zaydūna* 'the Zayds' is a subject made independent by being the subject and *qā'imūna* 'standing' (masc. plur.) is its predicate made independent by the subject, both having *ū* as their independence marker instead of *u*.[3] Both may also be sound feminine plural, as in *al-hindātu qā'imātun* 'the Hinds are standing', or broken masculine plural, as in *az-zuyūdu qiyāmun* 'the Zayds are standing' or broken feminine plural, as in *al-hunūdu qiyāmun* 'the Hinds are standing'.[4]

9.11 (1) Leaving aside the group *musnad/musnad 'ilayh/'isnād*, which plays almost no role in the earliest grammar that we have (Sībawayhi), it is clear that the equational sentence (q.v. 9.12 n 3) has from the first been analysed on two levels: (a) with regard to its structure it consists of an initial element (*mubtada'*, 9.01 n 1) on which the second element is syntactically based (*mabnī ᶜalayh*, 9.1 n 1), and (b) with regard to its purpose the same initial element supplies the topic of the information (*k̲abar*, 9.1 n 1) about it (from which the subject is sometimes termed *muk̲bar ᶜanhu* 'informed about', syn. *muḥaddat̲ ᶜanhu*, lit. 'spoken about'). At no time, however, is the equational sentence treated by Sībawayhi as a proposition: not until al-Mubarrad (*Muqtaḍab* III, 89) does does falsifiability appear as a criterion of a sentence (cf. Versteegh 72; *E.I.* (2), art. 'K̲h̲abar', and see also 12.41).

(2) *Inṣāf*, prob. 5, reveals that the 'soundest view' is that of the 'Baṣrans' (9.4 n 3), the second that of the 'Kūfans' and the third that of a minority of Baṣrans.

9.12 (1) It might help to know, since aš-Širbīnī does not mention it, that in number and gender the predicative adjective follows the same concordance rules as the attributive adjective (q.v. 11.1); for case and definition see next note.

(2) The equational sentence has no copula (to add time reference a different structure is used, q.v. 10.11); on the other hand the mere juxtaposition of two elements need not constitute a subject-predicate utterance (cf. 9.81). What is not clearly stated by aš-Širbīnī (no doubt because it was obvious to him and implicit in the examples anyway) is that the subject must always be defined, either by nature (pronoun, proper name) by form (def. article, annexation) or by context (cf. 9.81 n 3), and that, in general, predicates are undefined (cf. 10.21 n 2). Moreover, apart from the exceptions in 9.03 and ch. 10, both subject and predicate have independent form. The rules are necessarily strict: no predicate can succeed if the subject is too vague for the listener to identify (cf. 1.13); hence if there is (to our way of thinking) an undefined subject as the topic of a defined predicate, the latter will be brought forward into the subject position, e.g. *fī d-dāri rajulun* 'in the house is a man' (but see 9.73 n 1 for Beeston's view that there is no inversion here). It was recognized very early (e.g. by al-K̲alīl, q.v. 0.1 n 1, quoted in *Kitāb* I, 394) that the 'act of beginning', *ibtidā'*, arouses in the listener the expectation of a predicate: in other words *ibtidā'* is not only the name of a linguistic event but also of a highly ritualized social gesture (cf. Carter, *J.A.O.S.* 93, 149).

(3) For these allomorphs see 3.43 and 3.4 respectively.

(4) Note that (a) sound and broken plural occur indifferently in the predicates here, and (b) the broken plural forms are of common gender. Neither of these phenomena is fully understood (dialect differences may be part of the answer: try E. Kahle, *Studien zur Syntax des Adjektivs im vorklassischen Arabischen*, (Diss.) Erlangen 1975).

المبتدأ الى قسمين فقال والمبتدأ اي من حيث هو قسمان قسم ظاهر وقسم مضمر
فالظاهر ما تقدم ذكره واراد بذلك ان المبتدأ وهو الجزء الاول في الامثلة المتقدمة
ظاهر لا مضمر فلما فرغ من المبتدأ الظاهر شرع في المبتدأ المضمر فقال والمضمر
اثنا عشر ضميرا منفصلا وهي انا للمتكلم وحده ونحن للمتكلم ومعه غيره او المعظم
نفسه وانت بفتح التاء للمخاطب وانت بكسر التاء للمخاطبة وانتما للمثنى مطلقا
وانتم لجمع الذكور المخاطبين وانتن لجمع الاناث المخاطبات وهو للمفرد الغائب
وهي للمفردة الغائبة وهما للمثنى الغائب مطلقا وهم لجمع الذكور الغائبين وهن
لجمع الاناث الغائبات وتسمى هذه الضمائر ضمائر الرفع المنفصلة والغالب اذا
وقعت مبتدآت ان يخبر عنها بما يطابقها في المعنى فمن غير الغالب هم احسن
اثاثا ومن الغالب نحو قولك انا قائم فانا ضمير رفع منفصل في محل رفع
بالابتداء وقائم خبره مرفوع بالمبتدأ وعلامة رفعه الضمة ونحن قائمون فنحن
مبتدأ مضمر في محل رفع بالابتداء وقائمون خبره مرفوع بالمبتدأ وعلامة رفعه
الواو نيابة (30b) عن الضمة وما اشبه ذلك من نحو انت قائم وانت قائمة وانتما

9.2 The author now divides the subject into two kinds. The subject as such is of two kinds, one overt and one pronominalized.[1]

9.21 The overt kind is as already illustrated, by which he means that the subject (namely the first element)[1] in the above examples is overt and not pronominalized.

9.22 Having dealt with the overt subject he now turns to the pronominalized subject:[1] and the pronominalized has twelve forms:- (i.e. 'free pronouns'), viz. *'anā* 'I', for the speaker alone,[2] *naḥnu* 'we', for the speaker with someone else or in self-magnification, *'anta* 'you', (with *a* after the *t*)[3] for the male person addressed, *'anti* 'you', (with *i* after the *t*) for the female person addressed, *'antumā* 'you', for the dual absolutely, *'antum* 'you', for plural males addressed, *'antunna* 'you', for plural females addressed, *huwa* 'he', for the absent male, *hiya* 'she', for the absent female, *humā* 'they', for the dual of absent persons absolutely, *hum* 'they', for plural absent males, and *hunna* 'they', for plural absent females.[4]

9.23 These pronouns are called the 'free independent pronouns', and the predominant usage is that whenever they occur as subjects they have predicates of corresponding meaning. An unfamiliar usage is the Qur'-anic *hum 'aḥsanu 'aṯāṯan* 'they are better as to property'.[1]

9.24 The predominant usage[1] is seen in, for example, *'anā qā'imun* 'I am standing', where *'anā* 'I' is a free pronoun with independent status by being the subject and *qā'imun* 'standing' is its predicate made independent by the subject, with *u* as its independence marker;[2] likewise *naḥnu qā'imūna* 'we are standing', where *naḥnu* 'we' is a pronominalized subject with independent status by being the subject and *qā'imūna* 'standing' is its predicate made independent by the subject, with *ū* as its independence marker instead *(30b)* of *u*; and the like. For example, *'anta qā'imun* 'you (masc. sing.) are standing', *'anti qā'imatun* 'you (fem. sing.) are standing, *'antumā qā'imāni* 'you two (masc.) are

9.2 (1) Compare the categories of agent in 7.2.

9.21 (1) The position of the bracket in the translation is negotiable: it could well read '(i.e. the first element in the above examples)'.

9.22 (1) Cf. the free agent pronouns in 7.7, and also 9.83.

(2) Here (and in 5.3, 7.4, 11.71 only) the names of the persons are left in literal translation. The Arabic terms are:

	sing.	dual	plur.
1st	*al-mutakallim waḥdah*		*al-mutakallim wa-ma*^{c}*ah ḡayruh*
2nd masc.	*al-muḵāṭab*	*al-muḵāṭabān*	*al-muḵāṭabūn*
2nd fem.	*al-muḵāṭaba*	*al-muḵāṭabatān*	*al-muḵāṭabāt*
3rd masc.	*al-ḡā'ib*	*al-ḡā'ibān*	*al-ḡā'ibūn*
3rd fem.	*al-ḡā'iba*	*al-ḡā'ibatān*	*al-ḡā'ibāt*

(3) See 3.44 n 2 on spelling instructions.

(4) On pronouns in general see 11.71, and in particular: bound indep. pronoun, *ḍamīr muttaṣil marfū*^{c}, 7.5; bound dep. pronoun, *ḍamīr muttaṣil manṣūb*, 16.3; bound oblique pronoun, *ḍamīr muttaṣil majrūr*, 4.72 n 2; free indep. pronoun, *ḍamīr munfaṣil marfū*^{c}, 7.7, 9.22; free dep. pronoun, *ḍamīr munfaṣil manṣūb*, 16.5; concealed pronoun, *ḍamīr mustatir*, 7.58 n 1, 11.712; visible pronoun, *ḍamīr bāriz*, 11.715.

9.23 (1) S. 19 v 74. The anomaly here is the occurrence of the sing. adjective *'aḥsanu* 'better' as the predicate of the plur. *hum* 'they'. This, however, is the normal syntax with the 'elative' adjective (see 20.4 and notes), and one wonders whether the phrase has attracted attention more for rhetorical than grammatical reasons. It may be that the specifying element *'aṯāṯan* 'as to property' is at the root of the problem, since according to the rules of this structure (20.41) it implies the paraphrase *yaḥsunu 'aṯāṯuhum* 'their property is good', which predicates a human quality (goodness, i.e. moral) of an inanimate object. The confusion arises because, in this structure, the elative adjective is formally a predicate of its subject (here *hum*) but at the same time is semantically a predicate of its specifying element (viz. *'aṯāṯan*, cf. *huwa 'ajmalu wajhan* 'he is more handsome as to face'). The objection that *ḥasan* 'good' is so vague that it can freely be applied to property (and *'aṯāṯ* means specifically household furniture) is plausible, but would have to be supported by a better explanation of why this Qur'anic phrase sounds so awkward!

9.24 (1) 'Predominant usage' translates *al-ḡālib*, lit. 'that which predominates, prevailing', on which see 3.65 n 12. Inversion is rare with pronouns (cf. Wright II, 257).

(2) Here is an opportunity to contrast the structures of the 'nominal sentence' (*jumla ismiyya*) and the 'verbal sentence' (*jumla fi*^{c}*liyya* cf. 7.1 n 1, 7.12 n 1). These categories are entirely formal: all sentences beginning with nouns are nominal sentences (including those prefixed with *'inna* and similar particles, q.v. 10.4, and those whose first element is a prepositional phrase, q.v. 9.73 n 1), while verbal

قائمان وانتما قائمتان وانتم قائمون وانتن قائمات وهو قائم وهي قائمة وهما
قائمان وهما قائمتان وهم قائمون وهن قائمات فالمبتدأ في هذه الامثلة كلها
مضمر مبني لا يدخله اعراب تنبيه جملة الضمائر البارزة ستون ضميرا وذلك لان
الضمير البارز اما متصل او منفصل والمتصل مرفوع ومنصوب ومجرور والمنفصل مرفوع
ومنصوب فقط فهذه خمسة اقسام ثلاثة للمتصل واثنان للمنفصل ولكل من هذه الخمسة
اثنتا عشرة لفظة منها واحدة للمتكلم وحده وواحدة له ولمن معه وخمسة للمخاطب
واحدة للمذكر وواحدة للمؤنث وواحدة لتثنيتهما وواحدة لجمع المذكر وواحدة لجمع
المؤنث وخمسة للغائب كذلك واذا ضربت خمسة في اثني عشر خرج ستون ولا نطيل
الكلام بامثلتها والمختار في انا ان الضمير هو الهمزة والنون فقط والالف زائدة
لبيان الحركة ومذهب الكوفيين انه الاحرف الثلاثة واختاره ابن مالك وفي انت
وفروعه ان الضمير نفس ان عند البصريين واللواحق لها حروف خطاب وذهب الفراء
الى ان انت بكماله هو الضمير وذهب ابن كيسان الى ان التاء هي الضمير وهي التي
في فعلت وكبرت بان وفي هو وهي الجميع ضمير وهو مذهب البصريين ومذهب
الكوفيين ان الضمير هو الهاء فقط والواو والياء اشباع وفي هما وهم الضمير الهاء

standing', *'antumā qā'imatāni* 'you two (fem.) are standing', *'antum qā'imūna* 'you (masc. plur.) are standing', *'antunna qā'imātun* 'you (fem. plur.) are standing', *huwa qā'imun* 'he is standing', *hiya qā'imatun* 'she is standing', *humā qā'imāni* 'they two (masc.) are standing', *humā qā'imatāni* 'they two (fem.) are standing', *hum qā'imūna* 'they (masc.) are standing', and *hunna qā'imātun* 'they (fem.) are standing'. In all these examples the subject is an invariable pronoun in which there is no inflection.[3]

9.3 Note: The total number of visible pronouns is sixty.[1] This is because the visible pronoun must be either bound or free, and the bound must be either independent, dependent or oblique, while the free must be either independent or oblique only, which makes five kinds (three bound and two free). Now each of these five has twelve forms, one for the first person singular, one for the first person plural, five for the second person (viz. masc. sing., fem. sing., dual, masc. plur. and fem. plur.), and five for the third person likewise. When you multiply five by twelve the product is sixty, and we shall not prolong the discussion with examples.[2]

9.4[1]The select opinion on *'anā* 'I' is that only *'ana* is the pronoun,[2] the lengthening sign being redundant and serving only to make the final *a* clear in pronunciation, but the Kūfan[3]view is that the whole word with all three letters is the pronoun, and this is the view chosen by Ibn Mālik.[4]

9.41 For *'anta* 'you'[1](masc. sing.) and its derivatives the opinion of the Baṣrans is that *'an* itself is the pronoun and that its suffixes are letters of apostrophe. Al-Farrā' held the view that the whole of *'anta* was the pronoun, while Ibn Kaysān maintained that *ta* was the pronoun, being the same as the *ta* of *fa*^{c}*alta* 'you did', enlarged by *'an*.[2]

9.42 In *huwa* 'he' and *hiya* 'she' the whole word is the pronoun, say the Baṣrans, but the Kūfan view is that only *hu* and *hi*[1]are the pronoun, and

sentences are simply those whose first element is a verb (including verbs subordinated by particles, q.v. 5.34, and verb phrases in the function of predicates of nominal sentences, q.v. 9.75). Elision of subject or predicate is possible (9.9), but not of verb or agent: on semantic grounds because no act can exist without an actor, and on structural grounds because agent pronouns are bound morphemes (7.5).

(3) All pronouns are invariable, but recognizable as nouns by their function (e.g. as agents, 7.5, 7.7, in annexation, 11.718 n 2). For invariability, *binā'*, see 1.41 n 4.

9.3 (1) The urge to calculate total combinations of elements is a relatively late phenomenon in grammar: Ibn Bābašā̱d (d. 1077) gives the figure of sixty pronouns in his *Muqaddima* (Brit. Mus. Add. 918, fol. 16r), and his contemporary al-Jurjānī (d. 1078) reduced the whole of syntax to exactly one hundred operators! The motive is clear: not only is enumeration a useful aide-mémoire, it also establishes the limits of the material to be taught (i.e. what is 'Arabic' and what is not). In origin it may be connected with the propositional calculus in the scholastic processing of the *Organon* which the Arabs inherited from Greek, cf. F.W.Zimmermann in *Islamic Philosophy and the Classical Tradition, Essays presented to R.Walzer*, ed. S.M.Stern etc., Oxford 1972, 517f. For further and more extreme examples in grammar cf. as-Suyūṭī, *Ašbāh* II, 120, III, 96. In an anonymous parsing exercise of about the same period as aš-Širbīnī a single verse of poetry is calculated to have 1,800,000 possible parsings! (Carter, *Islamic Quarterly* 18, 11).

(2) Of these, twenty-four are in 7.4, twelve in 16.3 and another twelve in 16.5; the remaining twelve (oblique pronouns) are mentioned only in passing, see 4.72 n 2. Note that, for simplification, the 'visible' pronouns include those which are, strictly, 'concealed' (v. 7.58 n 1).

9.4 (1) From 9.3 to 9.44 are repeated, with slight variations, in 11.718 and 11.719, and are evidently adapted from al-Azharī, *Taṣr*. I, 103-4. Notes here and in 11.718-9 are complementary.

(2) See 11.719 n 2 on the segmentation of *'anā*.

(3) After the foundation of Baghdad (762), grammar was artificially polarized into two opposing 'schools', named 'Baṣran' and 'Kūfan' after the two cities of Baṣra and Kūfa, whose cultural supremacy was eclipsed by the new capital of the empire. The two schools may be interpreted as representing contrary attitudes to language: 'Baṣrans' are rigidly normative and orthodox, 'Kūfans' are descriptive and heterodox (cf. G. Weil, Introduction to *Inṣāf*, Carter, *Arabica* 20, esp. 299-304).

(4) See 1.02 n 2 on Ibn Mālik.

9.41 (1) See 11.719 n 4 on the segmentation of *'anta* etc.

(2) On the grammarians mentioned in this paragraph see 9.4 n 3 for 'Baṣrans', 1.21 n 2 for al-Farrā', 12.6 n 3 for Ibn Kaysān.

9.42 (1) The text has only *al-hā'* 'the *h*', the vowels having been taken for granted (cf. 4.81 n 1); in their concern to isolate *h* as a 3rd

الضمير الهاء وحدها وحكي عن الفارسي انه المجموع وفي هن الهاء وحدها والنون
الاولى كالميم في هم والثانية كالواو في هموا ولما فرغ من (31a) تقسيم المبتدأ
الى الظاهر والمضمر شرع في تقسيم الخبر الى مفرد ومركب فقال والخبر اي من حيث
هو قسمان قسم مفرد والمراد بالمفرد هنا ما ليس جملة ولا شبهها ولو كان مثنى
او مجموعا فانه في هذا الباب يسمى مفردا وقسم غير مفرد فالمفرد نحو زيد
قائم فزيد مبتدأ مرفوع بالابتداء وقائم خبره مرفوع بالمبتدأ وهو خبر مفرد
وكذلك الزيدان قائمان فالزيدان مبتدأ وقائمان خبره وكذلك الزيدون قائمون
فالزيدون مبتدأ وقائمون خبره والخبر في هذه الامثلة كلها مفرد لانه ليس بجملة
ولا شبهها بل هو لفظة واحدة ولما فرغ من الخبر المفرد شرع في الخبر المركب فقال

that *wa* and *ya* are only there to fill out the sound.

9.43 As for *humā* 'they two' and *hum* 'they' (masc.), only the *hu* is the pronoun,[1] though it is related that al-Fārisī[2] regarded the whole word as the pronoun.

9.44 As for *hunna* 'they' (fem.), only the *hu* is the pronoun, the first *n* being like the *m* of *hum* 'they' (masc.) and the second *n* like the *u* of *humū* 'they' (masc.).[1]

9.5 Having finished with *(31a)* the division of the subject into overt and pronominalized, the author now turns to the division of the predicate into simple and complex.[1] The predicate as such is of two kinds, one simple (by 'simple' here is meant that which is not a sentence or its equivalent, even if the predicate is dual or plural, because in this chapter it is still termed 'simple'), and one not simple.[2]

9.6 The simple predicate is illustrated by, for example, *zaydun qā'imun* 'Zayd is standing', where *zaydun* 'Zayd' is a subject made independent by being the subject and *qā'imun* 'standing' is its predicate made independent by the subject, and is a simple predicate.[1] Similarly *az-zaydāni qā'imāni* 'the two Zayds are standing', where *az-zaydāni* 'the two Zayds' is a subject and *qā'imāni* 'standing' is its predicate; also *az-zaydūna qā'imūna* 'the Zayds are standing'. Here *az-zaydūna* 'the Zayds' is a subject and *qā'imūna* 'standing' is its predicate. In all these examples the predicate is simple, because it is not a sentence or sentence equivalent, but is a single expression.[2] Having finished with the simple predicate, the author now turns to the complex predicate:

person marker the 'Kūfans' (9.4 n 3) fortuitously agree with Trager and Rice (*Language* 30, 227), who set up a single morphophoneme for *wa* and *ya* (cf. also *Inṣāf* prob. 96). Contrast Moscati #13.9.

9.43 (1) Cf. the segmentation (or rather the lack of it) in the 2nd person dual agent suffix *tumā* in 7.55. For Trager and Rice (op. cit. 226) the question of why a dual morpheme is suffixed to a plural does not arise.

(2) See 10.71 on Abū ᶜAlī al-Fārisī; the immediate source for the attribution is al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* I, 103, but I have not been able to trace the idea in the available works of al-Fārisī.

9.44 (1) The similarity between the series *hum, hunna, humā* (which are also object suffixes, v. 16.310-312) and the object suffixes *kum, kunna* and *kumā* (16.305-307) justifies the synchronic analysis of Trager and Rice (*Language* 30, 225-6), but see 7.57 n 1 on the fem. plur. **um-na*. On the form *humū* see 10.66 n 2: the reasoning here is that, just as *humū* ends in two consonants (see 2.43 n 2 on *ū*), so does *hunna*, a good example of the way theory can lose touch with reality (cf. *Inṣāf* p 23).

9.5 (1) As befits the work, these are purely formal categories. *Kitāb* I, 278 has a different classification: predicates are either identical with their subjects (*šay' huwa huwa* 'something which it is itself') or are space/time qualifiers (*ẓarf*, 'container' of the subject, v. ch. 18). Beeston's table of predicate types (69) does not materially depart from this, as the extra items (when not already subdivisions of the original categories, e.g. into participial and non-participial predicates) are the result of including verbal sentence predicates (7.12) and inversions (9.73 n 1). Cf. also D. Cohen, 'Les formes du prédicat en arabe et la théorie de la phrase chez les anciens grammariens', in *Mélanges Marcel Cohen,* The Hague/Paris 1970, 224.

(2) The comment is necessary because *mufrad*, here 'simple' is also used for 'singular' and 'single', see 23.431 n 1. Similarly *murakkab,* here 'complex', also serves for 'compound' and 'composite', see 1.12 n 1.

9.6 (1) On expansions of simple predicates see n 2, and cf. 9.02-03. Though verbs are orthographically single words they cannot be included here among the one-term predicates, and are dealt with under complex predicates (esp. 9.82). On the other hand, participles and adjectives (which in the Arab view also contain agent pronouns, 11.45) make simple predicates (cf. *Inṣāf* prob. 7 for an extreme case).

(2) Certain expansions of simple predicates (which also function as agents, cf. 7.02) are ignored or taken for granted by aš-Širbīnī, viz. (a) nouns qualified by adjectives, e.g. *zaydun ṣadīqun mukliṣun* 'Zayd is a loyal friend', (b) annexation units, e.g. *allāhu rabbunā* 'God is our Lord' (9.02, and see 9.74 n 2 on the difference between this unit and the structurally identical prepositional phrase), (c) sentences with *'an* (5.41) and *'anna* (10.42) 'that', e.g. *al-'arjaḥu 'an yajī'a* or *'annahu yajī'u* 'the most likely thing is that he is coming', (d) relative sentences, e.g. *huwa llaḏī yajī'u* 'he is the one who is coming'.

وغير المفرد اربعة اشياء شيئان في الجملة وشيئان في شبهها فالشيئان في شبه
الجملة الجار والمجرور والظرف التامان والمراد بالتام منهما ما يفهم لمجرد ذكره
مع ما يتعلق به كما يعلم مما مثل به كما سيأتي بخلاف الناقصين نحو الذي مكانا
والذي بك فلا يفهم معناهما الا بذكر متعلق خاص جائز الذكر نحو ان تقول جاء
الذي سكن مكانا او الذي مر بك والشيئان في الجملة هما الفعل مع فاعله اي الظاهر
او المضمر والمبتدأ مع خبره اي المفرد او غيره والجار والمجرور نحو قولك زيد في
الدار وزيد مبتدأ وفي الدار جار ومجرور خبر عن زيد والظرف نحو قولك زيد
عندك فزيد مبتدأ وعندك ظرف خبر عن زيد والصحيح ان الخبر متعلق الجار والمجرور
والظرف لا هما وهذان يشبهان بالجملة (31b) لانهما متعلقان بمحذوف وجوبا تقديره

9.7 The non-simple is of four kinds: two in the form of sentences and two of sentence equivalents.[1]

9.71 The two in the form of sentence equivalents are (1) the operator of obliqueness and its oblique element, and (2) the space/time qualifier,[1] both of which must be structurally complete. By 'structurally complete' is meant that which can be understood by simply mentioning it along with what it is semantically connected with (as will be realized from the examples shortly to be given by the author), unlike the structurally defective, e.g. **allaḏī makānan* 'who in a place' or **allaḏī bika* 'who by you', for their meaning cannot be understood without mentioning some specific and reasonable semantically connected element,[2] e.g. by saying *jā'a llaḏī sakana makānan* 'there came the one who lived in a certain place' or *jā'a llaḏī marra bika* 'there came the one who passed by you'.[3]

9.72 The two in the form of sentences are (1) the verb and its agent, (with overt or pronominalized agent), and (2) the subject and its predicate, (simple or otherwise).[1]

9.73 The operator of obliqueness and its oblique element as a predicate is illustrated by, for example, *zaydun fī d-dāri* 'Zayd is in the house', where *zaydun* 'Zayd' is a subject and *fī d-dāri* 'in the house' is an operator of obliqueness and oblique element forming the predicate of *zaydun*.[1]

9.74 An example of the space/time qualifier is *zaydun ᶜindaka* 'Zayd is with you', where *zaydun* 'Zayd' is a subject and *ᶜindaka* 'with you' is a space/time qualifier and predicate of *zaydun*. The truth is that the predicate is really neither the operator of obliqueness and oblique element nor the space/time qualifier, but some element semantically connected with them: they thus resemble sentence predicates *(31b)* in that they are connected with something compulsorily elided,[1] either an

9.7 (1) These are not expansions of single terms (contrast 9.6 n 2). 'Sentence equivalent' (v. 9.74) renders *šibh al-jumla* 'quasi-sentence'.

9.71 (1) Both categories are, to our way of thinking, prepositional phrases, but the Arabs distinguish them on the grounds that operators of obliqueness are one-function particles (1.7, 26.1), while space/time qualifiers are full nouns and may have other functions (v. 18.4 n 2).

(2) The comment here seems to be aš-Širbīnī's own paraphrase of al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* I, 166. 'Structurally complete' translates *tāmm*, lit. 'complete, perfect', antonym *nāqiṣ*, lit. 'lacking, defective', hence 'structurally defective' (but see 10.11 n 3); on 'semantically connected', *muta^{c}alliq*, see 5.82 n 6 and cf. 9.74. 'Reasonable' is *jā'iz*, lit. 'permissible', a term which in the latter sense was borrowed from law into grammar, but which also came to be used by logicians for 'reasonable', i.e. permitted by the laws of thought, as here. Cf. 9.8 n 2.

(3) Somewhat casually aš-Širbīnī invokes here two quite different types of structurally defective elements: (a) the prepositional phrase, which is made meaningful by citing the verb to which it is semantically connected, and (b) the relative (*mawṣūl*, see 11.752 n 1), which is incomplete without an attached clause, supplied in the present example by the verb phrases *sakana* '(he) lived' and *marra* '(he) passed'. In neither case is the prepositional phrase or space/time qualifier essential for the structural completeness of the utterance (nor is the function of relative clauses limited to that of agent as here).

9.72 (1) See further 9.75-76. It is possible for a sentence predicate to contain a maximum of one embedded sentence, e.g. *hāḏihi l-qarāratu ẓāhiruhā fīhi raḥmatun* 'these decisions superficially contain mercy', lit. 'these decisions, their exterior, in it is mercy', where the sentence 'in it is mercy' is a predicate of 'their exterior' and the whole is a predicate of 'these decisions' (example from Beeston, *Language* 50, 476, where further discussion). Cf. also 9.76 n 1.

9.73 (1) Such sentences must be inverted if the subject is undefined, e.g. *fī d-dāri rajulun* 'in the house is a man'. Beeston 68, however, does not see this as inversion, but as predicating 'a man' of 'in the house' (to paraphrase his own words, 'stating what sort of a thing the house contains'). This is psychologically plausible, but leaves to be explained such genuine inversions as *'inna fī d-dāri rajulan* 'verily in the house is a man', where *rajulan* still has dependent form as the subject operated on by *'inna* (10.41). In *Inṣāf* prob. 6, the question is discussed from an entirely different point of view: the 'Baṣrans' (9.4 n 3) argue that *fī d-dāri rajulun* is pure inversion with *rajulun* 'a man' still the subject, while the 'Kūfans' claim that *rajulun* is the agent of the verb implied by the prepositional phrase (cf. 9.74 n 2).

9.74 (1) On the terminology of this paragraph, which inevitably evokes notions of deep structure and compulsory deletion, see 2.101 n 2 for *taqdīr*, lit. 'estimating' (i.e. recovering implicit elements), 3.73 n 2 for *ḥaḏf* 'elision', 9.8 n 2 for *wujūb* 'compulsion' and 5.82 n 6 for *muta^{c}alliq* 'semantically connected'. Cf. also 19.25 n 1.

كائن او مستقر او كان او استقر ويرجعان في التقدير الى المفرد ان قدر كائن او
مستقر والى الجملة ان قدر كان او استقر وكان واستقر فعلان وفاعلهما ضمير
مستتر عائد على المبتدأ وكل منهما جملة فعلية خبر عن المبتدأ وقوله والفعل
مع فاعله في نحو قولك زيد قام ابوه اشارة الى ان الخبر جملة فعلية فزيد
مبتدأ وجملة قام ابوه من الفعل والفاعل والمضاف اليه في محل رفع خبر عن زيد
والرابط بينهما الهاء من ابوه وقوله والمبتدأ مع خبره نحو قولك زيد جاريته
ذاهبة اشارة الى ان الخبر جملة اسمية فزيد مبتدأ اول وجاريته مبتدأ ثان
وذاهبة خبر المبتدأ الثاني وجملة المبتدأ الثاني وخبره في محل رفع خبر المبتدأ
الاول والرابط بين المبتدأ الاول وخبره الهاء تتمة للخبر ثلاث حالات احدها التأخير

implicit *kā'inun* 'being' or *mustaqirrun* 'situated', or *kāna* 'was' or *istaqarra* 'was situated' respectively. Both predicates reduce to simple predicates if an implicit *kā'inun* 'being' or *mustaqirrun* 'situated'[2] are assumed, or to sentence predicates if an implicit *kāna* 'was' or *istaqarra* 'was situated' are assumed.[3] In the latter case *kāna* and *istaqarra* are verbs whose agent is a concealed pronoun referring back to the subject, and both are verbal sentence predicates of the subject.

9.75 When the author says 'the verb and its agent', as in *zaydun qāma 'abūhu* 'Zayd's father stood',[1] this is to show that the predicate is a verbal sentence: *zaydun* 'Zayd' is a subject and the sentence *qāma 'abūhu* 'his father stood' (which is made up of a verb, its agent and the element to which the agent is annexed) has independent status as the predicate of *zaydun* 'Zayd', with the *hu* 'his' of *'abūhu* 'his father' acting as the link[2] between the two.

9.76 The 'subject and its predicate' are illustrated by *zaydun jāriyatuhu ḏāhibatun* 'Zayd's servant-girl is going'.[1] This is to show that the predicate is a nominal sentence, in which *zaydun* 'Zayd' is the primary subject and *jāriyatuhu* 'his servant-girl' is the secondary subject, with *ḏāhibatun* 'going' as its own predicate: the sentence comprising the secondary subject and its predicate has independent status as the predicate of the primary subject, with the *hu* 'his' of *jāriyatuhu* 'his servant-girl' acting as the link between the primary subject and its predicate.

9.8 Supplementary Note: The predicate has three states, one of which is to follow the subject (which is the norm),[1] e.g. *zaydun qā'imun* 'Zayd is

(2) The participial paraphrase results in a simple predicate because *kā'inun* 'being' and *mustaqirrun* 'being situated', though too vague to fulfil the criterion of informativeness (1.13) are single terms structurally sufficient to constitute a formal predicate without the prepositional phrase, cf. *zaydun jālisun (ᶜindaka)* 'Zayd is sitting (with you)'. From this we may deduce that only noun and verb phrases may function as predicates, and that prepositional phrases are always dependent on a verb or its equivalent (cf. 9.71). Prepositional phrases thus differ from annexation units in that the former are not expansions of (or replaceable by) single nouns (i.e. are exocentric), while annexation units are endocentric. For simplicity's sake aš-Širbīnī (following al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* I, 166) subsumes the participial paraphrase (= simple predicate) under verbal sentence predicates, to which it strictly does not belong (cf. 9.6 n 1).

(3) The verbal paraphrase actually results in a sentence predicate of the type set out in 9.75, q.v. for further discussion. On concealed pronoun agents see 7.58 n 1; on *ᶜā'id* 'referring' see 11.752 n 1.

9.75 (1) The translation somewhat obscures the structure: it might be rendered literally 'Zayd: stood his father'. This is the so-called *jumla ḏāt wajhayn,* lit. 'sentence with two faces', so named because the major (grammatical) subject is different from the minor (logical) subject contained in the predicate sentence. D. Cohen, op. cit. 9.5 n 1, esp. 225f, argues that these are not true nominal sentences, since the noun, far from 'dominating' the sentence as it should, is merely the anticipatory exponent of a pronoun in the predicate. Cf. 9.76 n 1.

(2) 'Link' here is a fairly literal translation of *rābiṭ* (cf. 5.86 n 3 on this and its synonym *rābiṭa*). It seems to have replaced the older term *sabab* 'tie, link' (also 'cause', 24.22 n 1), which once had a wide application (cf. Carter, *B.S.O.A.S.* 35, 488), but was eventually restricted to an adjectival construction which happens to be formally identical with these complex predicate structures (see 11.5).

9.76 (1) This and the type in 9.75 are given only passing mention by most Western authorities (Beeston 70, Fleisch 169, Wright II, 256; only Reckendorf, *Synt. Verh.* 782 is at all expansive). Bravmann, op. cit. 7.63 n 1, 1, explains them thus: the 'Isolated Natural Subject' (Reckendorf's term) was originally the topic of a question, with the ensuing sentence forming the answer (*'Zayd? His servant-girl is going'). The once independent sentence has become subordinate, and is now a relative clause functioning as a predicate (*'Zayd is the one whose servant-girl is going'). Though identical in structure with relative clauses and the adjectival pattern in 11.5, the Arabs do not use *ᶜā'id* for the referential pronoun (11.752) but the imported term *rābiṭ* (9.75 n 2, and cf. Lewcowicz, *Language* 47, esp. 818). Certainly it is no help to speak of 'phrases brisées' (Fleisch) or 'ein Riss im Satz' (Reckendorf).

9.8 (1) 'Norm' renders *'aṣl*, q.v. 3.0 n 2. The other two 'states' (*ḥālāt*, 11.2 n 1) are inversion (not dealt with by aš-Širbīnī, but cf. 9.73 n 1, 19.73 n 1) and elision, q.v. 9.9.

وهو الاصل كزيد قائم ويجب تأخير الخبر في مسائل الاولى ان يخاف التباسه
بالمبتدأ بان يكونا معرفتين او نكرتين متساويتين ولا قرينة تميز احدهما عن
الاخر نحو زيد اخوك ونحو افضل منك افضل مني فان وجدت قرينة لفظية او معنوية
عمل بها فالاول نحو رجل صالح حاضر فان القرينة اللفظية قاضية على النكرة
الموصوفة بالابتدائية تقدمت او تأخرت والثاني ابو يوسف ابو حنيفة فان القرينة
المعنوية وهي التشبيه الحقيقي قاضية بان ابا يوسف مبتدأ لانه مشبه وابا حنيفة
خبره لانه مشبه به تقدم او تأخر المسئلة الثانية ان يخاف التباس المبتدأ بالفاعل
(32a) نحو زيد قام فلو قدم وقيل قام زيد التبس المبتدأ بالفاعل المسئلة الثالثة
ان يقترن الخبر بالا معنى نحو انما انت نذير فلا يجوز تقديم الخبر لانه محصور
فيه بالا معنى والتقدير ما انت الا نذير او يقترن بالا لفظا نحو ما محمد الا

standing'. This delaying of the predicate is compulsory in certain cases:

9.81 (1) When it is feared that the predicate might become confused with the subject because both are equally defined or undefined and there is no contextual indication[1] to distinguish one from the other, e.g. *zaydun 'akūka* 'Zayd is your brother',[2] *'afḍalu minka 'afḍalu minnī* 'someone more virtuous than you is someone more virtuous than me'. But if there is a contextual indication, either formal or abstract,[3] it is put into effect accordingly. An example of the former is *rajulun ṣāliḥun ḥāḍirun* 'a good man is present', where the formal contextual indication determines that the undefined noun qualified by an adjective must be the subject whether it precedes or follows the predicate. An example of the latter is *'abū yūsufa 'abū ḥanīfata* 'Abū Yūsuf is Abū Ḥanīfa', where the abstract contextual indication, namely a true comparison, determines that Abū Yūsuf is the subject (because he is the thing compared) and that Abū Ḥanīfa is the predicate (because he is the term of the comparison), irrespective of which precedes or follows.[4]

9.82 (2) When it is feared that the subject might become confused with the agent *(32a)*, e.g. *zaydun qāma* 'it was Zayd who stood', for it this were inverted to *qāma zaydun* 'Zayd stood' the subject would become confused with the agent.[1]

9.83 (3) When the predicate is accompanied by a synonym of *'illā* 'except',[1] as in the Qur'anic *'innamā 'anta naḏīrun* 'you are only a warner',[2] where inversion is not allowed because the predicate is restricted by a synonym of *'illā* 'except', the implicit meaning being *mā 'anta 'illā naḏīrun* 'you are not but a warner'. In the same way, when the predicate is formally accompanied by *'illā* 'except', as in the Qur'anic

(2) There are two poles of constraint in Arabic grammar: (a) *wājib* 'compulsory', as here, opposed to *jā'iz* 'permissible' (cf. 9.9 n 1), also 'optional', and (b) *iḍṭirār* lit. 'being forced', i.e. 'poetic licence' (v. 11.715 n 2), opposed to *ikhtiyār* lit. 'free choice', hence 'elective' (1.51), 'unconstrained' (7.5). All are legal borrowings.

9.81 (1) 'Contextual indication' is *qarīna*, q.v. 11.7 n 1; note the principle of collocation invoked here.

(2) Where both subject and predicate are defined they may be separated by an appropriate pronoun, e.g. *zaydun huwa l-qā'imu* 'Zayd is the one standing'; this pronoun has always been known as *ḍamīr al-faṣl* 'the pronoun of separation' (e.g. *Kitāb* I, 394), though an analysis in terms of the sentence predicate type in 9.76 would also be possible.

(3) For 'formal' *lafẓī* and 'abstract' *maᶜnawī* see 2.1 n 2. The formal indication here is the adjective *ṣāliḥun*, which makes *rajulun* defined enough to function as subject (cf. 9.12 n 2). The segmentation *rajulun/ṣāliḥun ḥāḍirun* fails the test of 1.13.

(4) We have to accept the opinion of aš-Širbīnī's immediate source (al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* I, 173) on this matter, viz. that the statement 'Abū Yūsuf is Abū Ḥanīfa' cannot be a simple hyperbole (*mubālaġa*) but must be understood as a genuine comparison (*tašbīh ḥaqīqī*) in spite of the absence of the comparative particle *ka* 'like' (1.708). 'Thing compared' is *mušabbah* (here Abū Yūsuf), 'term of the comparison' is *mušabbah bih*, lit. 'thing with which compared' (Abū Ḥanīfa). On Abū Ḥanīfa, a prominent early jurist (d. 767) see *E.I.* (2), art. 'Abū Hanīfa', *G.A.S.* I, 409, and on his pupil Abū Yūsuf (d. 798) see *E.I.* (2), art. 'Abū Yūsuf', *G.A.S.* I, 419.

9.82 (1) See 9.24 n 2 on the difference between 'nominal' and 'verbal' sentences. In *qāma zaydun* 'Zayd stood' only an act is predicated of Zayd, while in the alternative construction *zaydun qāma* 'it was Zayd who stood' a sentence is predicated of Zayd. This latter may be analysed either as a complex predicate (as in 9.75) or as a kind of appositional construction, 'Zayd, he stood' (cf. 7.12, 9.75 end).

9.83 (1) See 7.7, 8.8 for agents with *'illā* and *'innamā*.

(2) S. 11 v 12. The word *'innamā*, generally translated as 'only', is probably a compound of *'inna* 'verily' (10.41) and the vague pronoun *mā* 'what' (Brockelmann, *Grundr.* II, 575, Reckendorf, *Arab. Synt.* 129). The effect of the *mā* suffix is to cancel the operation of *'inna* (cf. 5.89 n 2 on the so-called 'redundant *mā*'), contrast *'inna zaydan qā'imun* 'verily Zayd is standing' and *'innamā zaydun qā'imun* 'Zayd is only standing' (scil. *verily what Zayd is, is standing'). Unlike the English 'only', *'innamā* occurs mostly at the beginning of clauses (cf. Cantarino III, 202), and has the peculiarity that it restricts the next but one element as a rule (contrasting pairs are hard to find: one would like to do better than Reckendorf's *'innamā ja'ā 'anā* 'only I came' and *'innamā ji'tu 'anā* 'I only came'). Try further the study of *'innamā* in the Qur'ān by Miquel, *G.L.E.C.S.* 9, 3.

رسول فلا يجوز تقديم الخبر كما مر ويجوز حذف ما علم من مبتدأ وخبر جوازا وقد
يجب فمثال حذف المبتدأ جوازا قوله تعالى من عمل صالحا فلنفسه ومن اساء
فعليها والتقدير فعمله لنفسه واساءته عليها ومثال حذفه وجوبا قولهم في ذمتي
لافعلن ففي ذمتي خبر لمبنتدأ محذوف وجوبا لسد جواب القسم مسده اي في ذمتي
ميثاق او عهد ومثال حذف الخبر جوازا قوله تعالى اكلها دائم وظلها فظلها
مبتدأ وخبره محذوف جوازا لدلالة ما قبله عليه اي دائم ومثال حذف الخبر
وجوبا قولهم كل صانع وما صنع فكل مبتدأ وصانع مضاف اليه وما صنع معطوف
على المبتدأ والخبر محذوف وجوبا اي مقترنان وانما وجب الحذف لدلالة الواو
مقام مع ولو جيء بمع كان كلاما تاما فان لم تكن الواو نصا في المعية لم يجب
الحذف نحو وكل امرئ والموت يلتقيان واجتمع حذف كل واحد منهما في

mā muḥammadun 'illā rasūlun 'Muḥammad is not but a messenger',[3] inversion is not allowed, as already stated.

9.9 Elision of what is already known of subject or predicate is permitted optionally and is sometimes compulsory:[1]

9.91 Optional elision of a subject is illustrated by the Qur'anic *man ᶜamila ṣāliḥan fa-li-nafsihi wa-man 'asā'a fa-ᶜalayhā* 'whoever does a good deed it is for his own credit, and whoever does evil it is against himself',[1] where the implicit meaning is *fa-ᶜamaluhu li-nafsihi* 'his deed is for himself' and *'isā'atuhu ᶜalayhā* 'his evil-doing is against himself'.

9.92 Compulsory elision of the subject is illustrated by the saying *fī ḏimmatī la-'afᶜalanna* 'on my oath I will surely do it!', for *fī ḏimmatī* 'on my oath' is the predicate of a subject which has been compulsorily elided because the response to the oath has already filled its position, i.e. *fī ḏimmatī mīṯāqun* (or *ᶜahdun*) 'in my oath is a covenant' (or 'bond').[1]

9.93 Optional elision of the predicate is illustrated by the Qur'anic *'akluhā dā'imun wa-ẓilluhā* 'its food is everlasting and its shade',[1] where *ẓilluhā* 'its shade' is the subject of a predicate which has been optionally elided because it is sufficiently indicated by what precedes it, namely *dā'imun* 'everlasting'.

9.94 Compulsory elision of the predicate[1] is illustrated by the saying *kullu ṣāniᶜin wa-mā ṣanaᶜa* 'every doer and his deed', where *kullu* 'every' is a subject, *ṣāniᶜin* 'doer' is what it is annexed to, *mā ṣanaᶜa* 'what he has done' is coordinated with the subject by *wa* 'and', and the predicate (viz. **muqtarināni* 'are both linked') has been compulsorily elided. Elision is compulsory here because the *wa* 'and' is actually meant as *maᶜa* 'with'[2] (although if *maᶜa* itself had been used the utterance would then have been structurally complete). If the *wa* does not denote accompaniment, elision is no longer compulsory, e.g. *kullu mri'in wa-l-mawtu yaltaqiyāni* 'every man and death shall both meet'.[3]

(3) S. 3 v 144; cf. 21.35 on the syntax of exception here.

9.9 (1) See 3.73 n 2 on *ḥaḏf* 'elision', which it is tempting to render 'deletion' here. 'Optional' (*jawāzan*, cognate with *jā'iz*, q.v. 9.71 n 2) elision is always determined by the listener's ability to recover the missing forms (many examples in *Kitāb*, e.g. I, 129, 171); see 9.93 n 1 on compulsory elision.

9.91 (1) S. 41 v 46; *nafs* 'soul, self' is an unmarked fem. (cf. 11.43 n 3, 20.13 n 2), hence the fem. pronoun in *ᶜalayhā* 'against himself'. One Qur'anic ellipse which has never been satisfactorily explained is S. 12 v 18, *ṣabrun jamīlun* 'fine patience': the commentators treat it either as the predicate of an elided subject, viz. *'amrī ṣabrun jamīlun* 'my duty is fine patience' or as the subject (sufficiently defined by the adjective, cf. 9.81) of an elided predicate, viz. *ṣabrun jamīlun 'ajmalu* 'fine patience is the finest thing' (cf. Wright II, 263).

9.92 (1) There may be some special pleading here: in order to show that the subject has been replaced by the verb phrase (see 13.6 n 3 on the emphatic *la* prefix and *anna* suffix) an undefined subject has to be posited to justify the inversion (9.73 n 1). What is even more curious is that this quasi-proverbial utterance is not analysed as a preposed space/time qualifier with verb, as the translation cannot avoid implying, or as a syntactically void oath (cf. 5.431 n 3).

9.93 (1) S. 13 v 35, referring to Paradise. Elision, as will have become clear, is not arbitrary: the grounds for optional (*jawāzan*) elision have already been stated (9.9 n 1), but those for compulsory elision (*wujūban*) are necessarily more varied, and often rest on usage alone (particularly with the proverbial expressions mentioned here), in spite of the structural explanations offered. The Qur'ān, being highly oratorical in nature, is a rich source of elisions, cf. az-Zajjājī (attrib.), *Iᶜrāb al-Qur'ān*, ed. Abyārī, Cairo 1963-4, index s.v. *ḥaḏf*.

9.94 (1) Two cases of compulsory elision ought to be mentioned here: (a) the predicate of *lawlā* 'if it were not for...', q.v. 6.6 n 6, and (b) that part of an interrogative sentence about which information is being sought: this, of course, may be a subject (*man 'aḵūka* 'who is your brother?'), a predicate (*man huwa* 'who is he?'), an agent (*man qāma* 'who stood?'), or any of the various qualifiers, (*'ayna huwa* 'where is he?', *kayfa qāma* 'how did he stand?', *matā qāma* 'when did he stand?' etc.). Cf. 5.87 n 2.

(2) See ch. 25 on *wa* 'and' in the meaning of 'with'. It is doubtful whether there are any good structural reasons for this elision in spite of the argument presented here: it is simply a proverbial expression in which the elision of the predicate provides the necessary threatening vagueness. On 'structurally complete' (*tāmm*) cf. 9.71 n 2.

(3) This is the last phrase of a line of verse, q.v. *Schaw. Ind.* 273; note the dual verb *yaltaqiyāni* (cf. 4.81 n 2(b)) as predicate of a nominal sentence (9.82). See 11.1 n 2 on the juncture feature in *imri'in* 'man' and 19.72 n 4 on the vowel harmony in this word.

نحو قوله تعالى سلام قوم منكرون فسلام مبتدأ حذف خبره وهو عليكم وقوم خبر
حذف مبتدؤه وهو انتم ثم شرع في ذكر ما ينسخ المبتدأ والخبر فقال

باب العوامل الداخلة على المبتدأ والخبر وتسمى النواسخ وهي هنا ثلاثة اشياء
الاول كان واخواتها والثاني ان واخواتها والثالث ظن واخواتها (32b) سميت هذه
نواسخ لازالتها حكم المبتدأ والخبر اخذا من النسخ وهو لغة الازالة يقال نسخت
الشمس الظل اذا ازالته وهذه الاقسام الثلاثة عملها مختلف فاما كان واخواتها
فانها ترفع الاسم. اي المبتدأ ويسمى اسما لها حقيقة وفاعلا مجازا وتنصب الخبر
ويسمى خبرا لها حقيقة ومفعولا مجازا لانها اشبهت الفعل المتعدي لواحد هذا

9.95 A subject and a predicate are elided[1] in the Qur'anic *salāmun qawmun munkarūna* 'peace....people unrecognized',[2] where *salāmun* 'peace' is the subject of an elided predicate (namely *ᶜalaykum* '(be) upon you') and *qawmun* 'people' is the predicate of an elided subject (namely *'antum* 'you (are)').

Next[3] the author turns to the elements which cancel the operations of the subject and predicate:

CHAPTER TEN

10.0 Chapter on the operators which affect the subject and predicate.[1] These are also termed 'cancellers'. They are (at this stage)[2] three in number: (1) *kāna* 'to be' and its related verbs, (2) *'inna* 'verily' and its related words, and (3) *ẓanna* 'to think' and its related verbs. *(32b)* They are called 'cancellers'[3] because they suspend the grammatical rules of the subject and predicate; the term itself is derived from *nasḵ*, lexically 'abolition', as in *nasaḵat iš-šamsu ẓ-ẓilla* 'the sun abolished the shadow' i.e. put an end to it. The three kinds are different in their operation:

10.1 *kāna* 'to be' and its related verbs[1] make their subject-noun independent (i.e. the subject of an equational sentence, termed literally their 'subject-noun' and figuratively their 'agent'), and they make their predicate dependent. This is termed literally their 'predicate' and figuratively their 'direct object', because these verbs resemble the true verb which is transitive[2] to a single direct object. This is

9.95 (1) Not, of course, within the same clause!

(2) S. 51 v 25. The absence of def. art. on *salāmun* is noteworthy: is it a relic of a stage when *tanwīn* was not necessarily an indefinition marker (cf. 11.8 n 3)? Note also that *qawmun munkarūna* cannot be interpreted as a vocative (it would have to be *(yā) qawmu l-munkarūna* or *al-munkarīna*, 23.411, or *yā qawman munkarīna*, 23.51).

(3) Here we may add the equational sentence pattern *'ammā...fa...*, e.g. *'ammā zaydun fa-qā'imun* 'as for Zayd, he is standing', which serves to give prominence to the subject. Structurally it is very close to the complex predicate types in 9.75 (so: *'ammā zaydun fa-qāma 'abūhu* 'as for Zayd, his father stood') and 9.76 (*'ammā zaydun fa-jāriyatuhu ḏāhibatun* 'as for Zayd, his servant-girl is going'), and has been explained by Bravmann (op. cit. 7.63 n 1, 18f) as having developed out of a conditional structure, scil. *What about Zayd?—well, his father stood' (cf. 5.90 n 2(b) on *fa* in apodosis); cf. Beeston 65, Lewcowicz, op. cit. 9.76 n 1. Brockelmann, *Grundr.* II, 575, gives the etymology of *'ammā* as *'an* 'that' (5.41) and suffix *mā* 'what' (5.89 n 2), predating the distinction between subordinate and independent clauses.

10.0 (1) *Jum.* 53, 64; *Muf.* ##33, 440, 447: *Alf.* vv 143, 174, 206; *Qaṭr* 135; Beeston 64, 80; Fleisch 168, 181; Nöldeke 37, 40.

(2) 'At this stage' because, as will become clear, these three are only classes of 'cancellers' (see next note), each with its own members (and hence the rather diffuse entries in the bibliography above).

(3) 'Cancellers', as can be seen from aš-Širbīnī's ensuing comments (taken this time from *Qaṭr* 135 instead of al-Azharī) is a literal trans-lation of *nawāsiḵ* (sing. *nāsiḵa* 'that which abolishes'), a term borrowed directly from the vocabulary of law, where it denotes a Qur'anic verse or Tradition of the Prophet (1.01 n 4) which revokes or repeals another. It appears late in grammar, perhaps no earlier than the time of Abū Ḥayyān (d. 1344, op. cit. 8.67 n 1, 90).

10.1 (1) Lit. 'her sisters', cf. 6.4 n 2. On *kāna* in particular see *Jum.* 53; *Muf.* ##447, 450; *Alf.* v 143; *Qaṭr* 135; Beeston 80; Fleisch 181; Nöldeke 37; F. Shehadi, 'Arabic and "to be"', in *The Verb 'be' and its Synonyms*, ed. J.W.M. Verhaar, Dordrecht 1969, 114; Levin, *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 1, 185.

(2) On transitivity see 16.309 n 1. Formally *kāna* has the same syntax as any verbal sentence, viz. Verb-Agent (indep.)-Qualifier (dep.), cf. the conspectus in ch. 15, but whether this is the result of Systemzwang

مذهب البصريين وهو الصحيح ومذهب جمهور الكوفيين انها لا تعمل في المرفوع شيئا
وانما لم يسموا الاسم المرفوع فاعلا حقيقة والمنصوب مفعولا حقيقة لان هذه الافعال
في حال نقصانها تجردت عن الحدث الذي من شأنه ان يصدر عن الفاعل ويقع على
المفعول وصارت كالروابط ومن ثم سماها الزجاجي حروفا وهي ثلاثة عشر فعلاً على ما
ذكره المصنف هنا وهي على ثلاثة اقسام قسم يرفع الاسم وينصب الخبر بلا شرط
وهو كان وليس وما بينهما وقسم يرفع الاسم وينصب الخبر بشرط تقدم النفي
وشبهه عليه وهو زال وبرح وفتئ وانفك وقسم يرفع الاسم وينصب الخبر بشرط
تقدم ما المصدرية الظرفية عليه وهو دام ثم شرع في القسم الاول وهو مشتمل على
مسائل الاولى منها كان وهي لاتصاف المخبر عنه بالخبر في الماضي اما مع الدوام

the view of the Baṣran school[3] and the most sound, but the majority of the Kūfans are of the opinion that these verbs do not operate upon the independent element at all and, furthermore, that they cannot call the independent subject-noun literally an agent nor the dependent element literally a direct object simply because these verbs in their defective state are devoid of the event which ought to proceed from the agent and occur to the direct object. Hence they have become more like linking elements,[4] and for that reason az-Zajjājī calls them 'particles'.[5]

10.101 <u>There are</u> thirteen of these verbs:[1] (as presented here by the author). They can be divided into three groups: (1) those which make the subject-noun independent and the predicate dependent unconditionally, viz. *kāna* 'to be', *laysa* 'not to be' and all the verbs listed in between these two,[2] (2) those which make the subject-noun independent and the predicate dependent on condition that they are preceded by a negative or its equivalent, viz. *zāla* 'to cease', *bariḥa* 'to desist', *fati'a* 'to refrain' and *infakka* 'to stop', and (3) those which make the subject-noun independent and the predicate dependent on condition that they are preceded by the temporal and verbal noun *mā* 'as long as',[3] viz. *dāma* 'to last'. The author now proceeds to deal with the first group, which comprises several cases:[4]

10.11 (1) <u>*kāna* 'to be',</u>[1] which serves to qualify a subject with a predicate in the past, either permanently and continuously, as in the

or an original structure cannot be demonstrated. A Western explanation (e.g. Fleisch 181) interprets the dep. element as a circumstantial qual -ifier (*ḥāl*, ch. 19), as if *kāna zaydun ᶜāliman* 'Zayd was learned' was really '*Zayd existed, as a learned man'. For Sībawayhi at least, *kāna* was as much a transitive verb as *ḍaraba* 'to strike' (v. Levin, op. cit. n 1, esp. 188), which seems to be confirmed by the fact that it occurs with object pronoun suffixes, e.g. *kānahu* 'he was it' (Nöldeke 37 and Spitaler's n 3). See further 10.21 n 2.

(3) The debate is set out in *Inṣāf*, Supp. prob. 2, though the immediate source for aš-Širbīnī is undoubtedly al-Azharī, in a conflation of his *Taṣr*. I, 184 and *Āj*. 60.

(4) 'Linking elements' is *rawābiṭ*, plur. of *rābiṭa*, q.v. 5.86 n 3.

(5) Cf. *Jum*. 53 et seq. Abū l-Qāsim ᶜAbd ar-Raḥmān ibn Isḥāq az-Zajjājī, d. 949, studied in Baghdad under az-Zajjāj (v. 26.7 n 2), after whom he was named az-Zajjājī (cf. 11.721 n 4). His works range from elementary textbooks such as the *Jumal* to advanced theoretical treatises such as the *Īḍāḥ*; *E.I.*(1), art. 'az-Zadjdjādjī', *G.A.L.* I, 110, Versteegh, index s.v. az-Zaǧǧāǧī.

10.101 (1) The limitation to thirteen is purely pedagogical: other verbs with the same syntax are, for example, *ᶜāda, irtadda, rajaᶜa*, all meaning 'to return' and used in this structure to mean 'to become again, revert', *inqalaba* 'to turn into', cf. Nöldeke 37; Wright II, 102: Cantarino III, 255.
For convenience we mention here the *'afᶜāl al-muqāraba*, lit. 'verbs of being near', viz. *ᶜasā* 'maybe', *kāda* 'almost to do', *'awšaka* 'to be on the point of'. Of these *ᶜasā* occurs only as a past tense and is normally followed by an *'an*-clause (5.41), e.g. *ᶜasā 'an yaḍriba* 'maybe he will strike'; *'awšaka* is also followed by *'an*, e.g. *yūšiku 'an yaḍriba* 'he almost strikes'. With *kāda* the second verb usually remains independent, e.g. *kāda yaḍribu* 'he almost struck', and note the negative *lā yakādu yaḍribu* 'he hardly strikes' ('*does not almost strike'). *Jum*. 209; *Muf*. #459; *Alf*. v 164; Fleisch 198.

(2) One use of these verbs seldom mentioned by grammarians is as auxiliaries, most particularly *kāna*. In principle the past and imperfect tenses of *kāna* may combine with those of other verbs to give four possible modalities: *kāna (qad) ḍaraba* 'he had struck', *kāna yaḍribu* 'he used to strike', *yakūnu (qad) ḍaraba* 'he will have struck' (see 1.81 on *qad*), and *yakūnu yaḍribu* 'he will be striking'; cf. Beeston 80, Yushmanov 54. Another type of auxiliary is *'aḵaḏa* 'to take', *jaᶜala* 'to make' (cf. 10.69), *bada'a* 'to begin', used to mean 'to start', e.g. *'aḵaḏa yaḍribu* 'he started striking'; Fleisch 113, 184; Yushmanov 55.

(3) See 10.23 n 3 on the 'verbal noun *mā*', *mā al-maṣdariyya*.

(4) Because 'cases' (*masā'il*, lit. 'legal questions') is fem. the text mostly treats the examples as fem. in the metalanguage, but sometimes gives them their natural masc. gender.

10.11 (1) Refs. as for 10.1 n 1, and see especially *Muf*. #450.

والاستمرار نحو كان الله عليما حكيما فكان فعل ماض ناقص يرفع الاسم وينصب
الخبر والله اسمها مرفوع بها وعلامة رفعه الضمة وعليما حكيما خبرها منصوب بها
وعلامة نصبه الفتحة واما مع الانقطاع نحو كان الشيخ شابا فكان فعل ماض يرفع
الاسم وينصب الخبر والشيخ اسمها مرفوع بها وعلامة رفعه (33a) الضمة وشابا خبرها
منصوب بها وعلامة نصبه الفتحة والثانية منها امسى وهي لاتصاف المخبر عنه بالخبر
في المساء نحو امسى زيد فقيرا فامسى فعل ماض من اخوات كان يرفع الاسم وينصب
الخبر وزيد اسمها مرفوع بها وعلامة رفعه الضمة وفقيرا خبرها منصوب بها وعلامة
نصبه الفتحة والثالثة منها اصبح وهي لاتصاف المخبر عنه بالخبر في الصباح نحو
اصبح الحر شديدا فاصبح فعل ماض من اخوات كان يرفع الاسم وينصب الخبر والحر
اسمها مرفوع بها وعلامة رفعه الضمة وشديدا خبرها منصوب بها وعلامة نصبه الفتحة
والرابعة منها اضحى وهي لاتصاف المخبر عنه بالخبر في الضحى نحو اضحى الفقيه ورعا
فاضحى فعل ماض من اخوات كان يرفع الاسم وينصب الخبر والفقيه اسمها مرفوع
بها وعلامة رفعه الضمة وورعا خبرها منصوب بها وعلامة نصبه الفتحة والخامسة

Qur'anic *kāna llāhu ᶜalīman ḥakīman* 'God was (always) knowing and wise',[2] (where *kāna* 'was' is a past tense verb, syntactically defective,[3] which makes its subject-noun independent and its predicate dependent, *allāhu* 'God' is its subject-noun made independent by it with *u* as its independence marker, and *ᶜalīman ḥakīman* 'knowing, wise' is ite predicate made dependent by it with *a* as the dependence marker); or discontinuously, as in *kāna š-šayku šābban* 'the old man was (once) a youth', (where *kāna* 'was' is a past tense verb which makes its subject-noun independent and its predicate dependent, *aš-šayku* 'the old man' is its subject-noun made independent by it with *u* as its *(33a)* independence marker, and *šābban* 'a youth'[4] is its predicate made dependent by it with *a* as its dependence marker).

10.12 (2) *'amsā* 'to be in the evening',[1] which serves to qualify a subject with a predicate in the evening, e.g. *'amsā zaydun faqīran* 'Zayd became poor in the evening', where *'amsā* 'was in the evening' is a past tense verb related to *kāna* 'to be' which makes its subject-noun independent and its predicate dependent, *zaydun* 'Zayd' is its subject-noun made independent by it with *u* as its independence marker, and *faqīran* 'poor' is its predicate made dependent by it with *a* as its dependence marker

10.13 (3) *'aṣbaḥa* 'to be in the morning',[1] which serves to qualify a subject with a predicate in the morning, e.g. *'aṣbaḥa l-ḥarru šadīdan* 'the heat became intense in the morning', where *'aṣbaḥa* 'was in the morning' is a past tense verb related to *kāna* 'to be' which makes its subject-noun independent and its predicate dependent, *al-ḥarru* 'the heat' is its subject-noun made independent by it with *u* as its independence marker, and *šadīdan* 'intense' is its predicate made dependent by it with *a* as its dependence marker.

10.14 (4) *'aḍḥā* 'to be in the forenoon',[1] which serves to qualify a subject with a predicate in the forenoon, e.g. *'aḍḥā l-faqīhu wariᶜan* 'the jurist became devout in the forenoon', where *'aḍḥā* 'was in the forenoon'[2] is a past tense verb related to *kāna* which makes its subject-noun

(2) S. 4 v 17. The translation 'was always' (alternative: 'has always been') avoids the obvious pitfall of implying that God is no longer knowing and wise! On this atemporal use of *kāna* see 5.52 n 2.

(3) 'Syntactically defective' (*nāqiṣ*, lit. 'lacking') because this *kāna* needs a predicate—another argument against treating the dep. forms after *kāna* as circumstantial qualifiers (10.1 n 2), since these are by definition redundant (19.1). A 'syntactically complete *kāna*' (*kāna t-tāmma*) is occasionally found, e.g. *ṯumma kāna 'abū bakrin* 'then it was Abū Bakr' (lit. 'then Abū Bakr was'); further on *nāqiṣ* and *tāmm* see 9.71 n 2, 21.3 n 1.

(4) Note that *šābban* contains the over-long syllable CV̄C, on which see 21.22 n 4.

10.12 (1) *Muf.* #452; general refs. in 10.1 n 1. This is one of a group of verbs which denote the performance of an action or being in a state at a specific time of day or night. Others are in 10.13-16, to which may be added *rāḥa* 'to do/be in the evening', *ǧadā, 'asfara* 'to do/be in the morning'. Those which have not become rare have simply lost their built-in time reference (*rāḥa*, for example, has become the universal verb for 'to go'), though *'amsā*, to judge by the examples in Reckendorf *Synt. Verh.* 289, seems to have held on to the connotation of eventide better than some of its fellows (but note *'amsā llāhu 'ahlakahum* 'God proceeded to destroy them'). In form *'amsā* is a Stem IV (8.63 n 1) verb with weak 3rd rad. *y*: its imperfect tense active is *yumsī* (same endings as *yarmī*, 4.81 n 2(b)), and its past tense has the same endings as *ra'aytu*, 10.65 n 1.

10.13 (1) *Muf.* #452; general refs. in 10.1 n 1. This verb has become a virtual synonym of *ṣāra* 'to become' (q.v. 10.17), see Beeston 81 n 1. Note that, like all the verbs in this group, *'aṣbaḥa* has developed into something very like an auxiliary verb, e.g. *'aṣbaḥa yuqallibu kaffayhi* 'he began wringing his hands' (Wright II, 105). In form *'aṣbaḥa* is a sound verb of Stem IV (8.63 n 1): in passing it is worth noting that Stem IV includes a non-productive set of verbs all connected with time or place (e.g. *'aymana* 'to go to the Yemen', cf. Fleisch, *Tr.* #132e).

10.14 (1) *Muf.* #452; general refs. in 10.1 n 1. It is a Stem IV (8.63 n 1) verb with 3rd rad. *w* (> *y* in augmented Stems, cf. next note).

(2) Paradigm of weak 3rd rad. verbs *da^{c}ā* (*d-^{c}-w*), *laqiya* (*l-q-y*), past:

	sing.	dual	plur.	sing.	dual	plur.
1st	*da^{c}awtu*		*da^{c}awnā*	*laqītu*		*laqīnā*
2nd masc.	*da^{c}awta*	*da^{c}awtumā*	*da^{c}awtum*	*laqīta*	*laqītumā*	*laqītum*
2nd fem.	*da^{c}awti*		*da^{c}awtunna*	*laqīti*		*laqītunna*
3rd masc.	*da^{c}ā*	*da^{c}awā*	*da^{c}aw*	*laqiya*	*laqiyā*	*laqū*
3rd fem.	*da^{c}at*	*da^{c}atā*	*da^{c}awna*	*laqiyat*	*laqiyatā*	*laqīna*

Apart from a rare class *saruwa* (medial vowel *u*, *sarūtu* etc.) all 3rd. weak rad. verbs (including augmented Stems) conjugate as *da^{c}ā, laqiya* or *ra'ā* (q.v. 10.65 n 1), the ending being determined by the stem vowel (e.g. passive *du^{c}iya* like *laqiya*, Stem IV *'aḍḥaytu* like *ra'aytu* etc.). All augmented Stems show *w*>*y*, e.g. *istad^{c}aytu*, Stem X of *da^{c}ā*.

منها ظل بالظاء المشالة وهي لاتصاف المخبر عنه بالخبر نهارا نحو ظل زيد مفطرا
فظل فعل ماض من اخوات كان يرفع الاسم وينصب الخبر وزيد اسمها مرفوع بها
وعلامة رفعه الضمة ومفطرا خبرها منصوب بها وعلامة نصبه الفتحة والسادسة منها
بات وهي لاتصاف المخبر عنه بالخبر ليلا نحو بات زيد نائما فبات فعل ماض
من اخوات كان يرفع الاسم وينصب الخبر وزيد اسمها مرفوع بها وعلامة رفعه
الضمة ونائما خبرها منصوب بها وعلامة نصبه الفتحة والسابعة منها صار وهي
للتحويل والانتقال نحو صار الطين خزفا فصار فعل (33b) ماض من اخوات كان يرفع
الاسم وينصب الخبر والطين اسمها وهو مرفوع بها وعلامة رفعه الضمة وخزفا خبرها
وهو منصوب بها وعلامة نصبه الفتحة والثامنة منها ليس وهي لنفي الحال عند
الاطلاق والتجرد عن القرينة نحو ليس عمرو نائما اي الآن فليس فعل

independent and its predicate dependent, *al-faqīhu* 'the jurist' is its subject-noun made independent by it with *u* as its independence marker, and *wariᶜan* 'devout' is its predicate made dependent by it with *a* as its dependence marker.

10.15 (5) *ẓalla* 'to remain',[1] (spelt with an erect-tailed *ẓ*), which serves to qualify a subject with a predicate by day, e.g. *ẓalla zaydun mufṭiran* 'Zayd remained breakfasting', where *ẓalla* 'remained'[2] is a past tense verb related to *kāna* 'to be' which makes its subject-noun independent and its predicate dependent, *zaydun* 'Zayd' is its subject-noun made independent by it with *u* as its independence marker, and *mufṭiran* 'breakfasting' is its predicate made dependent by it with *a* as its dependence marker.

10.16 (6) *bāta* 'to be at night',[1] which serves to qualify a subject with a predicate by night, e.g. *bāta zaydun nā'iman* 'Zayd passed the night sleeping', where *bāta* 'was at night' is a past tense verb related to *kāna* 'to be' which makes its subject-noun independent and its predicate dependent, *zaydun* 'Zayd' is its subject-noun made independent by it with *u* as its independence marker, and *nā'iman* 'sleeping' is its predicate made dependent by it with *a* as its dependence marker.

10.17 (7) *ṣāra* 'to become',[1] which serves to denote change and transition, e.g. *ṣāra ṭ-ṭīnu ḵazafan* 'the clay became pottery', where *ṣāra* 'became'[2] is a past tense *(33b)* verb related to *kāna* 'to be' which makes its subject-noun independent and its predicate dependent, *aṭ-ṭīnu* 'the clay' is its subject-noun made independent by it with *u* as its independence marker, and *ḵazafan* 'pottery' is its predicate made dependent by it with *a* as its dependence marker.

10.18 (8) *laysa* 'not to be',[1] which serves to negate a situation when used without qualification and in the absence of any contextual indications,[2] e.g. *laysa ᶜamrun nā'iman* 'ᶜAmr is not sleeping', i.e. not now,

10.15 (1) *Muf.* #453; general refs. in 10.1 n 1. In the spelling instructions (3.44 n 2), which are taken from al-Azharī, *Āj.* 60, the word for 'erect-tailed' is *mušāla*, and has been translated literally. It describes the shape of the letter ẓ, particularly the feature which distinguishes it from ḍ (cf. Wright I, 6): at a very early period the sounds (and consequently the spelling) of ẓ and ḍ had become hopelessly confused, and provided the grammarians with opportunities for patronizing anecdotes (cf. Fück, op. cit. 1.21 n 2, 58; on the phonology of ẓ and ḍ see Magee, *Word* 6, 75).

(2) In his Commentary on *Kāfiya* (Istanbul 1858), II, 274, al-Astarābāḏī asserts that *ẓalla* may also mean 'to become', and cites S. 16 v 58 in support: *ẓalla wajhuhu muswaddan* 'his face became black'. In form *ẓalla* is a 'doubled verb', q.v. 10.61 n 1.

10.16 (1) *Muf.* #453; general refs. in 10.1 n 1. In form *bāta* is a 'hollow verb' (*fi*ᶜ*l 'ajwaf*), i.e. a verb whose middle radical is a semi-vowel (*w* or *y*); this leads to certain reductions and variations in the stem (see paradigms in 10.23 n 2: *bāta* follows *sāra,* having *y* as its middle radical). Even here it is worth remarking that, although fully developed in Classical Arabic as triliterals, there is a distinct probability that the 'hollow verb' represents an extension of original biliteral roots under Systemzwang (cf. Fleisch 111, 239 n 3).

10.17 (1) *Muf.* #451; general refs. in 10.1 n 1. In form *ṣāra* is a 'hollow verb' with middle radical *y*, see paradigms in 10.23 n 2. Another example is *ṣirtu 'aḥsaba* 'I became tawny', end of 10.62. In its Stem II (8.61 n 1) form *ṣayyara* this verb means 'to cause something to become something else', and is thus doubly transitive, v. 10.69 n 3.

(2) The verb *ṣāra* (root *ṣ-y-r)* has nothing to do with the noun *ṣūra* 'form' (q.v. 11.712 n 2), which has itself engendered a new hollow root *ṣ-w-r* in the denominative verb *ṣawwara* 'to give form' (but only singly transitive, contrast *ṣayyara* above). See Jeffries, op. cit. 3.412 n 3, 201, on the likely foreign origins of the word *ṣūra*.

10.18 (1) *Muf.* #456; Beeston 100; other refs. in 10.1 n 1. This verb is anomalous in several ways: (a) it is a rare example of a compound word, consisting of *lā* 'not' (ch. 22) and a nominal element *'aysa* 'existence' (so Brockelmann, *Grundr.* II, 111, but Yushmanov 57 sees the second element as verbal); (b) its conjugation is both incomplete and irregular (see n 3); (c) it has past tense form but present tense meaning (see n 2); (d) it makes its predicate dependent (but see n 4).

(2) That is, *laysa* negates 'being' absolutely and in the present tense unless modified by context (cf. 11.7 n 1 on *qarīna* 'contextual indication', but here meaning that there is no accompanying negative particle as required by other verbs, cf. 10.22). An example of the future meaning determined by context is S. 11 v 8: *'a-lā yawma ya'tīhim laysa maṣrūfan* ᶜ*anhum* 'and will it (i.e. punishment), on the day it comes to them, not be turned aside from them?'. Note the vowel harmony in the suffix *hum* (*ya'tīhim/*ᶜ*anhum*), q.v. 13.9 n 9, and the rhetorical negative *'a-lā*, q.v. 5.55 n 6.

ماض من اخوات كان يرفع الاسم وينصب الخبر وعمرو اسمها مرفوع بها وعلامة
رفعه الضمة ونائما خبرها منصوب بها وعلامة نصبه الفتحة وهذا اخر القسم الذي
يرفع الاسم وينصب الخبر من غير شرط ثم شرع في القسم الثاني وهو ما يرفع الاسم
وينصب الخبر بشرط تقدم النفي وشبهها عليه وهو مشتمل على مسائل الاولى منها
ما زال نحو ما زال بكر عالما فما نافية وزال فعل ماض من اخوات كان يرفع
الاسم وينصب الخبر وبكر اسمها مرفوع بها وعلامة رفعه الضمة وعالما خبرها
منصوب بها وعلامة نصبه الفتحة والثانية منها ما انفك نحو ما انفك زيد جالسا
فما نافية وانفك فعل ماض من اخوات كان يرفع الاسم وينصب الخبر وزيد اسمها
مرفوع بها وعلامة رفعه الضمة وجالسا خبرها منصوب بها وعلامة نصبه الفتحة
والثالثة منها ما فتئ نحو ما فتئ عمرو محسنا فما نافية وفتئ فعل ماض من

where *laysa* 'is not'[3] is a past tense verb related to *kāna* 'to be' which makes its subject-noun independent and its predicate dependent,[4] *ᶜamrun* 'ᶜAmr' is its subject-noun made independent by it with *u* as its independence marker, and *nā'iman* 'sleeping' is its predicate made dependent by it with *a* as its dependence marker. This is the last of the group which make their subject-noun independent and their predicate dependent unconditionally; the author now turns to the second group, i.e. those which make their subject-noun independent and their predicate dependent on condition that they are preceded by a negative or its equivalent.[5] This comprises several cases, the first being:

10.19 (9) *mā zāla* 'not to cease',[1] e.g. *mā zāla bakrun ᶜāliman* 'Bakr did not cease being wise', where *mā* 'not' is the negative *mā*, *zāla* 'ceased' is a past tense verb related to *kāna* 'to be' which makes its subject-noun independent and its predicate dependent, *bakrun* 'Bakr' is its subject-noun made independent by it with *u* as its independence marker, and *ᶜāliman* 'wise' is its predicate made dependent by it with *a* as its dependence marker.

10.20 (10) *mā nfakka* 'not to stop',[1] e.g. *mā nfakka zaydun jālisan* 'Zayd did not stop sitting', where *mā* 'not' is the negative *mā*, *infakka* 'stopped' is a past tense verb related to *kāna* 'to be' which makes its subject-noun independent and its predicate dependent, *zaydun* 'Zayd' is its subject-noun made independent by it with *u* as its independence marker, and *jālisan* 'sitting' is its predicate made dependent by it with *a* as its dependence marker.

10.21 (11) *mā fati'a* 'not to refrain',[1] e.g. *mā fati'a ᶜamrun muḥsinan* 'ᶜAmr was unceasingly kind', where *mā* 'not' is the negative *mā*, *fati'a* 'refrained' is a past tense verb related to *kāna* 'to be'[2] which makes

(3) The paradigm of *laysa* is as follows:

	sing.	dual	plur.
1st	*lastu*		*lasnā*
2nd masc.	*lasta*	*lastumā*	*lastum*
2nd fem.	*lasti*		*lastunna*
3rd masc.	*laysa*	*laysā*	*laysū*
3rd fem.	*laysat*	*laysatā*	*lasna*

There is no imperfect tense and no passive (but see 10.3 n 2).

(4) An alternative to the dep. form is *bi* 'with' (1.707) and obl. form, e.g. *laysa bi-nā'imin*, and in both cases *laysa* can be replaced by the so-called 'Ḥijāzī *mā*' (5.84 n 3), e.g. *mā ^{c}amrun nā'iman/bi-nā'imin.* The *bi* is obscure: Reckendorf, *Synt. Verh.* 241, suggests a rhetorical question, scil. 'what has ^{c}Amr to do with a sleeper!?' (cf. 5.82 n 1), but note other equally perplexing functions of *bi* (after ''*iḏā* of surprise', 5.432 n 2, before logical agents, 7.11 and logical subjects, 9.03). Possible Hamitic connections: Clerc, *G.L.E.C.S.* 4, 24.

(5) Negative equivalents are: prohibition (*nahy*, 5.76), e.g. *lā tazal ḏākira l-mawti* 'do not cease thinking of death', and invocation (*du^{c}ā'*, 5.55 n 3), e.g. *lā zāla munhillan...il-qaṭru* 'may the rain not cease pouring' (*Muf.* #454; *Qaṭr* 137; see 14.34 n 3 on optative).

10.19 (1) *Muf.* #454; general refs. in 10.1 n 1, and cf. 10.18 n 5. In form *zāla* is a 'hollow verb' (10.23 n 2) which belongs to the small group which retain the *a* vowel throughout the imperfect tense. In modern Arabic it regularly translates the notion of 'still', e.g. *lā yazālu nā'iman* 'he is still asleep'. Like all the verbs in this section, *zāla* (always negative) combines with imperfect tense verbs in an auxiliary function, e.g. *mā ziltu 'aktumuhu* 'I have still kept it secret' (example from Cantarino III, 259, where wrongly *zultu* for *ziltu*).

10.20 (1) *Muf.* #454; general refs. in 10.1 n 1. In form *infakka* is a 'doubled verb' (10.61 n 1), of Stem VII (8.66 n 1): in juncture it therefore takes the vowel of the previous word (**mā infakka*>*mā Ønfakka*) cf. 13.12 n 1. The resulting over-long syllable *mā-n* (= CVCC, 2.5 n 3) is pronounced short, cf. 21.22 n 4.

10.21 (1) *Muf.* #454; general refs. in 10.1 n 1. In form *fati'a* is a Stem I verb with medial vowel *i* (cf. 10.22 n 2).

(2) Further to the syntax of *kāna* and related verbs: it is possible that the structure *kāna*—Subject—Predicate is the result of conflating three structures. Consider the following: (a) in all but two of the given examples the dep. elements are undefined participles or adjectives (virtually the same thing, 11.45). The participles would in other contexts be taken for circumstantial qualifiers (19.1), denoting transient qualities, but not so the adjectives, which should denote inherent qualities; (b) predicates of all kinds are most commonly undefined (cf. 9.12 n 2), which is why *Muf.* #449 asserts that *kāna*-predicates must be undefined *ḥaddu l-kalāmi* 'this being the strict pattern of speech'; and (c) circumstantial qualifiers are themselves predicates of their antecedents (19.7), predicating transient qualities of them in the context

اخوات كان يرفع الاسم وينصب الخبر وعمرو اسمها مرفوع بها وعلامة رفعه الضمة
ومحسنا خبرها منصوب بها وعلامة نصبه الفتحة والرابعة منها ما برح نحو ما
برح محمد كريما فما نافية وبرح فعل ماض من اخوات كان يرفع الاسم وينصب
الخبر ومحمد اسمها مرفوع (34a) بها وعلامة رفعه الضمة وكريما خبرها منصوب بها
وعلامة نصبه الفتحة وهذه الافعال الاربعة تدل على ملازمة الخبر للمخبر عنه على
ما يقتضيه الحال ولا تعمل هذا العمل الا اذا اقترنت بالنفي كما مثلنا ثم شرع
في القسم الثالث وهو ما يرفع الاسم وينصب الخبر بشرط تقدم ما المصدرية
الظرفية عليه وهو قوله وما دام نحو لا اصحبك ما دام زيد مترددا اليك فلا
نافية واصحبك فعل مضارع مرفوع وعلامة رفعه الضمة وفاعله ضمير مستتر فيه
تقديره انا في محل رفع والكاف مفعول به في محل نصب وما مصدرية تسبك

its subject-noun independent and its predicate dependent, *ᶜamrun* 'ᶜAmr' is its subject-noun made independent by it with *u* as its independence marker, and *muḥsinan* 'doing good' is its predicate made dependent by it with *a* as its dependence marker.

10.22 (12) <u>*mā bariḥa* 'not to desist',</u>[1] e.g. *mā bariḥa muḥammadun karīman* 'Muḥammad was unceasingly generous', where *mā* 'not' is the negative *mā*, *bariḥa* 'desisted'[2] is a past tense verb related to *kāna* 'to be' which makes its subject-noun independent and its predicate dependent, *muḥammadun* 'Muḥammad' is its subject-noun made independent *(34a)* by it with *u* as its independence marker, and *karīman* 'generous' is its predicate made dependent by it with *a* as its dependence marker. These last four verbs denote the persistence of the predicate in the subject as the situation requires, and they do not operate in this way unless accompanied by a negative, as in the examples we have given. Finally the author turns to the third group, i.e. those which make their subject-noun independent and their predicate dependent on condition that they are preceded by the temporal and verbal noun *mā* 'as long as', which is what the author means by:

10.23 (13) <u>*mā dāma* 'as long as it remains',</u>[1] e.g. *lā 'aṣḥabuka mā dāma zaydun mutaraddidan 'ilayka* 'I shall not be your friend as long as Zayd keeps on frequenting you', where *lā* 'not' is a negative, *'aṣḥabuka* 'I befriend you' is an imperfect tense verb of independent form with *u* as its independence marker, its agent being a concealed pronoun in it with the implicit meaning of *'anā* 'I' (itself having independent status), *ka* 'you' (masc. sing.) is a direct object with dependent status, *mā* 'as long as' is the verbal noun *mā* which fuses with *dāma* 'he remained'[2] to

of an action. Three structures are thus available: Verb—Agent—Qualifier (dep.), Subject (def.)—Predicate (undef.), and Verb—Agent (def.) —Transient Predicate (= circumstantial qualifier, undef. and dep.). None of these fits *kāna* exactly (especially the type *kāna š-šayḵu šābban* 'the old man was once a youth' in 10.11), which leaves us with conflation as a possible explanation for its assimilation to the verbal structure Verb—Agent—Qualifier.

10.22 (1) *Muf.* #454; general refs. in 10.1 n 1. These verbs do appear (though rarely) in the positive, i.e. as 'syntactically complete verbs' (*tāmm*, cf. 7.01 n 2), e.g. *bariḥa l-makāna* 'he left the place', *zāla ẓ-ẓillu* 'the shade ceased' etc. In S. 12 v 85, however, the positive *ta-llāhi tafta'u taḏkuru yūsufa* 'by God you will (not) cease mentioning Joseph' is unanimously explained by commentators as assuming an elided *mā* 'not'.

(2) Stem I verbs exhibit a variation in the medial vowel of both past and imperfect tense, broadly along the following lines:
kataba/yaktubu (*a, u*) 'write', transitive action,
mariḍa/yamraḍu (*i, a*) 'be ill', intransitive, temporary state,
ḥasuna/yaḥsunu (*u, u*) 'be good', intransitive, permanent state.
However, there are numerous exceptions, some of phonological origin, see further Fleisch 115; Bateson 30: Yushmanov 49.

10.23 (1) *Muf.* #455; general refs. in 10.1 n 1. Translation in the conventional form of an infinitive (3.52 n 3) is impossible in this case.

(2) Here the paradigm of the two commonest types of 'hollow verb' (*fi^{c}l 'ajwaf*), (a) *qāma* 'to stand' (*q-w-m*), (b) *sāra* 'to travel' (*s-y-r*), past tense, active:

	sing.	dual	plur.	sing.	dual	plur.
1st	*qumtu*		*qumnā*	*sirtu*		*sirnā*
2nd masc.	*qumta*	*qumtumā*	*qumtum*	*sirta*	*sirtumā*	*sirtum*
2nd fem.	*qumti*		*qumtunna*	*sirti*		*sirtunna*
3rd masc.	*qāma*	*qāmā*	*qāmū*	*sāra*	*sārā*	*sārū*
3rd fem.	*qāmat*	*qāmatā*	*qumna*	*sārat*	*sāratā*	*sirna*

Passives of all hollow verbs follow the pattern of *zirtu* 'I was visited', *zīra* 'he was visited' etc. (cf. 8.2 n 5) and are thus identical with active *sāra* type except for 3rd person sing., dual and masc. plur. Imperfect tense, active, independent form:

	sing.	dual	plur.	sing.	dual	plur.
1st	*'aqūmu*		*naqūmu*	*'asīru*		*nasīru*
2nd masc.	*taqūmu*	*taqūmāni*	*taqūmūna*	*tasīru*	*tasīrāni*	*tasīrūna*
2nd fem.	*taqūmīna*		*taqumna*	*tasīrīna*		*tasirna*
3rd masc.	*yaqūmu*	*yaqūmāni*	*yaqūmūna*	*yasīru*	*yasīrāni*	*yasīrūna*
3rd fem.	*taqūmu*	*taqūmāni*	*yaqumna*	*tasīru*	*tasīrāni*	*yasirna*

Passives of all hollow verbs follow the pattern of *'uzāru* 'I am visited', *yuzāru* 'he is visited', *yuzarna* 'they (fem.) are visited' etc. The dep. forms have same endings as sound verb (4.82 n 1), e.g. *'aqūma* etc. Apoc. forms likewise have same endings as sound verb (4.82 n 2), but stem vowel shortens before zero ending, thus *yaqum*, not **yaqūm*. Indeed

مع دام بمصدر وظرفية لدلالتها على الزمان ودام فعل ماض من اخوات كان يرفع
الاسم وينصب الخبر وزيد اسمها مرفوع بها وعلامة رفعه الضمة ومترددا خبرها
منصوب بها وعلامة نصبه الفتحة واليك جار ومجرور متعلق بمترددا والتقدير لا
اصحبك مدة دوام تردد زيد اليك فالمدة هي الظرف والدوام هو المصدر وما تصرف
منها اشارة الى ان هذه الافعال على اقسام منها ما له مضارع وامر ومصدر ووصف
وهو كان وصار وما بينهما ومنها ما له مضارع دون امر ووصف دون مصدر وهو زال
واخواتها ومنها ما لا مضارع له ولا امر ولا مصدر ولا وصف وهو ليس ودام فالمتصرف
نحو كان في الماضي ويكون في المضارع وكن في الامر ونحو اصبح في الماضي ويصبح
في المضارع واصبح في الامر ثم ان المتصرف يعمل مضارعه(34b) وامره ومصدره واسم
فاعله واسم مفعوله بعمل ماضيه تقول في عمل الماضي من كان كان زيد قائما
وتقدم اعرابه وليس عمرو شاخصا وتقدم اعرابه ايضا وما اشبه ذلك من بقية
هذه الافعال ومثال المضارع من كان يكون زيد قائما فيكون فعل مضارع متصرف

form a verbal noun[3] (and is also the temporal *mā*, because it denotes time), *dāma* 'he remained' is a past tense verb related to *kāna* 'to be' which makes its subject-noun independent and its predicate dependent, *zaydun* 'Zayd' is its subject-noun made independent by it with *u* as its independence marker, *mutaraddidan* 'frequently returning' is its predicate made dependent by it with *a* as its dependence marker, and *'ilayka* 'to you' (masc. sing.) is an operator of obliqueness and oblique element semantically connected with *mutaraddidan* 'frequently returning'. The implicit meaning of the whole is *lā 'aṣḥabuka muddata dawāmi taraddudi zaydin 'ilayka* 'I shall not be your friend for the period of the duration of Zayd's frequenting you', for *al-muddatu* 'the period' is the corresponding time qualifier and *ad-dawāmu* 'the duration' is the corresponding verbal noun.

10.3 The author then adds: and their conjugated forms,[1] to show that these verbs are of various kinds, some having imperfect tense, imperative, verbal noun and adjectival derivatives (viz. from *kāna* 'to be' to *ṣāra* 'to become' in the above list), some having imperfect tense but no imperative and adjectival but no verbal noun derivatives (viz. *zāla* 'to cease' and the other verbs in this family), and some having neither imperfect tense, imperative, verbal noun nor adjectival derivatives (viz. *laysa* 'not to be' and *dāma* 'to remain').[2]

10.31 Those which conjugate are, for example, *kāna* 'he was', in the past tense, *yakūnu* 'he is', in the imperfect tense, *kun* 'be!', in the imperative, *'aṣbaḥa* 'he was in the morning', in the past tense, *yuṣbiḥu* 'he is in the morning', in the imperfect tense, and *'aṣbiḥ* 'be in the morning!', in the imperative. The fully conjugating verbs operate in the same way as the past tense in their imperfect tense, *(34b)* imperative, verbal noun, agent noun and patient noun:[2] thus you say (with past tense of *kāna* operating), *kāna zaydun qā'iman* 'Zayd was standing', parsed above,[3] and *laysa ᶜamrun šāḵiṣan* 'ᶜAmr is not setting forth', also parsed above, and the like. Similarly for the rest of the verbs:

10.32 An example of the imperfect tense of *kāna* 'to be' is *yakūnu zaydun qā'iman* 'Zayd will be standing', where *yakūnu* 'he will be'[1] is an

hollow verbs may be summed up as follows: stem vowel long when 3rd rad. is vowelled (*qāma, yaqūmu*), short when 3rd rad. is unvowelled (*qumna, yaqumna, yaqum*). This is true also for augmented Stems, 8.73 n 1. A few verbs, e.g. *zāla* 'to cease', *nāma* 'to sleep' etc., have imperfect tense stem vowel *a/ā* (under the above rule, e.g. *yazālu, yazalna*), and are otherwise mostly like *sāra* in past and passive. Imperative of hollow verbs, 10.33 n 1.

(3) Like the similarly named *'an* 'that' (5.41) this *mā* 'fuses' (*sabaka* = 'to cast metal') with its verb to form a noun phrase, as is neatly demonstrated by the eventual substitution of the *mā* phrase by the noun phrase *muddata dawāmi...* 'for the period of the duration of...'. As nominalizers, both *mā* and *'an* enable prepositions to operate on sentences, cf. 5.41 n 8, 18.207 n 1.

10.3 (1) 'Conjugated forms' renders *mā taṣarrafa minhā*, lit. 'what is currently in circulation of them', i.e. the range of permissible verbal forms as illustrated. The cognate term *taṣrīf* can be understood as meaning 'the derivation of nouns and verbs from a given root', q.v. 17.1 n 1.

(2) The list presents an ever diminishing range of forms culminating in *laysa*, whose entire conjugation is set out in 10.18 n 3 (though at least one grammarian ventured to postulate a passive **līsa*, presumably meaning 'it is not being been', v. Ibn ᶜUṣfūr, *al-Muqarrib*, ed. Baghdad 1971, I, 79). There is also a suggestion that *kāna*, too, has a passive (e.g. al-Ušmūnī on *Alf.* v 253, and cf. 10.36 n 1). Of the other verbs categorized here, *zāla* and family, and *dāma*, are more productive than aš-Širbīnī implies, but only in their positive forms: but these cannot be negated and used as 'cancellers' with the same freedom as all parts of the verb *kāna* as illustrated in the ensuing paragraphs.

10.31 (1) An important principle is invoked here, namely that all deverbative elements (q.v. 10.34 n 1) operate like their underlying verbs (16.312 n 1). This is clear in the case of the verbal, agent and patient nouns, whose verbal content is still obvious, but needs perhaps to be pointed out in the case of the adjective, e.g. *ḥasanun* 'handsome', equivalent to the verb phrase *yaḥsunu* 'he is handsome' (see 11.45 and 26.92 n 5).

(2) See 10.11. Note in passing that the 'subject-noun' and 'predicate' of *kāna* are required to fulfil the conditions for the equational sentence (ch. 9), principally that the subject(-noun) should be defined: by the same token an undefined subject is permissible under categorical negation (cf. ch. 22), e.g. *mā kāna 'aḥadun miṯlaka* 'no-one was like you' (lit. 'someone was not like you', see 22.6 n 1), *Kitāb* I, 26.

(3) See 10.18.

10.32 (1) A present tense function for *yakūnu* is more or less ruled out by the existence of the 'timeless' equational sentence structure (ch. 9) which has no copula. On the other hand the imperfect tense often has future meaning (5.01 n 1), which the translation here reproduces.

من كان يرفع الاسم وينصب الخبر وزيد اسمه مرفوع به وقائما خبره منصوب به
وعلامة نصبه الفتحة ومثال الامر كونوا حجارة فكونوا فعل امر من كان يرفع الاسم
وينصب الخبر والواو اسمه في محل رفع به وحجارة خبره منصوب به وعلامة نصبه
الفتحة ومثال المصدر كون زيد قائما فكون مصدر لكان يرفع الاسم وينصب الخبر
وزيد اسم المصدر مخفوض به لفظا مرفوع به محلا وقائما خبر المصدر منصوب به
وعلامة نصبه الفتحة ومثال اسم الفاعل من كان كائن زيد قائما فكائن اسم فاعل
من كان يرفع الاسم وينصب الخبر وزيد اسمه مرفوع به وقائما خبره منصوب به
ومثال اسم المفعول مكون قائم فمكون اسم مفعول من كان وقائم مرفوع به على
النيابة عن الفاعل ومثال المضارع من اصبح يصبح بكر صائما فيصبح فعل مضارع

imperfect tense verb conjugated from *kāna* 'to be' which makes its subject-noun independent and its predicate dependent, *zaydun* 'Zayd' is its subject-noun made independent by it, and *qā'iman* 'standing' is its predicate made dependent by it with *a* as its dependence marker.

10.33 An example of the imperative is the Qur'anic *kūnū ḥijāratan* 'be stones!',[1] where *kūnū* 'be!' (masc. plur.) is an imperative of *kāna* 'to be' which makes its subject-noun independent and its predicate dependent, the *ū* of *kūnū* 'be!' is its subject-noun[2] with independent status, and *ḥijāratan* 'stones' is its predicate made dependent by it with *a* as its dependence marker.

10.34 An example of the verbal noun[1] is *kawnu zaydin qā'iman* 'Zayd's being standing', where *kawnu* 'being' is a verbal noun of *kāna* 'to be' which makes its subject-noun independent and its predicate dependent, *zaydin* 'of Zayd' is the subject-noun of the verbal noun made oblique in form and independent in status by it, and *qā'iman* 'standing' is its predicate made dependent by it with *a* as its dependence marker.

10.35 An example of the agent noun of *kāna* 'to be' is *kā'inun zaydun qā'iman* 'Zayd being standing', where *kā'inun* 'being'[1] is the agent noun of *kāna* 'to be' which makes its subject-noun independent and its predicate dependent, *zaydun* 'Zayd' is its subject-noun made independent by it, and *qā'iman* 'standing' is its predicate made dependent by it.

10.36 An example of the patient noun of *kāna* 'to be' is *makūnun qā'imun* '*standing having been been', where *makūnun* 'been'[1] is the patient noun of *kāna* 'to be' and *qā'imun* 'standing' is made independent by it because it substitutes for the agent.

10.37 An example of the imperfect tense of *'aṣbaḥa* 'to be in the morning' is *yuṣbiḥu bakrun ṣā'iman* 'Bakr will be fasting in the morning', where *yuṣbiḥu* 'he will be in the morning' is an imperfect tense verb

10.33 (1) S. 17 v 50. The imperatives of the 'hollow verbs' (10.23 n 2) are internally regular, i.e. they follow the same rules as the sound verb (7.82) with the stem variations peculiar to the hollow verb: sing. masc. *kun*, fem. *kūnī*, dual *kūnā*, plur. masc. *kūnū*, fem. *kunna* (middle rad. *y* gives *sir, sīrī* etc.). Stem I fem. plur. imperative is coincidentally the same as 3rd fem. plur. past tense *kunna, sirna.* Imperative of augmented Stems, 10.38 n 1.

(2) Here perhaps is an occasion when it is proper to speak of the 'subject' rather than the agent of the verb (cf. 7.5 n 1): in *kūnū* there is an overt bound pronoun suffix *ū* 'you' (7.82) which is formally indistinguishable from the agent pronoun, except that it pronominalizes the subject of an equational sentence (taking 'you are stones' as the under-lying form of the imperative 'be stones!').

10.34 (1) Every regular verb has three nominal derivatives: *maṣdar* 'verbal noun' (but see 17.1 n 2), *ism al-fā^{c}il* 'name of the doer', i.e. agent noun (the formal category, contrast functional cat. in ch. 7), and *ism al-maf^{c}ūl* 'name of the done', i.e. patient noun (formal, contrast functional cat. in ch. 16). Agent and patient nouns are predictable for all Stems, but see 17.52 n 1 on verbal noun forms, Stems I, II and III. The forms are as follows (cf. 8.51 n 1):

Stem:	I	II	III	IV	V	VI
Active	*fā^{c}il*	*mufa^{cc}il*	*mufā^{c}il*	*muf^{c}il*	*mutafa^{cc}il*	*mutafā^{c}il*
Passive	*maf^{c}ūl*	*mufa^{cc}al*	*mufā^{c}al*	*muf^{c}al*	*mutafa^{cc}al*	*mutafā^{c}al*
Vb. noun	varies	*taf^{c}īl*	*fi^{c}āl*	*'if^{c}āl*	*tafa^{cc}ul*	*tafā^{c}ul*

Stem:	VII	VIII	IX	X
Active	*munfa^{c}il*	*mufta^{c}il*	*muf^{c}ill*	*mustaf^{c}il*
Passive	none	*mufta^{c}al*	none	*mustaf^{c}al*
Vb. noun	*infi^{c}āl*	*ifti^{c}āl*	*if^{c}ilāl*	*istif^{c}āl*

Doubled verbs are regular except for Stems I and VI agent nouns, e.g. *šābb*, showing the over-long syllable C$\bar{V}$C (see 21.22 n 4); weak 1st rad. verbs are regular, so are hollow verbs, except Stem I, q.v. 10.35 n 1. Weak 3rd rad. verbs have regular patient noun in Stem I (*maf^{c}uww* or *maf^{c}iyy*) and all other nouns end in *ī/in* and follow *qāḍī* or *ā/an* and follow *fatā* (both 4.2 n 2), all with sound plurals (4.6 n 1). Syntax 7.11, 16.312 n 1, 17.2, 24.31; Beeston 35; Yushmanov 53.

10.35 (1) Hollow verbs acquire by Systemzwang a dummy radical *'* in the Stem I agent noun, see further *sā'ir* 'travelling', 25.11 n 1. The inversion in the present example stresses that *kā'in* cannot be used in independent equational sentences, e.g. **zaydun kā'inun qā'iman* '*Zayd is being standing', though this is normal with other verbs, e.g. *zaydun ḍāribun ^{c}amran* 'Zayd is striking ^{c}Amr'.

10.36 (1) Hollow verbs with *y* are regular (*madyūn*, from *dāna* 'to owe'), but *wū* reduces to *ū* (**makwūn*$\succ$*makūn*). Evidently *makūn* is a perverse passivization of *kāna zaydun qā'iman* with *qā'iman* becoming the agent implicit in *makūnun*! But note that Sībawayhi does refer to space/time qualifiers as *makūnun fīhi* 'been in it', i.e. 'in which being is done' (*Kitāb* I, 201, and see Troupeau, *G.L.E.C.S.* 9, 45).

متصرف من اصبح يرفع الاسم وينصب الخبر وبكر اسمه مرفوع به وصائما خبره
منصوب به ومثال الامر من اصبح اصبح صائما فاصبح فعل امر يرفع الاسم وينصب
الخبر واسمه ضمير مستتر فيه في محل رفع به تقديره انت وصائما خبره منصوب
به وقس على هذا ما تصرف من بقية الافعال المتصرفة ثم شرع في (35a) الشيء
الثاني من النواسخ وهو ان واخواتها فقال واما ان واخواتها فانها اي هذه الاحرف
تنصب الاسم اي المبتدأ اتفاقا ويسمى اسما لها وترفع الخبر على الاصح اي خبر
المبتدأ ويسمى خبرا لها وقيل هو مرفوع بما كان مرفوعا به قبل دخولها وهو
المبتدأ وانما عملت هذه الاحرف لشبهها بالفعل لكونها رافعة وناصبة وفي
اختصاصها بالاسماء وفي دخولها على المبتدأ والخبر وفي بنائها على الفتح وفي

conjugated[1] from *'aṣbaḥa* 'to be in the morning' which makes its subject-noun independent and its predicate dependent, *bakrun* 'Bakr' is its subject-noun made independent by it, and *ṣā'iman* 'fasting' is its predicate made dependent by it.

10.38 An example of the imperative of *'aṣbaḥa* 'to be in the morning' is *'aṣbiḥ ṣā'iman* 'be fasting in the morning!', where *'aṣbiḥ* 'be (masc. sing.) in the morning!' is an imperative verb[1] which makes its subject-noun independent and its predicate dependent, its subject-noun here being a pronoun concealed in it with independent status and the implicit meaning of *'anta* 'you' (masc. sing.), and *ṣā'iman* 'fasting' is its predicate made dependent by it. Use these as an analogy for the rest of the forms conjugated from these verbs.

10.4 Next the author turns to *(35a)* the second of the cancellers, viz. *'inna* 'verily' and its related particles: *'inna* 'verily' and its related particles[1] (i.e. all of these particles) make their noun dependent (i.e. the subject of the equational sentence, about which there is general agreement, hence it is termed 'their subject-noun'), and make their predicate independent. (This is the soundest view, meaning the predicate of the equational sentence, hence it may also be termed 'their predicate').[2]

10.401 It is also claimed[1] that the predicate is made independent by the same operator that made it independent before the intervention of these particles, namely the subject itself. These particles only operate because of their resemblance to the verb,[2] to the extent that they make other elements independent and dependent, they operate specifically on nouns, they precede subject-predicate units, they end in invariable *a*,

10.37 (1) The paradigms in 4.4 n 5 (etc.) and 8.61-72 (notes) give an impression of the range of verbal patterns in which a single triliteral root (5.1 n 2) can be expressed. The same applies to nouns and adjectives, which are likewise root consonants embedded in patterns corresponding to their semantic function and grammatical category, e.g. agent, patient and verbal noun (10.34 n 1), plural (3.221), diminutive (3.421 n 1), distributive (3.89 n 9), noun of place (18.5 n 1), noun of instrument (17.63 n 1), and see Wright I, 109, Fleisch, index, s.v. *nom* for a more complete list. This almost algebraic correlation between form and meaning is a Proto-Semitic feature which has been (and still is being) exploited more by Arabic than any other Semitic language: see Beeston 31; Fleisch 31, 226; Bateson 1; Yushmanov 34. On quadriliteral nouns see 3.89 n 1, verbs 5.31 n 2; delocutive verbs 1.0 n 1; words outside the derivational system 26.26 n 1.

10.38 (1) With the exception of Stem IV, most imperative verbs are simply the relevant apocopated form minus the personal prefix (v. 5.2). Thus with weak 1st rad. the imperative of Stem I is *jid*, from apoc. *tajid*, root *w-j-d* (paradigm 10.67 n 1); hollow verbs are described in 10.33 n 1; weak 3rd rad. verbs are regular, e.g. *irmi*, from apoc. *tarmi* minus the prefix, with the resulting consonant cluster resolved as in 5.2 n 3. Stem IV verbs are unusual in that their imperative always begins with *'a*: the rule of thumb for these verbs is, then, to replace the *tu* prefix of the apocopated form with *'a*, thus *'aṣbiḥ* from *tuṣbiḥ*, *'awjid* from *tūjid* (= *tuwjid*, 2.43 n 2), *'ajri* from *tujri* (root *j-r-y*) etc. In this way Stem IV is distinguished from Stem I (*iṣbaḥ*, *jid* and *ijri* respectively). Other augmented Stems are completely regular, e.g. Stem II *ḥassin* from *tuḥassin*, Stem VII *inkasir* from *tankasir*, with resolution of initial consonant cluster (**nkasir*) as in 5.2 n 3.

10.4 (1) *Jum.* 64; *Muf.* ##33, 516; *Alf.* v 174; *Qaṭr* 152 (cf. *Muḡnī* I, 35); Beeston 64; Fleisch 168, 198; Nöldeke 40. 'Related particles' is lit. 'her sisters', cf. 6.4 n 2.

(2) The 'correct' view in this instance is that of the 'Baṣrans' (q.v. 9.4 n 3), while in the following paragraph the 'Kūfan' explanation is presented. The matter is argued at length in *Inṣāf* prob. 22, the Baṣran case being founded on the formal and functional similarities between *'inna* and the verb (summarized in the second sentence of 10.401).

10.401 (1) Cf. the debate alluded to in 9.11, the 'Kūfan' view being that subject and predicate are made independent by each other.

(2) This is a good specimen of the analogical reasoning which typifies the theoretical linguistics of the so-called 'Baṣran' grammarians (cf. *qiyās*, 8.3 n 2). Western interpretations of *'inna* agree with the Arabs at least to the extent of acknowledging that it has some verbal ingredient, and point out the similarity to the Hebrew *hinne* 'lo!' (Beeston 64; Fleisch 168; Yushmanov 62). Structural confirmation of its verbal quality may come from the fact that *'inna* etc. occur with the direct object suffix *nī* (16.301), e.g. in 21.61, and cf. 10.55 n 3.

كونها ثلاثية ورباعية وخماسية كعدد الافعال وهي اي هذه الاحرف ستة اولها ان
بكسر الهمزة مثالها ان زيدا قائم فان حرف توكيد ونصب وزيدا اسمها منصوب
بها وعلامة نصبه الفتحة وقائم خبرها مرفوع بها وعلامة رفعه الضمة وثانيها ان
بفتح الهمزة وتشديد النون مثالها بلغني ان عمرا فاضل وبلغ فعل ماض والنون نون
الوقاية والياء مفعول به في محل نصب وان حرف توكيد ونصب وعمرا اسمها
منصوب بها وعلامة نصبه الفتحة وفاضل خبرها مرفوع بها وعلامة رفعه الضمة وجملة
ان واسمها وخبرها في موضع المقدر الذي هو فاعل بلغ والتقدير بلغني فضل عمرو
ولا بد ان يطلبها عامل كما في هذا المثال والفرق بين المكسورة والمفتوحة هو ان
المكسورة مع اسمها وخبرها في موضع جملة لا تؤول بمفرد والمفتوحة مع اسمها
وخبرها تؤول بمفرد وثالثها لكن بتشديد النون تقول قام القوم لكن خالدا قاعد

and they are triliteral, quadriliteral and quinquiliteral[3] like the numbers of radicals in verbs. And they are (i.e. these particles) six in number:-

10.41 (1) *'inna* 'verily',[1] (spelt with *i* after the '), e.g. *'inna zaydan qā'imun* 'verily Zayd is standing', where *'inna* 'verily' is a particle of emphasis and dependence,[2] *zaydan* 'Zayd' is its subject-noun made dependent by it with *a* as its dependence marker, and *qā'imun* 'standing' is its predicate made independent by it with *u* as its independence marker.

10.42 (2) *'anna* 'that',[1] (spelt with *a* after the ', and double *n*), e.g. *balağanī 'anna ᶜamran fāḍilun* 'it reached me that ᶜAmr was virtuous', where *balağa* 'reached' is a past tense verb, *n* is the 'preserving *n*',[2] *ī* 'me' is the direct object with dependent status, *'anna* 'that' is a particle of emphasis and dependence, *ᶜamran* 'ᶜAmr' is its subject-noun made dependent by it with *a* as its dependence marker, and *fāḍilun* 'virtuous' is its predicate made independent by it with *u* as its independence marker. The whole sentence of *'anna* 'that' with its subject-noun and predicate has the function of that implicit element which would be the agent of *balağa* 'reached', and the implicit meaning is thus *balağanī faḍlu ᶜamrin* 'ᶜAmr's virtue reached me'. This particle can only occur when called for by some other operator,[3] as in the example given.

10.421 The difference between *'inna* 'verily' with *i* and *'anna* 'that' with *a* is that the *i*-type together with its subject-noun and predicate function as a sentence which cannot be paraphrased by a single element, while the *a*-type together with its subject-noun and predicate can be paraphrased by a single element.[1]

10.43 (3) *lākinna* 'but',[1] (spelt with double *n*), e.g. *qāma l-qawmu lākinna ḵālidan qāᶜidun* 'the people have stood but Ḵālid is (still)

(3) See 5.1.

10.41 (1) *Muf.* #517; *Qaṭr* 153, 162; other refs. 10.4 n 1. The spelling instruction (3.44 n 2) ensures that *'inna* will not be confused with *'anna* (10.42). For the allomorph *'in* see 12.903 n 1; for *la* prefixed to the predicate after *'inna* see 13.6 n 4.

(2) 'Particle of emphasis and dependence' translates *ḥarf tawkīd wa-naṣb*: on *ḥarf* 'particle' see 1.25, on *tawkīd* 'emphasis' cf. 13.0 n 1 and on *naṣb* 'dependence' see 3.5 n 1; note the functional definition of this element (cf. 1.92 n 1). Pellat (*G.L.E.C.S.* 9, 18) observes that *'inna* etc. serve as 'anticipatory particles', with the same structure as relative clauses (11.753 n 3, and cf. Lewcowicz, op. cit. 9.76 n 1). The similarity lies in the fact that any overt noun may be taken out of the sentence and made dependent by *'inna*, with the blank space now filled by the appropriate pronoun: compare *'inna zaydan yaktubu l-kitāba* 'verily Zayd writes the letter' (referential pronoun already in *yaktubu*, v. 7.8), and *'inna l-kitāba yaktubuhu zaydun* 'verily the letter, writing it is Zayd' (place of *al-kitāba* now filled by *hu* 'it').

10.42 (1) *Muf.* #517; *Qaṭr* 153; Fleisch 198; other refs. 10.4 n 1. Like *'an* (5.41), *'anna* is a nominalizer pure and simple: they differ from each other only in distribution, for while *'anna* is followed only by nouns and pronouns, *'an* is normally followed only by verbs (contrast *'an takšaᶜa qulūbuhum* 'that their hearts should be humble', 5.41, with a paraphrase *'anna qulūbahum takšaᶜu*, and see further Fischer, *Z.A.L.* 1, 24). Commonly with *'inna, 'anna* etc. an empty pronoun *hu* 'it' is suffixed when it is wished to retain the original verbal sentence word order, e.g. *'annahu kāna zaydun qā'iman* 'that Zayd was standing'. This pronoun is termed *ḍamīr aš-ša'n* 'the pronoun of the matter', v. *Muf.* #167; Beeston 49; Yushmanov 73.

(2) See 16.301. Note the substitution technique in the analysis to follow, showing how *'anna* clauses are equivalent to single words.

(3) i.e. *'anna* clauses are always subordinate, see 10.421.

10.421 (1) *Jum.* 69; *Muf.* #517; *Alf.* v 177. While it might be enough to say that *'inna* clauses are autonomous sentences while *'anna* clauses are not, the Arab explanation (which comes to the same thing) uses the substitution principle (cf. Carter, *J.A.O.S.* 93, 154) to demonstrate that *'anna* clauses cannot fill one of the requirements of a complete utterance, viz. to be composite (1.12). In theory *'inna* can only introduce direct speech (more accurately, can only be part of an actual utterance, cf. 10.64 n 1), which is why *'inna* clauses must fulfil every one of the criteria of the complete utterance (1.11-14), and why *'anna* clauses cannot.

10.43 (1) *Muf.* #528; *Qaṭr* 157 (cf. *Muġnī* I, 224). The etymology of *lākinna* is given as **lā ka'anna*, a kind of negative of *ka'anna* (10.44) meaning 'not thus', though the assumed contraction of *ka'anna* to *kinna* is not explained (Brockelmann, *Grundr.* II, 480). The spelling instruction (3.44 n 2) is to avoid confusion with *lākin*, q.v. 12.9.

فقام فعل ماض والقوم فاعل مرفوع (35b) بقام ولكن حرف استدراك تنصب الاسم
وترفع الخبر وخالدا اسمها منصوب بها وعلامة نصبه الفتحة وقاعد خبرها مرفوع
بها وعلامة رفعه الضمة ويتقدم عليه الايجاب كهذا المثال والنفي نحو ما قام القوم
لكن عمرا قائم ورابعها كأن بتشديد النون تقول كأن زيدا اسد فكأن حرف تشبيه
تنصب الاسم وترفع الخبر وزيدا اسمها منصوب بها وعلامة نصبه الفتحة واسد خبرها
مرفوع بها وعلامة رفعه الضمة وخامسها ليت تقول ليت زيدا قائم فليت حرف
تمن تنصب الاسم وترفع الخبر وزيدا اسمها منصوب بها وعلامة نصبه الفتحة وقائم
خبرها مرفوع بها وعلامة رفعه الضمة وسادسها لعل تقول لعل الحبيب قادم فلعل
حرف ترج تنصب الاسم وترفع الخبر والحبيب اسمها منصوب بها وعلامة نصبه الفتحة

sitting', where *qāma* 'stood' is a past tense verb, *al-qawmu* 'the people' is an agent made independent *(35b)* by *qāma* 'stood', *lākinna* 'but' is a particle of amendment[2] which makes its subject-noun dependent and its predicate independent, *ḵālidan* 'Ḵālid' is its subject-noun made dependent by it with *a* as its dependence marker, and *qāᶜidun* 'sitting' is its predicate made independent by it with *u* as its independence marker. This particle may be preceded by a positive statement, as in the above example, or by a negative one, e.g. *mā qāma l-qawmu lākinna ᶜamran qā'imun* 'the people did not stand but ᶜAmr is standing'.[3]

10.44 (4) *ka'anna* 'as if',[1] (spelt with double *n*), e.g. *ka'anna zaydan 'asadun* '(it is) as if Zayd is a lion',[2] where *ka'anna* 'as if' is a particle of comparison which makes its subject-noun dependent and its predicate independent, *zaydan* 'Zayd' is its subject-noun made dependent by it with *a* as its dependence marker, and *'asadun* 'a lion'[3] is its predicate made independent by it with *u* as its independence marker.

10.45 (5) *layta* 'would that',[1] e.g. *layta zaydan qā'imun* 'would that Zayd were standing', where *layta* 'would that' is a particle of wishing which makes its subject-noun[2] dependent and its predicate independent, *zaydan* 'Zayd' is its subject-noun made dependent by it with *a* as its dependence marker, and *qā'imun* 'standing' is its predicate made independent by it with *u* as its independence marker.

10.46 (6) *laᶜalla* 'perhaps',[1] e.g. *laᶜalla l-ḥabība qādimun* 'perhaps the beloved is coming', where *laᶜalla* 'perhaps' is a particle of hoping which makes its subject-noun dependent and its predicate independent, *al-ḥabība* 'the beloved' is its subject-noun made dependent by it with *a*

(2) Note the functional definition, *ḥarf istidrāk* 'particle of amendment', by which the amorphous element acquires an identity in terms of a linguistic action (cf. 1.92 n 1); see 10.52 for the definition of 'amending'.

(3) Through an apparent oversight both manuscripts have *qā^{c}idun* 'sitting' here (repeated from the first example, above), which has been changed to *qā'imun* 'standing' on the grounds that the contradiction of a negated term is its positive. *Muf.* #528 has a more coherent set of examples.

10.44 (1) *Muf.* #531; *Qaṭr* 153 (cf. *Muġnī* I, 162). The spelling instruction (3.44 n 2) is to avoid confusion with the 'lightened' allomorph *ka'an*, cf. 12.903 n 1, which does not operate upon the following noun; see *Muf.* #532; *Qaṭr* 160; Fleisch 205.

(2) The example is presented here as an autonomous statement, which raises doubts about the etymology of *ka'anna*: precisely because it does occur in apparently independent utterances, it is explained in *Muf.* #531 as a compound of the comparative *ka* 'like' (1.708) and the particle *'inna* 'verily' (10.41). However, since *ka'anna* is found also with subordinate clauses, it is more consistent to treat it as a compound of *ka* and *'anna* 'that' (10.42), and to assume that the main clause has been elided whenever a *ka'anna* sentence appears in isolation (so Reckendorf, *Arab. Synt.* 539).

(3) In some works (e.g. *Muf.* #531), the example is cited with *al-'asadu* instead of *'asadun*, i.e. with the 'generic article' (11.741); observe that in 1.708 the example likewise has the generic article.

10.45 (1) *Muf.* #535; *Qaṭr* 48 (cf. *Muġnī* I, 221)' Fleisch 192. The word at least has a genuine verbal content to account for its operation upon dependent nouns: it is a reduced form of the optative verb (14.34 n 3) *ra'ayta* 'may you see', with regular loss of intervocalic *'* and an apparently unique sound change of initial *r* to *l* (not noted by Cantineau, *Études* 49, who asserts to the contrary that Classical Arabic *r* has to all intents and purposes ('pour ainsi dire') undergone no changes). Paradoxically the colloquial equivalent *yā rēt* 'if only it were so' preserves the original *r*.

(2) This includes pronouns, of course, thus *laytahu* 'would that he', etc. In the first person singular the suffix is accordingly the verbal (direct object) suffix *nī*, q.v. 16.301, and see see 5.55(g) for an example; Nöldeke 41, however, records a few instances of *laytī*, with the nominal suffix *ī*, q.v. 4.72 n 2.

10.46 (1) *Muf.* #535; *Qaṭr* 48 (cf. *Muġnī* I, 222); Nöldeke 40. There seems to be no reason to doubt Nöldeke's assertion (40 n 2) that *la^{c}alla* has always been a verb, namely *^{c}alla* (perhaps connected with the idea of repetition: this verb exists independently in the meaning 'to give a second drink'), prefixed with the emphasizing *la* (13.6 n 3). For the 'Baṣrans' and 'Kūfans' (9.4 n 3) it was a question of whether *la^{c}alla* was simple or compound: the Baṣrans inclined to the view that

وقادم خبرها مرفوع بها وعلامة رفعه الضمة ثم مثل المصنف لبعض ذلك بقوله
تقول ان زيدا قائم وليت عمرا شاخص وما اشبه ذلك ولما فرغ من تعداد الحروف
شرع في معانيها ومعانيها مختلفة ومعنى ان اي المكسورة وان اي المفتوحة للتأكيد
اي لتأكيد النسبة بين المبتدأ والخبر ومعنى لكن للاستدراك وهو تعقيب الكلام برفع
ما يتوهم ثبوته او نفيه ومعنى كأن للتشبيه وهو الدلالة على مشاركة امر لامر في
معنى من المعاني ومعنى ليت للتمني وهو طلب ما لا طمع فيه كقولك ليت الشباب
يعود يوما او طلب ما فيه عسر كقولك (36a) ليت لي مالا فاحج به ومعنى لعل
للترجي وهو طلب الامر المحبوب والتوقع وهو المعبر عنه عند قوم بالاشفاق في
المكروه نحو لعل زيدا هالك والترجي في المحبوب نحو لعل الله يرحمني فان الهلاك
مما يكره والرحمة مما يحب ثم شرع في القسم الثالث من النواسخ لحكم المبتدأ والخبر

as its dependence marker, and *qādimun* 'coming' is its predicate made independent by it with *u* as its independence marker.

10.50 The author then illustrates some of these: e.g. *'inna zaydan qā'imun* 'verily Zayd is standing', *layta* *ᶜamran šāḵiṣan* 'would that ᶜAmr were setting forth', and the like.[1]

10.51 Having finished enumerating these particles the author now turns to their senses, which are various. The meaning of *'inna* 'verily' (i.e. the one spelt with *i*) and *'anna* 'that'[1] (i.e. the one spelt with *a*) is to denote emphasis, i.e. to emphasize the relationship between the subject and the predicate.

10.52 The meaning of *lākinna* 'but'[1] is to amend, which is to follow one utterance with another revoking what was previously supposed to have been asserted or denied.

10.53 The meaning of *ka'anna* 'as if' is comparison, i.e. to show that one thing shares a certain common meaning with another thing.[1]

10.54 The meaning of *layta* 'would that' is to express a wish,[1] i.e. the desire for something beyond one's aspirations, such as *layta š-šabāba yaᶜūdu yawman* 'would that youth would return some day', or the desire for something difficult, such as *(36a) layta lī mālan fa-'aḥujja bihi* 'would that I had some money to make the pilgrimage with'.[2]

10.55 The meaning of *laᶜalla* 'perhaps' is to express a hope,[1] i.e. the desire for something much wanted, or expectation.[2] It is used in the latter sense by people to express apprehension of something unpleasant, e.g. *laᶜalla zaydan hālikun* 'perhaps Zayd has perished', while the expression of a hope for something wanted is seen in *laᶜalla llāha yarḥamunī* 'perhaps God will have mercy on me', for perishing is something unpleasant, and mercy is much wanted.[3]

10.6 The author now turns to the third group of elements which cancel the grammatical rule of the subject and predicate, namely *ẓanna* 'to think' and its related verbs.[1] These are the verbs which precede

it was compound, and cited verses in which ^{c}*alla* appears alone. The Kūfans fulfilled their dialectical role by rejecting this on the grounds that 'particles' consist entirely of root letters and cannot form derivatives by augmentation; cases of ^{c}*alla* alone they dismiss as elisions (see *Inṣāf*, prob. 26). Note, too, the anomalous occurrence of *la*^{c}*alla* as a pure preposition, 26.1 (2). See further 10.55 n 3.

10.50(1) In passing it should be noted that the operation of these particles is voided in two ways: (a) by suffixing *mā* (nominally the same as Lat. *quod*, but see further 9.83 n 2), and (b) by 'lightening' i.e. reducing the final double *nn*, e.g. *'inna*>*'in*, see further 12.903 n 1. 'Lightening' is *taḵfīf*, lit. translated, a morphophonological term (cf. 'phonetic inconvenience' in 2.31 n 4).

10.51 (1) Note the compound conjunctions *li-'anna* 'because', *ma*^{c}*a 'anna* 'although' etc. (cf. Fleisch 203f). On 'senses' *ma*^{c}*ānī* in this context see 1.701 n 2: there is no possibility that lexical meaning is intended here, and the particles can only be described in terms of the kind of 'speech act' they involve (cf. 1.92 n 1).

10.52 (1) See 10.43 on *lākinna*.

10.53 (1) See 10.44. This definition of comparison (*tašbīh*, lit. 'deeming similar') is not grammatical, but is taken over from rhetoric,where *ma*^{c}*nā* 'meaning' is more narrowly semantic in connotation, and could well be translated 'idea' (see Versteegh 187 and al-Jurjānī, *Die Geheimnisse der Wortkunst*, tr. H. Ritter, Wiesbaden 1959, 43f, 104f.

10.54 (1) See 10.45. 'Express a wish' renders *tamannī*, lit. 'action of wishing' (verbal noun, Stem V, of the root *m-n-w*, cf. 10.34 n 1). It is discussed by aš-Širbīnī in his Qur'ān Commentary I, 74, on S. 2 v 95, where he concludes that 'hoping' is not a genuine 'mental operation' (*min 'a*^{c}*māli l-qulūbi*) of the same nature as that of the true 'mental verbs' in 10.6, but is only a verbal formality (*kalimatu tamannin* 'a word of hoping'), because it is absurd (*muḥāl* 'self-contradictory') to aspire to something that exists only in the mind.

(2) The subordinate verb *'aḥujja* 'that I may make the pilgrimage' is explained in 5.54, and in 5.55 (g) there is another example of *layta*.

10.55 (1) See 10.46. 'Express a hope' translates *tarajjī*, lit. 'action of hoping' (verbal noun, Stem V, of the root *r-j-w*, cf. 10.34 n 1), though it is a little broader than the English implies, as it embraces the anticipation of both good and bad.

(2) 'Expectation' is a literal translation of *tawaqqu*^{c} (verbal noun, Stem V, of the root *w-q-*^{c}, cf. 10.34 n 1).

(3) Note that the form *la*^{c}*allanī*, with direct object suffix (10.46 n 1) is commonly replaced by *la*^{c}*allī*: this is probably not the possessive suffix *ī*, but the result of an analogical extension based on *'annī*, where the *ī* suffix arises from reduction of *'annanī* (Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.* 131 n 1), and cf. *'innā* for *'innanā* in 10.67, 12.41.

10.6 (1) *Jum.* 41; *Muf.* #440; *Alf.* v 206; *Qaṭr* 171; Beeston 93, 96;

وهو ظن واخواتها وهي الافعال الداخلة بعد استيفاء فاعلها عليها فتنصبهما
مفعولين كما قال واما ظننت واخواتها فانها تنصب المبتدأ والخبر بعد استيفاء
فاعلها كما مر وهي عشرة افعال على ما ذكره المصنف اربعة منها تفيد ترجيح
وقوع المفعول الثاني اولها ظننت نحو ظننت زيدا قائما فظننت فعل وفاعل
وزيدا مفعولها الاول وقائما مفعولها الثاني والظن هنا بمعنى الحساب نحو انه
ظن ان لن يحور والعلم نحو وظنوا ان لا ملجأ من الله الا اليه لا بمعنى التهمة
وثانيها حسبت نحو حسبت زيدا صديقا فحسبت فعل وفاعل وزيدا مفعولها الاول
وصديقا مفعولها الثاني وهما منصوبان بها وحسب بكسر السين هنا بمعنى اعتقد
نحو قوله تعالى ويحسبون انهم على شيء او علم نحو حسبت التقى والجود خير تجارة
لا بمعنى صرت احسب او ذا شقرة او حمرة وبياض وثالثها خلت نحو

equational sentences after their own agent has been duly accounted for,[2] and make both subject and predicate dependent as a pair of direct objects:[3] In the author's own words: <u>*ẓanna* 'to think' and its related verbs make both the subject and predicate dependent.</u> (But only after their own agent has been duly accounted for, as stated already). <u>They comprise</u> ten verbs[4] according to the author, of which four convey the strong probability of occurrence of the second direct object:-[5]

10.61 (1) <u>*ẓanantu* 'I thought'</u>,[1] as in *ẓanantu zaydan qā'iman* 'I thought Zayd was standing', where *ẓanantu* 'I thought' is a verb and agent, *zaydan* 'Zayd' is its first direct object, and *qā'iman* 'standing' is its second direct object. Here *ẓann* 'thinking'[2] is used in the meaning of 'reckoning', as in the Qur'anic *'innahu ẓanna 'an lan yaḥūra* 'verily he thought that he would not return',[3] or of 'knowing', as in the Qur'anic *wa-ẓannū 'an lā malja'a min allāhi 'illā 'ilayhi* 'and they thought that there was no refuge from God except in Him',[4] and not in the meaning of 'suspicion'.[5]

10.62 (2) <u>*ḥasibtu* 'I reckoned'</u>,[1] as in *ḥasibtu zaydan ṣadīqan* 'I reckoned Zayd a friend', where *ḥasibtu* 'I reckoned' is a verb and agent, *zaydan* 'Zayd' is its first direct object, and *ṣadīqan* 'a friend' is its second direct object, both made dependent by the verb. Here *ḥasiba* 'to reckon' (spelt with *i* after the *s*) is used in the meaning of 'consider', as in the Qur'anic *wa-yaḥsabūna 'annahum ᶜalā šay'in* 'and they reckon they are on to something',[2] or of 'knowing', as in *ḥasibtu t-tuqā wa-l-jūda ḵayra tijāratin* 'I reckoned piety and generosity to be the best of merchandise',[3] and not in the meaning of *ṣirtu 'aḥsaba* 'I became tawny' or 'blond' or 'pink'.[4]

Fleisch 183. These are the *'af^{c}āl al-qulūb*, lit. 'the verbs of the heart', see 24.25 n 1 and cf. 10.71. Western analysis makes the 'predicate' after these verbs a kind of circumstantial qualifier, but with reservations (see Beeston 96, and compare 10.21 n 2).

(2) Lit. 'after their agent has done all that is required of it', a commercial term based on the verb *wafā* 'to pay up, keep one's word', and here meaning that there must be a complete Verb-Agent sentence before the proposition which forms the double object of these verbs.

(3) Printed eds. have 'as a pair of direct objects' here as part of Ibn Ājurrūm's original text.

(4) To these may be added synonyms, cf. 10.62 n 1, 10.63 n 1, 10.66 n 1.

(5) Or rather, of the predicate which functions as a second direct obj.

10.61 (1) Refs. as in 10.6 n 1. Note that here the verbs are quoted in their 1st sing. past form instead of the conventional 3rd sing. masc. (3.52 n 3): this may be in order to emphasize that these verbs already have their agents (10.6 n 2), contrasting with the *kāna* group (10.1). The verb *ẓanna* is a 'doubled verb' (*fi^{c}l muḍā^{c}af*), i.e. its 2nd and 3rd radicals are identical. The past tense, active paradigm is:

	sing.	dual	plur.
1st	*ẓanantu*		*ẓanannā*
2nd masc.	*ẓananta*	*ẓanantumā*	*ẓanantum*
fem.	*ẓananti*		*ẓanantunna*
3rd masc.	*ẓanna*	*ẓannā*	*ẓannū*
fem.	*ẓannat*	*ẓannatā*	*ẓananna*

Passive *ẓunintu*, *ẓunna* etc. See further 11.3 n 1 for remaining forms.

(2) For no apparent reason the noun *ẓann* 'thinking' is used here instead of quoting the verb conventionally in the 3rd sing. masc.

(3) S. 84 v 14; see 10.41 on *'innahu*, 5.42 on *lan* with dep. verb.

(4) S. 9 v 118; see 22.12 on *lā* with dep. noun, ch. 21 on *'illā*.

(5) Thus *ẓanantuhu* with only one direct object would mean 'I suspected him', though it is probably more likely to be understood as 'I thought so'. On these verbs with *'an* clauses (5.41) see Fleisch 199.

10.62 (1) Refs. as in 10.6 n 1. To this section we might also add the verb *^{c}adda* 'to reckon, count', e.g. *^{c}adadtuhu ṣadīqan lī* 'I counted him a friend of mine' (*^{c}adda* is a doubled verb, q.v. 10.61 n 1). On the medial vowel *i* of *ḥasiba* cf. 10.22 n 2.

(2) S. 58 v 18; see 10.42 on *'annahum*. The phrase *^{c}alā šay'in* seems to correspond literally to the English idiom.

(3) First hemistich of a verse ending *ribāḥan 'iḏā mā l-mar'u 'aṣbaḥa ṯāqilan* 'as a profit whenever a man became burdened' (*Schaw. Ind.* 210); on *ḵayra* see 5.82 n 5, *'iḏā* 5.94, redundant *mā* 5.85 n 1, *'aṣbaḥa* 10.13.

(4) Note dep. form after *ṣirtu* (10.17); on the adjectival pattern *'af^{c}al* cf. 3.89 (10).

خلت الهلال لائحا فخلت فعل وفاعل والهلال مفعولها الاول ولائحا مفعولها الثاني
وهما منصوبان بها وخال ماضي يخال بمعنى ظن نحو يخال الفرار يراخي الاجل او
علم نحو وخلتني لي اسم لا ماضي يخول بمعنى يتعهد او يتكبر ورابعها زعمت
نحو زعمت بكرا عالما فزعمت (36b) فعل وفاعل وبكرا مفعولها الاول وعالما
مفعولها الثاني وهما منصوبان بها وزعم بمعنى ظن نحو زعمتني شيخا ولست
بشيخ انما الشيخ من يدب دبيبا لا بمعنى كفل او سمن او هزل وهذه الاربعة
تفيد رجحان وقوع المفعول الثاني على عدم وقوعه وخامسها رأيت نحو رأيت
المعروف محبوبا فرأيت فعل وفاعل والمعروف مفعولها الاول ومحبوبا مفعولها
الثاني ورأيت بمعنى علمت نحو رأيت الله اكبر كل شيء محاولة واكثرهم جنودا

10.63 (3) ḵiltu 'I imagined',[1] as in *ḵiltu l-hilāla lā'iḥan* 'I imagined the new moon had appeared', where *ḵiltu* 'I imagined' is a verb and agent, *al-hilāla* 'the crescent moon' is its first direct object, and *lā'iḥan* 'becoming visible' is its second direct object, both made dependent by the verb. Here *ḵāla* 'he imagined' is the past tense of *yaḵālu* 'he imagines' in the meaning of *ẓanna* 'to think', as in *yakālu l-firāra yurāḵī l-'ajala* 'he imagines flight will make easier the time of reckoning',[2] or *ᶜalima* 'to know', as in *wa-ḵiltunī liya smun* 'and I imagined I had a name',[3] and is not the past tense of *yaḵūlu* 'he takes care of'[4] in the meaning of *yataᶜahhadu* 'he looks after' or *yatakabbaru* 'he behaves proudly'.

10.64 (4) zaᶜamtu 'I asserted',[1] as in *zaᶜamtu bakran ᶜāliman* 'I asserted that Bakr was wise', where *zaᶜamtu* 'I asserted' *(36b)* is a verb and agent, *bakran* 'Bakr' is its first direct object, and *ᶜāliman* 'wise' is its second direct object, both made dependent by the verb. Here *zaᶜama* 'to assert' has the meaning of *ẓanna* 'to think', as in the verse

zaᶜamtanī šayḵan wa-lastu bi-šayḵin
'innamā š-šayḵu man yadibbu dabīban

'you asserted that I was an old man, but I am not an old man; an old man is only somebody who goes creeping around slowly',[2] and not in the meaning of *kafala* 'to stand surety', *samina* 'to be fat' or *hazala* 'to joke'. The four verbs listed above convey the strong probability of the occurrence of the second direct object over its non-occurrence.

10.65 (5) ra'aytu 'I regarded',[1] as in *ra'aytu l-maᶜrūfa maḥbūban* 'I regarded the favour as desirable', where *ra'aytu* 'I regarded' is a verb and agent, *al-maᶜrūfa* 'the favour' is its first direct object, and *maḥbūban* 'a thing desired' is its second direct object. Here *ra'aytu* 'I regarded' has the meaning of *ᶜalimtu* 'I knew', as in *ra'aytu llāha 'akbara kulli šay'in muḥāwalatan wa-'akṯarahum junūdan* 'I regarded God as the greatest of all in power and the most numerous in forces',[2] or of

10.63 (1) Refs. as in 10.6 n 1. Add here the synonym *tawahhama* 'to suppose, fancy' and the idiomatic *hab* 'grant, suppose', imperative of weak 1st rad. *wahaba* 'to bestow' (cf. 10.38 n 1). On the form of *ḵāla/ḵiltu* see below, n 4.

(2) Second half of a verse beginning *ḍa^{c}īfu n-nikāyati 'a^{c}dā'ahu* 'weak in the spiting of his enemies', *Schaw. Ind.* 173. As often happens, the verse was originally quoted for quite a different purpose, viz. to illustrate the verbal operation of the defined verbal noun *an-nikāyati* 'the spiting' on *'a^{c}dā'ahu* 'his enemies' (v. 16.312 n 1, 24.31 n 1).

(3) Verse fragment: *da^{c}āni l-^{c}awānī ^{c}ammahunna wa-ḵiltunī liya smun fa-lā 'ud^{c}ā bihi wa-huwa 'awwalu* 'the maidens called me their uncle, and I imagined I had a name, but I am not called by it while he is first' (*Schaw. Ind.* 180). Note that *ḵiltunī* corresponds to the Eng. reflexive 'I imagined myself'; on *lī* paraphrasing 'to have' see 26.27 n 3; *liya* is *lī* (= *liy*, 2.43 n 2) with glide vowel before the initial consonant cluster of *smun* (*ismun* in isolation, v. 11.1 n 2); *wa-huwa* is normally pronounced *wa-hwa* in verse. Note the genuinely doubly transitive verb *da^{c}ā* here (10.14 n 2), 'called me their uncle' (concordance between verb and fem. plur. agent, 7.29, overlooked as a poetic licence)

(4) The verb *ḵāla* has two different roots: from *ḵ-y-l* comes *ḵāla*, imperfect tense *yaḵālu* 'to imagine' (cf. 10.23 n 2 end), while from *ḵ-w-l* comes *ḵāla/yaḵūlu* 'to look after' (like *qāma*, 10.23 n 2).

10.64 (1) Refs. as in 10.6 n 1. All verbs of stating, thinking, believing etc. have an alternative structure with *'anna* (10.42), e.g. *za^{c}amtu 'anna bakran ^{c}ālimun* 'I asserted that Bakr was wise', where the whole clause functions as a direct object. The one exception is *qāla* 'to say', which must be followed by *'inna* (10.41), e.g. *qāla 'inna bakran ^{c}ālimun:* since there is, in theory, no indirect speech in Arabic, this may mean 'he said, "Verily Bakr is wise"' (with *'inna* part of what was said) or 'he said that Bakr was wise', (where *'inna* merely subordinates the original *bakrun ^{c}ālimun* to *qāla*). From earliest times indirect speech forms have permeated reported direct speech so that, out of context, *qāla 'innahu marīḍun* can mean either 'he said that he (himself) was ill' or 'he said that he (someone else) was ill'.

(2) *Schaw. Ind.* 32. On *lastu* see 10.18, esp. n 4 for predicate with *bi*: *'innama* 9.83 n 2; doubled verb *yadibbu* 11.3 n 1 (cf. *dabīban* from same root).

10.65 (1) Here the past tense paradigm of *ra'ā* 'to see', active:

	sing.	dual	plur.
1st	*ra'aytu*		*ra'aynā*
2nd masc.	*ra'ayta*	*ra'aytumā*	*ra'aytum*
fem.	*ra'ayti*		*ra'aytunna*
3rd masc.	*ra'ā*	*ra'ayā*	*ra'aw*
fem.	*ra'at*	*ra'atā*	*ra'ayna*

(2) *Schaw. Ind.* 76: occasionally the manuscript does not set out verses in red ink and on separate lines, and this has been followed in the

وبمعني ظن نحو انهم يرونه بعيدا لا بمعنى اصاب الرؤية او من رؤية العين او
الرأي وسادسها علمت نحو علمت خالدا نائما فعلمت فعل وفاعل وخالدا مفعولها
الاول ونائما مفعولها الثاني وهما منصوبان بها وعلمت بمعنى تيقنت نحو قوله
تعالى فان علمتموهن مؤمنات لا بمعنى عرفت او صرت اعلم وسابعها وجدت نحو
وجدت العلم نافعا فوجدت فعل وفاعل والعلم مفعولها الاول ونافعا مفعولها
الثاني وهما منصوبان بها ووجد بمعنى علم نحو انا وجدناه صابرا لا بمعنى اصاب
او غضب او حزن وهذه الثلاثة تفيد وقوع المفعول الثاني يقينا وثامنها اتخذت
نحو قوله تعالى واتخذ الله ابراهيم خليلا فاتخذ الله فعل وفاعل وابراهيم مفعولها

ẓanna 'to think', as in the Qur'anic *'innahum yarawnahu ba^{c}īdan* 'verily they regard it as far off', and not the meaning of 'to catch the eye', 'seeing with the eye', or 'vision'.

10.66 (6) *^{c}alimtu* 'I knew',[1] as in *^{c}alimtu k̲ālidan nā'iman* 'I knew K̲ālid was sleeping', where *^{c}alimtu* 'I knew' is a verb and agent, *k̲ālidan* 'K̲ālid' is its first direct object, and *nā'iman* 'sleeping' is its second direct object, both made dependent by the verb. Here *^{c}alimtu* 'I knew' has the meaning of *tayaqqantu* 'I was certain', as in the Qur'anic *fa-'in ^{c}alimtumūhunna mu'minātin* 'and if you know that they (fem.) are believers',[2] not the meaning of *^{c}araftu* 'I was acquainted with' or *ṣirtu 'a^{c}lama* 'I became split-lipped'.

10.67 (7) *wajadtu* 'I found',[1] as in *wajadtu l-^{c}ilma nāfi^{c}an* 'I found learning beneficial', where *wajadtu* 'I found' is a verb and agent, *al-^{c}ilma* 'learning' is its first direct object, and *nāfi^{c}an* 'beneficial' is its second direct object, both made dependent by the verb. Here *wajada* 'to find' has the meaning of *^{c}alima* 'to (come to) know', as in the Qur'anic *'innā wajadnāhu ṣābiran* 'verily we have found him patient',[2] not in the meaning of *'aṣāba* 'to come upon', *ḡaḍiba* 'to be angry' or *ḥazina* 'to grieve'. The three verbs listed above convey the certainty of occurrence of the second direct object.

10.68 (8) *ittak̲ad̲tu* 'I adopted',[1] as in the Qur'anic *ittak̲ad̲a llāhu 'ibrāhīma k̲alīlan* 'God adopted Abraham as a friend',[2] where *ittak̲ad̲a llāhu* 'God adopted' is a verb and agent, *'ibrāhīma* 'Abraham' is its

translation. See 20.42 n 3 on syntax of superlatives.

(3) S. 70 v 6. Here the paradigm of the active, imperfect tense, indep. form of *ra'ā* 'to see':

	sing.	dual	plur.
1st	*'arā*		*narā*
2nd masc.	*tarā*	*tarayāni*	*tarawna*
fem.	*tarayna*		*tarayna*
3rd masc.	*yarā*	*yarayāni*	*yarawna*
fem.	*tarā*	*tarayāni*	*yarayna*

This verb loses its middle rad. ' in imperfect, otherwise ends like *yakšā* throughout (dep. *yarā* etc., 4.82 n 1, apoc. *yara* etc., 3.92 n 1). Past tense active 10.65 n 1; passive imperfect *yurā* etc., like *yurmā*, 8.3 n 1 (b), past tense *ru'iya* etc., like *laqiya*, 10.14 n 2.

(4) Stem IV (8.63 n 1) of this verb also loses its middle radical ' in imperfect tense: *'urī, yurī* etc. (endings as *yarmī*, 4.82 n 1) and in past tense: *'araytu, 'arā* etc. (endings as *ra'ā*, 10.65 n 1), meaning 'to show'. Passive past tense *'urītu, 'uriya*; imperfect tense is same as Stem I. As causative of *ra'ā* cf. 16.310 n 1.

10.66 (1) Refs. as in 10.6 n 1. Here can be added the synonym *darā* 'to know' (like *ra'ā* in past tense, 10.65 n 1 and *yarmī* in imperfect, 4.82 n 1), and Stem V imperative (8.64 n 1) *ta^c^allam* 'learn' (*Alf.* v 208).

(2) S. 60 v 10. Note the *ū* intervening between the verb *^c^alimtum* and the object suffix *hunna*; Proto-Semitic probably had *ū* in this position (Moscati #13.26-27, Birkeland, *Altarabische Pausalformen*, Oslo 1940, 92), and it is found also on the free pronoun *hum* (e.g. 9.44, 11.719), viz. *humū* but spelt *humū'*, with the otiose *'alif*, q.v. 7.61 n 2), but its partial survival in Arabic is difficult to explain (stress is a possible factor).

10.67 (1) Refs. as in 10.6 n 1. The main irregularities of 1st rad. *w* verbs are in the imperative (10.38 n 1) and imperfect tense:

	sing.	dual	plur.
1st	*'ajidu*		*najidu*
2nd masc.	*tajidu*	*tajidāni*	*tajidūna*
fem.	*tajidīna*		*tajidna*
3rd masc.	*yajidu*	*yajidāni*	*yajidūna*
fem.	*tajidu*	*tajidāni*	*yajidna*

(2) S. 38 v 44. Note *'innā*, reduction of *'innanā*, cf. 10.55 n 3.

10.68 (1) Refs. as in 10.6 n 1; see also 10.69 n 3.

(2) S. 4 v 125 (from this verse comes the now proper name Kalīl for Abraham; cf. 3.89 (5) on *'ibrāhīmu*). The verb *ittakada* is an unusual Stem VIII form (8.68 n 1) of the verb *'akada* 'to take', in which the first radical ' has assimilated to the infix *t*: in most such verbs the ' either remains (*i'tamara* from *'amara* 'to order') or changes to *y* (*ītamara*, = *iytamara*, cf. 2.43 n 2). With the assimilation *'t*>*tt* *ittakada* falls together with the weak 1st rad. verbs, where *wt* is always assimilated to *tt*, e.g. *ittaḥada* 'to be united', root *w-ḥ-d*, and cf.

الاول وخليلا مفعولها الثاني وهما منصوبان بها وتاسعها جعلت نحو جعلت الطين
خزفا فجعلت فعل وفاعل والطين مفعولها (37a) الاول وخزفا مفعولها الثاني وهما
منصوبان بها وجعل بمعنى اعتقد نحو وجعلوا الملائكة الذين هم عباد الرحمن اناثا
لا الذي بمعنى خلق وعاشرها سمعت نحو سمعت النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم يقول
فسمعت فعل وفاعل والنبي مفعولها الاول وجملة يقول مفعولها الثاني وهما
منصوبان بها تنبيه اغرب المصنف بذكر سمع في هذا الباب وهو في ذلك تابع
لابي علي الفارسي فانه قال اذا دخلت على ما لا يسمع تعدت الى مفعولين والجمهور
على ان جملة يقول ونحوها في محل نصب على الحال من المفعول لان افعال الحواس
لا تتعدى الا الى واحد نحو سمعت الكلام وابصرت الهلال وشممت الطيب وذقت الطعام
ولمست الثوب ثم مثل المصنف لبعض ذلك بقوله تقول ظننت زيدا منطلقا وخلت

first direct object and *kalīlan* 'a friend' is its second direct object, both made dependent by the verb.

10.69 (9) *ja^{c}altu* 'I made',[1] as in *ja^{c}altu ṭ-ṭīna kazafan* 'I made the clay into pottery', where *ja^{c}altu* 'I made' is a verb and agent, *aṭ-ṭīna* 'the clay' is its first direct object, *(37a)* and *kazafan* 'pottery' is its second direct object, both made dependent by the verb. Note that *ja^{c}ala* 'to make' in the meaning of *i^{c}taqada* 'to consider' (as, for example, in the Qur'anic *wa-ja^{c}alū l-malā'ikata llaḏīna hum ^{c}ibādu r-raḥmāni 'ināṯan* 'and they made the angels, who are the servants of the Merciful God, females')[2] is not the same as *ja^{c}ala* 'to make' in the meaning of *kalaqa* 'to create' that it has above.[3]

10.70 (10) *sami^{c}tu* 'I heard',[1] as in *sami^{c}tu n-nabiyya ṣallā llāhu ^{c}alayhi wa-sallama yaqūlu* 'I heard the Prophet (may God bless him and give him peace) say...',[2] where *sami^{c}tu* 'I heard' is a verb and agent, *an-nabiyya* 'the Prophet' is its first direct object, and the sentence *yaqūlu* 'he says' is its second direct object, both made dependent by the verb.

10.71 Note: The author is somewhat unusual in mentioning *sami^{c}a* 'to hear' in this category, and is, in fact, following Abū ^{c}Alī al-Fārisī,[1] who says that if it precedes something that is not actually heard, then it is doubly transitive. The majority say that the sentence *yaqūlu* 'he says' and such like have dependent status as circumstantial qualifiers of the direct object,[2] since the verbs of the five senses[3] are transitive to only one direct object,[4] e.g. *sami^{c}tu l-kalāma* 'I heard the speech', *'abṣartu l-hilāla* 'I saw the new moon', *šamamtu ṭ-ṭība* 'I smelt the scent', *ḏuqtu ṭ-ṭa^{c}āma* 'I tasted the food', *lamistu ṯ-ṯawba* 'I touched the cloth'.

10.8 The author then illustrates some of these verbs:[1] e.g. *ẓanantu zaydan munṭaliqan* 'I thought Zayd had gone away', *kiltu ^{c}amran šākiṣan*

muttaṣil 'bound (pronoun)', agent noun of *ittaṣala*, root *w-ṣ-l*. There is, in fact, a widespread fluctuation between initial *'* and *w* (even in Classical Arabic, cf. *'aḥad* 'one' (pronoun) and *wāḥid* 'one' (adjective)). See Vollers, op. cit. 3.96 n 2, 18, 120, 192.

10.69 (1) Refs. as in 10.6 n 1. Note that in the first example given, the second direct object is actually a noun (and so *ittaḵaḏa* in the previous paragraph): it seems that here we are leaving the realm of propositions as objects and entering the realm of genuinely doubly transitive verbs (cf. 16.309 n 1 on transitivity). For this reason *jaᶜala* (and, others, see n 3 below) are classified by the later grammarians as *'afᶜāl at-taḥwīl* 'verbs of transformation'. In this they clearly relate to *kāna* 'to be' and *ṣāra* 'to become' which, perhaps because they denote states of being rather than modes, also have nouns in their predicates (cf. 10.21 n 2 end).

(2) S. 43 v 19. Here *jaᶜala* is regarded as a true 'mental verb' (10.6 n 1), because the agent of *jaᶜalū* 'they made' is the unbelievers, and this can only mean that they 'consider' the angels female, hence the paraphrase with *iᶜtaqada* 'to consider'.

(3) Here we may also add other 'verbs of transformation' such as *radda* 'to restore', *ṣayyara* 'to cause to become' (cf. *ṣāra* 'to become', 10.17) and see further Reckendorf, *Arab. Synt.* 87, Wright II, 47. An example of *ḵalaqa* 'to create' is in 19.34.

10.70 (1) This verb is neither a 'mental' nor 'transforming' verb, see the argument in 10.71.

(2) This is the usual way of introducing a Tradition of the Prophet (cf. 1.01 n 4).

10.71 (1) On Abū ᶜAlī al-Fārisī see *G.A.L.* I, 113, *E.I.* (2), art. 'al-Fārisī', and the monograph *Abū ᶜAlī al-Fārisī* by ᶜAbd al-Fattāḥ Ismāᶜīl Šalabī, Cairo 1968. He belonged to the 'Baṣran' school (9.4 n 3) and was active at the Buwayhid court in Baghdad, dying in 987. See Mehiri (op. cit. 24.1 n 2) on his most famous pupil, Ibn Jinnī.

(2) The problem is discussed at greater length by aṣ-Ṣabbān, on al-Ušmūnī on Alf. v 207, where the original inclusion of *samiᶜa* is attributed to al-Aḵfaš (26.01 n 3). The claim is that if the first object of *samiᶜa* is not what was actually heard then the second object must denote what was heard just as, after *ẓanna* (10.61) the second object denotes what was thought. Alternatively the second dependent element may be treated as a circumstantial qualifier (ch. 19), as in the paraphrase *samiᶜtu n-nabiyya qā'ilan* 'I heard the Prophet saying'.

(3) *'afᶜāl al-ḥawāss* 'verbs of the senses', a very late introduction into grammatical terminology (cf. also 24.25 n 1).

(4) See 16.309 n 1.

10.8 (1) These verbs do not operate on sentences prefixed with *la* (v. 13.6 n 4), e.g. *ẓanantu la-zaydun munṭaliqun* or negatives *lā, mā* etc., e.g. *ẓanantu mā zaydun munṭaliqun*, or interrogative *'a* (5.741 n 1),

عمرا شاخصا وما اشبه ذلك ولما فرغ من النواسخ شرع في التوابع وهي اربعة اشياء
النعت والعطف والتوكيد والبدل فقال

باب النعت ثم رسمه ببعض خواصه تقريبا على المبتدئ فقال النعت تابع للمنعوت
في رفعه ان كان مرفوعا ونصبه ان كان منصوبا وخفضه ان كان مخفوضا وتعريفه
ان كان المنعوت معرفة وتنكيره ان كان المنعوت نكرة سواء اكان النعت حقيقيا
وهو الوصف الجاري على من هو له حقيقة او سببيا وهو الوصف الجاري على غير من
هو له ثم ان النعت الحقيقي يتبع منعوته في اربعة من عشرة واحد من وجوه
الاعراب الثلاثة التي هي الرفع والنصب والجر وواحد من التعريف والتنكير وواحد من

'I imagined ᶜAmr had set out', and the like.

10.9 Having finished with the cancellers, the author next turns to the concordants, which are four[1] in number: the adjective, the coordinate, the corroborative, and the substitute.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

11.0 Chapter on the adjective.[1] He then describes it in terms of some of its special characteristics to make it easier for the beginner:

11.01 The adjective concords with its antecedent[1] in independence, (if the antecedent is independent), dependence, (if the antecedent is dependent), obliqueness, (if the antecedent is oblique), definition, (if the antecedent is defined), and indefinition, (if the antecedent is undefined). This applies whether the adjective is a true adjective[2] (i.e. which qualifies only its antecedent), or is the semantically linked kind (i.e. which qualifies something other than its antecedent).

11.02 The true adjective, moreover, concords with its antecedent in four out of ten features:[1] one of the three inflections (independence, dependence and obliqueness), one of either definition or indefinition,

e.g. *ẓanantu 'a-zaydun munṭaliqun*; see *Muf.* #445; *Alf.* v 213; *Qaṭr* 174. In some cases there exists the possibility of treble transitivity, by making the verb causative (Stem IV, 8.63 n 1), e.g. *'a^{c}lamtuhu zaydan munṭaliqan* lit. 'I made him know Zayd going away', i.e. 'I informed him that Zayd was going' (cf. 16.310 n 1).

10.9 (1) Some make it five by subdividing coordination into two, explanatory and sequential (see 12.0 nn 2, 3).

11.0 (1) *Jum.* 26; *Muf.* #140; *Alf.* v 506; *Qaṭr* 322; Beeston 44; Fleisch 186; Bateson 43, 48; Yushmanov 68; Diem, *Oriens* 23/24, 312. There are two almost synonymous sets of terminology: *waṣf* or *na^{c}t* 'describing function' and 'describing element, adjective', *ṣifa* 'adjective', also 'quality, property' (cf. 14.31 n 2), *mawṣūf* or *man^{c}ūt* 'thing described' (here translated as 'antecedent'). While *waṣf* and *na^{c}t* appear to be completely interchangeable (and are also used to denote circumstantial qualifiers, q.v. ch. 19), *ṣifa* only occurs when the antecedent is a noun (so Mosel, *Die syntaktische Terminologie bei Sîbawaih*, Munich 1975, 287). But *ṣifa* is broader in meaning than our 'adjective': verbs, relative clauses etc. are also *ṣifa* (Diem, 313). The terminological doublets remain unexplained.

11.01 (1) *tābi^{c} li-l-man^{c}ūt*, lit. 'a follower of the thing described'; *tābi^{c}* 'follower' may originally have referred only to word order, but was soon extended to cover agreement in number, gender and definition (hence *tab^{c}iyya* 'concordance', but see 11.02 n 1). In 13.45 *tābi^{c}* has the meaning 'subsidiary, subordinate'.

(2) 'True adjective' is literal for *na^{c}t ḥaqīqī*, but for *na^{c}t sababī* an explanatory rendering has had to be used, see further 11.5 n 1.

11.02 (1) The translation of this paragraph may give a slightly more abstract impression than the original: 'features', 'numbers' and 'gender' are not in the original, and 'inflections' is perhaps less concrete than the Arabic *wujūh al-'i^{c}rāb* 'modes of inflection' (cf. 22.4 n 1, and cf. 2.15 n 1). There are, in fact, no higher order abstract terms for the features dealt with here (even though Greek and Syriac equivalents were readily available for borrowing): 'case' is sometimes referred to as a 'state' of the noun (*ḥāla*, but see 11.2 n 1), and the rest are simply enumerated (virtual merismos). Even *tab^{c}iyya* does not mean concordance as a grammatical category, but only the property that some Arabic words have of 'following' the inflection of their antecedent (cf. 1.31 n 4).

الافراد والتثنية والجمع وواحد من (37b) التذكير والتأنيث فكل ما كان في المنعوت
اربعة من هذه العشرة يجب ان يكون في نعته الحقيقي تقول في هذا النعت الحقيقي
الجاري على من هو له لفظا ومعنى الرافع لضميره حال الرفع جاء زيد العاقل فجاء
فعل ماض وزيد فاعله مرفوع به وهو منعوت والعاقل نعت لزيد تابع له في رفعه
وهو واحد من وجوه الاعراب الثلاثة وفي تعريفه وهو واحد من التعريف والتنكير
وفي افراده وهو واحد من الافراد والتثنية والجمع وفي تذكيره وهو واحد من
التذكير والتأنيث فهذه اربعة من عشرة موجودة في النعت والمنعوت وتقول في حال
النصب رأيت زيدا العاقل فرأيت فعل وفاعل وزيدا مفعول به منصوب برأى وهو منعوت
والعاقل نعت له تابع له في نصبه وهو واحد من وجوه الاعراب الثلاثة وفي تعريفه
وهو واحد من التعريف والتنكير وفي افراده وهو واحد من الافراد والتثنية والجمع
وفي تذكيره وهو واحد من التذكير والتأنيث فهذه اربعة من عشرة موجودة في المنعوت
والنعت وتقول في حال الجر مررت بزيد العاقل فمررت فعل وفاعل وبزيد جار

one of the three numbers (singular, dual and plural), and one of *(37b)* either masculine or feminine gender. Whichever four of these ten are present in the antecedent must also be present in the true adjective.[2]

11.1 With the true adjective, qualifying its antecedent both in form and meaning and containing a concealed pronoun which it makes independent,[1] you thus say in the independent state *jā'a zaydun il-ᶜāqilu* 'Zayd the intelligent came', where *jā'a* 'came' is a past tense verb, *zaydun* 'Zayd' is its agent made independent by it and qualified by the adjective, and *al-ᶜāqilu* 'the intelligent'[2] is an adjective to *zaydun* 'Zayd', concording with it in independence (out of the three inflections), in definition (out of the two, definition and indefinition), in singular number (out of the three, singular, dual and plural) and in masculine gender (out of the two, masculine and feminine): hence four out of the ten features are present both in the adjective and its antecedent.

11.2 In the dependent state[1] you say *ra'aytu zaydan il-ᶜāqila* 'I saw Zayd the intelligent', where *ra'aytu* 'I saw' is a verb and agent, *zaydan* 'Zayd' is its direct object made dependent by *ra'ā* 'to see'[2] and qualified by the adjective, and *al-ᶜāqila* 'the intelligent' is an adjective to *zaydan* 'Zayd', concording with it in dependence (out of the three inflections), in definition (out of the two, definition and indefinition), in singular number (out of the three, singular, dual and plural) and in masculine gender (out of the two, masculine and feminine): hence four out of the ten features are present both in the adjective and its antecedent.

11.3 In the oblique state you say *marartu bi-zaydin il-ᶜāqili* 'I passed by Zayd the intelligent'. Here *marartu* 'I passed'[1] is a verb and agent,

(2) This is true for attributive adjectives only: see 9.12 for the predicative adjective. For 'semantically linked' adjectives see 11.5.

11.1 (1) See 2.1 n 2 on *lafẓ* 'form' and *ma*^{c}*nā* 'meaning', and 11.45 on the concealed pronoun assumed in the predicative adjective. On the syntactic contrast between concord and discord see 19.5 n 2. Note that nouns and adjectives are not morphologically distinct (cf. 3.41), but see 11.61 n 1 for functional differences.

(2) It will be noticed that 'intelligent' has been transliterated in isolation as *al-*^{c}*āqilu* but in context as *il-*^{c}*āqilu* (and even *l-*^{c}*āqilu* elsewhere, e.g. 11.41). The variations are due to the nature of the prefix *al* 'the' (1.5) and the rule that no syllable may begin with more than one consonant (2.43 n 2). The three solutions are: (a) utterance initial *al* is written and pronounced *'al*, forming an independent closed syllable, CVC; (b) after a short vowel (or long, since these are automatically shortened in this context) *al* is pronounced *l* (but still written *'al*), the *l* now closing the previous syllable, CV-C; (c) after a consonant *al* is pronounced *l* (and still spelt *'al*), but a new syllable is created by introducing a glide vowel, usually *i*, C-V-C. The constant spelling *'al* is historical, all words being spelt as if in isolation (cf. 2.14 n 2), but in juncture the *'* bears a special sign indicating that it is not to be pronounced (the *hamzat al-waṣl* '*'* of juncture'). For assimilation of *l* to following consonants see 11.41 n 2.
All other initial consonant clusters are resolved on the same principle, by prefixing *i* (for exception see 5.2 n 3), written *'i* but elided in juncture (see further 13.12 n 1). There is occasional vowel harmony, notably with *hum, kum, tum,* e.g. *katabtum ul-kitāba* 'you (masc. plur.) wrote the book' (another example 22.43 n 1), and with *min* 'from' the glide vowel is always *a* (e.g. 1.701).

11.2 (1) A comparison with the use of the term *ḥāl(a)*, plur. *ḥālāt* or *'aḥwāl* (19.0 n 3) in 3.422, 5.93, 9.8, 18.104, 21.1 etc. will show that 'case' would be far too narrow a translation, however tempting here.

(2) Note that the verb is quoted conventionally in its 3rd masc. sing. past tense form (3.52 n 3); the full paradigm is in 10.65 n 1.

11.3 (1) This verb is a 'doubled verb' (*fi*^{c}*l muḍā*^{c}*af*), i.e. one whose second and third radicals are the same. An apparent irregularity in this class of verb is caused by the phonological rule that identical consonants tend to assimilate when separated by an unstressed vowel, cf. the paradigm of the imperfect tense, independent form, active:

	sing.	dual	plur.
1st	*'amurru*		*namurru*
2nd masc.	*tamurru*	*tamurrāni*	*tamurrūna*
fem.	*tamurrīna*		*tamrurna*
3rd masc.	*yamurru*	*yamurrāni*	*yamurrūna*
fem.	*tamurru*	*tamurrāni*	*yamrurna*

ومجرور متعلق بمررت وزيد منعوت والعاقل نعت له تابع له في جره وهو واحد
من وجوه الاعراب الثلاثة وفي تعريفه وهو واحد من التعريف والتنكير وتابع له في
افراده وهو واحد من الافراد والتثنية والجمع وتابع له في تذكيره وهو واحد من
التذكير والتأنيث فهذه اربعة من عشرة موجودة في المنعوت والنعت وتقول في
تثنية (38a) المذكر مع التعريف جاء الزيدان العاقلان ورأيت الزيدين العاقلين
ومررت بالزيدين العاقلين وفي جمع المذكر مع التعريف جاء الزيدون العاقلون
ورأيت الزيدين العاقلين ومررت بالزيدين العاقلين وتقول في المفردة المؤنثة مع
التعريف جاءت هند العاقلة ورأيت هندا العاقلة ومررت بهند العاقلة وتقول في تثنية
المؤنث مع التعريف جاءت الهندان العاقلتان ورأيت الهندين العاقلتين ومررت بالهندين
العاقلتين وفي جمع المؤنث مع التعريف جاءت الهندات العاقلات ورأيت الهندات العاقلات
ومررت بالهندات العاقلات هذا كله مع التعريف واما في التنكير فتقول في المفرد
المذكر جاء رجل عاقل ورأيت رجلا عاقلا ومررت برجل عاقل وتقول في تثنيته مع

bi-zaydin 'by Zayd' is an operator of obliqueness and its oblique element semantically connected[2] with *marartu* 'I passed', with *zaydin* 'Zayd' qualified by the adjective, and *al-ᶜāqili* 'the intelligent' is an adjective to *zaydin* 'Zayd', concording with it in obliqueness (out of the three inflections), in definition (out of the two, definition and indefinition), in singular number (out of the three, singular, dual and plural), and in masculine gender (out of the two, masculine and feminine); hence four out of the ten features are present both in the adjective and its antecedent.

11.41 In the *(38a)* defined masculine dual[1] you say *jā'a z-zaydāni l-ᶜāqilāni* 'the two intelligent Zayds came', *ra'aytu z-zaydayni l-ᶜāqilayni* 'I saw the two intelligent Zayds' and *marartu bi-z-zaydayni l-ᶜāqilayni*[2] 'I passed by the two intelligent Zayds'. In the defined masculine plural[3] you say *jā'a z-zaydūna l-ᶜāqilūna* 'the intelligent Zayds came', *ra'aytu z-zaydīna l-ᶜāqilīna* 'I saw the intelligent Zayds' and *marartu bi-z-zaydīna l-ᶜāqilīna* 'I passed by the intelligent Zayds'.

11.42 In the defined feminine singular[1] you say *jā'at hindun il-ᶜāqilatu* 'Hind the intelligent came', *ra'aytun hindan il-ᶜāqilata* 'I saw Hind the intelligent' and *marartu bi-hindin il-ᶜāqilati* 'I passed by Hind the intelligent'. In the defined feminine dual you say *jā'at il-hindāni l-ᶜāqilatāni* 'the two intelligent Hinds came', *ra'aytu l-hindayni l-ᶜāqilatayni* 'I saw the two intelligent Hinds' and *marartu bi-l-hindayni l-ᶜāqilatayni* 'I passed by the two intelligent Hinds'. In the defined feminine plural you say *jā'at il-hindātu l-ᶜāqilātu* 'the intelligent Hinds came', *ra'aytu l-hindāti l-ᶜāqilāti* 'I saw the intelligent Hinds' and *marartu bi-l-hindāti l-ᶜāqilāti* 'I passed by the intelligent Hinds'.

11.43 These are all defined: the corresponding undefined[1] forms are, in the masculine singular, *jā'a rajulun ᶜāqilun* 'an intelligent man came', *ra'aytu rajulan ᶜāqilan* 'I saw an intelligent man', *marartu bi-rajulin ᶜāqilin* 'I passed by an intelligent man',[2] in the undefined masculine

Contrast *tamurrūna* (<**tamrurúna*) with *tamrúrna*. Dep. and apoc. forms 4.82 nn 1, 2; passive 8.3 n 1; past tense 10.61 n 1.

(2) See 5.82 n 6 on 'semantically connected', *muta^{c}alliq*.

11.41 (1) See 3.63-65 on the dual.

(2) Note that here the definite article *al*, as well as losing its first component in juncture (11.1 n 2) has also assimilated to the *z* of Zayd. In fact the *l* assimilates to exactly half of the 28 consonants of Classical Arabic, viz. *t, ṯ, d, ḏ, r, z, s, š, ṣ, ḍ, ṭ, ẓ, l, n,* all of which are linguals, which doubtless explains the ease with which *l* assimilates to them. Ullendorf (*Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honor of H.A.R. Gibb*, ed. G. Makdisi, Leiden 1965, 631) suggests that definition was originally marked in Arabic, as in Hebrew, by doubling the first consonant, and that *l* has only evolved later by dissimilation (he can produce other examples of dissimilation to *l* in other contexts). The theory is plausible but somehow fails to convince; however, it is interesting that, with dialect assimilations of the def. article to *b, j, f, q, k, m* included, only laryngeals and pharyngeals remain, which are also not doubled with the Hebrew article. Cf. Yushmanov 33.

(3) More accurately, the 'sound' masc. plur., q.v. 3.41. Note that proper names without the def. article (11.82 n 4) acquire one in the dual and plural, cf. 3.65 n 8.

11.42 (1) Comparison with other paragraphs will show that the masc. is the unmarked form, with the fem. being marked typically with the infix *at* (but better treated as a suffix, see below) between the last radical of the stem and the case endings (cf. *Kitāb* I, 6 on priority of masc. over fem.). The *at* suffix (and its plur. *āt*, cf. 4.31 n 1) is undoubtedly Proto-Semitic, and is also present in Hamitic (Moscati #12.32). Connections with the verbal suffix *t* (1.83) are obscure.

Orthographically there are problems with *at*, chiefly due to historical spelling. In a few words a *t* (the 'long *t*', *tā' muṭawwala*) is suffixed directly to the root, e.g. *'ukt* 'sister' (cf. *'ak* 'brother'), *bint* 'daughter' (cf. *ibn* 'son'), and in some Qur'anic spellings. Normally, however, *at* is represented in word final position by *ah* with two dots over the *h* indicating that it has the value *t* (the 'knotted *t*', *tā' marbūṭa*, after the shape of the letter *h*), this *ah* reproducing the pausal pronunciation of *at* (see 2.14 n 2), a spelling also found after long vowels (4.31 n 1). When not pausal, the *at* is further suffixed with the inflection markers (4.11 n 1); with dual (4.5 n 1) and pronoun suffixes (4.72 n 2) the *t* resumes normal form.
Other fem. suffixes, *ā, ā'*, 11.43 n 2; distribution of *at*, 11.44 n 2; fem. gender in general 11.43 n 3; summary of main problems, Fleisch, *Tr.* #66. See also Bateson 20; Yushmanov 37.

11.43 (1) See 11.8 for indefinition.

(2) Among the points to note here are: (a) the verb *jā'a* 'came' remains singular regardless of the number of the agent (see 7.22 n 1, and cf.

التنكير جاء رجلان عاقلان ورأيت رجلين عاقلين ومررت برجلين عاقلين وتقول في
جمعه مع التنكير جاء رجال عقلاء ورأيت رجالا عقلاء ومررت برجال عقلاء وتقول
في المفردة المؤنثة مع التنكير جاءت امرأة عاقلة ورأيت امرأة عاقلة ومررت
بامرأة عاقلة وفي تثنيتها مع التنكير جاءت امرأتان عاقلتان ورأيت امرأتين
عاقلتين ومررت بامرأتين عاقلتين وتقول في جمعها مع التنكير جاءت نساء
عقلاء ورأيت نساء عقلاء ومررت بنساء عقلاء او جاءت نساء عاقلات ورأيت نساء
عاقلات ومررت بنساء عاقلات والنعت في ذلك كله رافع لضمير المنعوت المستتر
واعراب ذلك كله بين مما مر فلا نطيل بذكره واما النعت السببي الذي يكون
رافعا لاسم ظاهر متصل بضمير المنعوت فيشترط فيه ان يكون تابعا للمنعوت في
اثنين من خمسة في واحد من وجوه الاعراب الثلاثة وفي واحد (38b) من التعريف

dual, *jā'a rajulāni* ^{c}*āqilāni* 'two intelligent men came', *ra'aytu rajulayni* ^{c}*āqilayni* 'I saw two intelligent men' and *marartu bi-rajulayni* ^{c}*āqilayni* 'I passed by two intelligent men', in the undefined masculine plural, *jā'a rijālun* ^{c}*uqalā'u* 'intelligent men came', *ra'aytu rijālan* ^{c}*uqalā'a* 'I saw intelligent men' and *marartu bi-rijālin* ^{c}*uqalā'a* 'I passed by intelligent men'.[3]

11.44 In the undefined feminine singular you say *jā'at imra'atun* ^{c}*āqilatun* 'an intelligent woman came',[1] *ra'aytu mra'atan* ^{c}*āqilatan* 'I saw an intelligent woman' and *marartu bi-mra'atin* ^{c}*āqilatin* 'I passed by an intelligent woman', in the undefined feminine dual, *jā'at imra'atāni* ^{c}*āqilatāni* 'two intelligent women came', *ra'aytu mra'atayni* ^{c}*āqilatayni* 'I saw two intelligent women' and *marartu bi-mra'atayni* ^{c}*āqilatayni* 'I passed by two intelligent women', in the undefined feminine plural, *jā'at nisā'un* ^{c}*uqalā'u* 'intelligent women came', *ra'aytu nisā'an* ^{c}*uqalā'a* 'I saw intelligent women' and *marartu bi-nisā'in* ^{c}*uqalā'a* 'I passed by intelligent women'.[2]

11.45 In all the above, the concealed pronoun referring to the antecedent is made independent by the adjective,[1] and its parsing is clear enough from what has already been said, so there is no need to dwell on it here.

11.5 The 'semantically linked' adjective[1] (i.e. the one which makes independent an explicit noun bearing a suffixed pronoun which refers to the antecedent of this adjective),[2] must concord with its antecedent in two out of the following five features: one of the three inflections, and one of *(38b)* either definition or indefinition. Whichever two of

the fem. sing. verbs in 11.42, 44, with fem. agents); (b) adjectives qualifying plur. nouns seem to fluctuate arbitrarily between sound plur. (*ᶜāqilūna,* 11.41, *ᶜāqilātun,* 11.44) and broken plur. (*ᶜuqalā'u,* 11.43, 44), a phenomenon which still needs to be clarified (cf. 9.12 n 4); (c) the broken plur. *ᶜuqalā'u* is formally a feminine, as it bears the fem. suffix *ā'* (cf. 3.89 n 2), which may or may not be connected with an assumed 'collective' function of the fem. gender (11.44 n 2). The cognate (?) suffix *ā* (3.89 n 2) is a fem. marker of highly limited occurrence, being found almost exclusively in the pattern *fuᶜlā* (e.g. *kubrā* 'greatest'), fem. of the 'elative' adjective, q.v. 3.89 n 10.

(3) Some remarks on gender: the two genders of Arabic, viz. *muḏakkar* 'masculine' (lit. 'made masc.', denominative verb from *ḏakar* 'male') and *mu'annaṯ* 'feminine' (denom. verb from *'unṯā* 'female'), are not distributed completely according to natural gender: many masc. nouns are marked fem. (see 3.411 n 1, 11.44 n 2), and many fem. nouns and adjectives are unmarked (see 3.411 n 2, 20.13 n 2); moreover gender may change by attraction (see 26.94-96). Gender is thus purely grammatical. *Jum.* 285; *Muf.* #263; *Alf.* v 758; Beeston 39; Fleisch 46, *Tr.* #66; Bateson 12; Yushmanov 37, 67. Cf. also 26.95 n 1.

11.44 (1) For the juncture feature in *imra'atun* see 19.72 n 4.

(2) Distribution of the fem. suffix *at* is broadly: (a) marking natural fem. gender, contrast *ḵādimun* 'manservant', *ḵādimatun* 'maidservant'; (b) as an individualizing suffix, contrast *samakun* 'fish (as a class)', *samakatun* 'a single fish' (cf. 25.32 n 2), *ḍarbun* 'hitting (as a type of action)', *ḍarbatun* 'a single blow'; (c) on certain broken plural patterns (3.221), e.g. *ṭalabatun* 'students' (and cf. *'uqalā'u,* 11.43 n 2); (d) on certain masc. proper names and intensives, e.g. *ḵalīfatun* 'caliph' (see further 3.411 n 1); (e) on many abstract nouns, e.g. *wizāratun* 'ministry', *'akṯariyyatun* 'majority' (from *'akṯar* 'most', see 11.721 n 4), cf. also 3.231 n 2 for abstracts with sound feminine plur. See Colin, *G.L.E.C.S.* 3, 41, for the view that *at* has always been fundamentally an individualizing suffix.

11.45 (1) This asserts that adjectives are equivalent to verb phrases (*ᶜāqilun* = *yaᶜqilu* 'he is intelligent'), i.e. to relative clauses ('who is intelligent', v. 11.753), thereby accounting for number and gender concord. The idea may originate from Sībawayhi's observation that *hāḏā rajulun ḍāribun/ḍarabanā* 'this is a man striking/who struck us' are synonymous (*Kitāb* I, 4). Cf. Fleischer, *Kl. Schr.* II, 90, Wright II, 284; Beeston 71; see further 11.5 n 2.

11.5 (1) *Jum.* 107; *Muf.* ##145, 348; *Alf.* v 507; *Qaṭr* 324, 329; Beeston 94; Fleisch 174. 'Semantically linked' renders *sababī,* lit. 'having a bond or tie' (contrast *sabab* 'cause', 24.22 n 1, which shows a different, and unrelated extension of the same root meaning): like *mutaᶜalliq* 'connected' (5.82 n 6), the bond is semantic rather than structural (see notes following, and cf. Carter, *B.S.O.A.S.* 35, 488).

(2) Structurally the 'semantically linked' adjectival phrase is an inverted relative clause in which the original predicate acquires

والتنكير فكل ما كان في المنعوت اثنان من هذه الخمسة يجب ان يكون في النعت ولا
يجب ان يتبعه في اثنين من الخمسة الباقية من العشرة التي هي الافراد والتثنية
والجمع والتذكير والتأنيث تقول مررت برجل قائمة امه فقائمة نعت لرجل تابع
له في خفضه وهو واحد من وجوه الاعراب الثلاثة وفي تنكيره وهو واحد من التعريف
والتنكير وفي افراده وهو واحد من الافراد والتثنية والجمع ولم يتبعه في التذكير
لان رجلا مذكر وقائمة مؤنث فلم يتبعه في اربعة من العشرة والام فاعل مرفوع
بقائمة وتقول مررت بامرأة قائم ابوها فقائم نعت لامرأة تابع لها في الخفض
والتنكير وفي الافراد ولم يتبعها في التأنيث لان امرأة مؤنث وقائما مذكر فلم
يتبع النعت منعوته في اربعة من العشرة والاب فاعل مرفوع بقائم وهذا الذي
ذكره المصنف من ان النعت تابع لمنعوته في رفعه ونصبه الى اخره لازم في كل
نعت حقيقيا كان او سببيا وكذلك اقتصر عليه لشمول مسمى النعت بقسميه تنبيه
يجوز قطع الصفة المعلوم موصوفها بدونها رفعا بتقدير هو اذا كان منصوبا

these five are present in the antecedent must also be present in the adjective. Conversely, it does not have to concord with its antecedent in two out of the five remaining features from the ten mentioned above, viz. singular, dual or plural number, and masculine or feminine gender.

11.51 Hence you say *marartu bi-rajulin qā'imatin 'ummuhu* 'I passed by a man whose mother was standing', where *qā'imatin* 'standing' (fem. sing.) is an adjective to *rajulin* 'a man' and concords with it in obliqueness (out of the three inflections) and indefinition (out of the two, definition and indefinition), but not in masculine gender because *rajulin* 'a man' is masculine and *qā'imatin* 'standing' is feminine, and hence the adjective does not concord with its antecedent in all four out of the ten features;[1] *'ummuhu* 'his mother' here is an agent made independent by *qā'imatin* 'standing'.[2] Likewise you say *marartu bi-mra'atin qā'imin 'abūhā* 'I passed by a woman whose father was standing', where *qā'imin* 'standing' (masc.) is an adjective to *imra'atin* 'a woman' and concords with it in obliqueness, indefinition and singular number, but not in feminine gender because *imra'atin* 'woman' is feminine while *qā'imun* 'standing' is masculine, and hence the adjective does not concord with its antecedent in all four out of the ten features; *'abūhā* 'her father' here is an agent made independent by *qā'imin* 'standing'.[3]

11.52 The author's statement that the adjective concords with its antecedent in its independence, dependence etc.[1] is compulsory for every adjective, whether a 'true' adjective or 'semantically linked'; his concision here is due to the fact that the term 'adjective' embraces both types.[2]

11.6 Note: When the antecedent is sufficiently recognizable by itself it is permitted to suspend adjectival concordance,[1] the adjective then retaining its independent form (as predicate of an implicit *huwa* 'he')

partial concordance with the antecedent (see analysis in 11.41). The closely related structures of the complex predicate (9.75, 76) and the annexed adjective (26.92) should be compared with the semantically linked adjective, as all three share the property of referring both backwards to the antecedents they qualify and forwards to the true, grammatical subject (or agent) within the qualifying phrase (hence *ḏāt wajhayn* 'two-faced', 9.75 n 1).

11.51 (1) The four concordance features are effectively shared between the two 'antecedents' on each side: definition and case for the former and number and gender for the latter (note that these adjectives are predicates of the second noun, and in predicates definition and case are structurally indifferent, cf. 9.03, 9.81 n 2). However, it may be that both 'antecedents' have the same number or gender, and the adjective will then appear (as in the examples here) to concord in three or even all four features (e.g. *huwa rajulun qā'imun 'abūhu* 'he is a man whose father is standing'), which is why aš-Širbīnī says that the adjective 'does not have to concord' in number or gender with the first antecedent (11.5, and cf. 11.52).

(2) The 'true' adjective theoretically contains an independent pronoun referring to its antecedent (11.45), while the semantically linked kind is already the predicate of an explicit noun (n 1): moreover this predicate is essentially verbal (all verbs are predicates, 3.73 n 5), as is reinforced by the choice of present participles in the examples. However, even adjectives of non-participial form (cf. 26.92 n 2) are verbal in origin: 'all adjectival qualification is verbal or can be reduced to a verbal concept' (Ibn Jinnī, op. cit. 9.02 n 1, 33).

(3) Examples of defined antecedents are omitted; they would be *marartu bi-r-rajuli l-qā'imati 'ummuhu* 'I passed by the man whose mother was standing' and *marartu bi-l-imra'ati l-qā'imi 'abūhā* 'I passed by the woman whose father was standing'. The similarity to relative clauses is particularly marked (cf. 11.753 n 3).

11.52 (1) Cf. 11.51 n 1. For a variety of reasons full concord is not always evident, e.g. *zaydun il-^{c}āqilu* (defined nouns with *tanwīn* 11.81), *ḵalīfatun ^{c}ādilun* 'a just caliph' (masc. nouns with fem. marker, 3.411 n 1), *^{c}ajūzun marīḍatun* 'a sick old lady' (unmarked fem. nouns, 20.13 n 2), *imra'atun ^{c}āqirun* 'a barren woman' (unmarked fem. adj., 3.411 n 2), *kutubun qadīmatun* 'old books' (broken plur. is grammatically fem. sing., 4.12 n 3), *ḵalqun katīrūna* 'many people' (collective noun with plur. adj., cf. 9.95), *ḡanamun rā^{c}iyatun* 'grazing sheep' (non-human collective noun with fem. sing. adj., cf. Fleisch 47, 3.64 n 2).

(2) The passive participle occurs as a semantically linked adjective, e.g. *al-mas'alatu l-mušāru 'ilayhā* 'the problem referred to' (lit. 'at which pointing has been done'), concording with the unknown agent (8.1) and not (as in some European languages) with the antecedent. Cf. 26.92 n 4.

11.6 (1) *Jum.* 27; *Muf.* #57; *Alf.* v 517; *Qaṭr* 331; Reckendorf, *Arab Synt.* 114. 'Suspend adjectival concordance' is a rather ponderous

او مجرورا نحو الحمد لله الحميد ونصبا بتقدير اعني في الايضاح او امدح في المدح
او اذم في الذم او ارحم في الترحم او غير ذلك مما يناسب الصفة تتمة يجوز حذف
كل واحد من النعت والمنعوت اذا علم لكن يكثر في المنعوت ويقل في النعت فمن
حذف المنعوت قوله تعالى (39a) وعندهم قاصرات الطرف ومن حذف النعت قوله تعالى
يأخذ كل سفينة غصبا اي صالحة وقول عباس بن مرداس

وقد كنت في الحرب ذا تدرأ فلم اعط شيئا ولم امنع

اي شيئا طائلا لانه الواقع انه اعطي شيئا بدليل قوله ولم امنع وسبب انشاده
ذلك ان النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم حين اعطى المؤلفة قلوبهم من نفل حنين ماءة
ماءة اعطاه اباعر فسخطها وزاد على ذلك ابياتا اخر لا يحتملها هذا المختصر
فقال صلى الله عليه وسلم اقطعوا لسانه عني فزادوه حتى رضي والتدرأ بضم التاء
المثناة الفوقانية واسكان الدال المهملة وفتح الراء بعدها همزة القوة والقدرة ولما

when the antecedent is dependent or oblique, as in *al-ḥamdu li-llāhi l-ḥamīdu* 'praise be to God, (he is) praiseworthy', where *al-ḥamīdu* 'the praiseworthy' is independent, as if it were the predicate of an elided subject with the implicit meaning of *huwa l-ḥamīdu* 'he is the praiseworthy one'. The adjective may also have dependent form through an implicit *'a^cnī* 'I mean' for clarification, or *'amdaḥu* 'I praise' for praise, *'aḏummu* 'I blame' for blame, or *'arḥamu* 'I pity' for pity, or whatever verb is appropriate for the adjective.[2]

11.61 Supplementary Note: Either the adjective or its antecedent may be elided when the other is sufficiently obvious,[1] but while this is common with the antecedent it is rare with the adjective. An example of elision of the antecedent is the Qur'anic *(39a) wa-^cindahum qāṣirātu ṭ-ṭarfi* 'and with them (damsels) restraining their looks'.[2] An example of elision of the adjective is the Qur'anic *ya'ḵuḏu kulla safīnatin ġaṣban* 'he takes every ship by force',[3] meaning *ṣāliḥatin* '(every) sound (ship)'. Another example is the verse by ^cAbbās ibn Mirdās:

wa-qad kuntu fī l-ḥarbi ḏā tudra'in
fa-lam 'u^cṭa šay'an wa-lam 'umna^ci

'and I was mighty in battle, but I was not given anything, nor was I refused',[4] meaning *šay'an ṭā'ilan* 'anything worth having' (for it is a fact that he was given something, witness his words 'nor was I refused'). The occasion for the recitation of this verse is that the Prophet (may God bless him and give him peace) was distributing the booty of the Battle of Ḥunayn a hundred camels at a time to those tribes whose loyalty he had purchased, but gave only a few to ^cAbbās ibn Mirdās, which angered him. He continued with further verses (which it is impracticable to include in such a short work as this) until the Prophet (may God bless him and give him peace) said, 'Stop his tongue for me!', so they gave him more until he was satisfied.[5] The word *tudra'un* (spelt with *u* after the *t* with two dots above, unvowelled *d* without dots, *a* after the *r* and then ') means 'strength, power'.[6]

translation of *qaṭ^{c} aṣ-ṣifa* 'cutting the adjective off': in earlier grammar *qaṭ^{c}* 'cutting' had a somewhat wider currency in the context of discord in general (cf. Carter, *Arabica* 20, 297).

(2) Ultimately the speaker's intentions are the determining factor in this construction (cf. 14.4 n 5), which has become generally known as *an-naṣb ^{c}alā l-madḥ 'aw aḏ-ḏamm* 'dependence in praise or blame' (and cf. 20.9 n 1 on the similar construction *taḵṣīṣ* 'specializing').

11.61 (1) Nouns and adjectives are morphologically indistinguishable in Arabic, but their functions do not entirely overlap. The following generalizations are to be taken as a guide to a problem which has not yet been fully explored: (a) all adjectives may function as nouns, but it is not clear how essential it is to assume an elided antecedent in every case (cf. next note); (b) some nouns never function as adjectives, in particular those of an exclusively nominal 'pattern' (10.37 n 1), such as the verbal noun: this appears to be the only class in which there are no adjectives of the same pattern, contrast *fa^{c}ul*, which is both the pattern of the 'underived' noun *rajul* 'man' (20.7 n 1) and the adjective *faruq* 'timorous' (Fleisch 56). See further Beeston 34; Fleisch 187.

(2) S. 37 v 48. *Muf.* #149; *Alf.* v 519. There is no difficulty in recovering 'damsels' (Palmer, Bell) from the sound fem. plur. agent pattern of *qāṣirātu,* though perhaps Sale goes a little too far with his 'virgins of Paradise'. Cf. 26.92 on the annexation construction here.

(3) S. 18 v 79, meaning every ship not destroyed in battle.

(4) *Schaw. Ind.* 143; see *E.I.* (2), art. 'al-^{c}Abbās b. Mirdās', *G.A.S.* II, 242 on this poet and tribal leader who became an ally of Muḥammad in 629. The restoration of an adjective for *šay'an* 'thing' is a rhetorical pedantry, as the hyperbole is both deliberate and obvious. Among points worth noting here are: the verbal marker *qad*, 1.81; the defective noun *ḏā* 'possessor of', 3.42, here with dep. form as predicate of *kuntu* 'I was', 10.11; *tudra'in* 'strength, see below, n 6; *lam,* negative particle followed by apocopated verbs, 5.71; *'u^{c}ṭa* 'I am given' is the passive imperfect tense (8.3), first person singular, apocopated form (3.92), Stem IV (8.63 n 1) of the root *^{c}-ṭ-w* 'give' (weak 3rd rad. *w* changes to *y* in all derived Stems, and the endings of the passive then become the same as the Stem I active verb *yaḵšā* (4.81 n 2), apoc. *yaḵša*), and is doubly transitive (16.310 n 1); *'umna^{c}i* 'I was refused' is also first person sing. passive imperfect tense (8.3 n 1), but has final *i* because of the rhyme, see 5.88 n 4.

(5) The historical background notes, and indeed the entire contents of this paragraph, are based upon al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* II, 119, where also the subsequent four verses are quoted. On Ḥunayn see *E.I.* (2), art. 'Ḥunayn'.

(6) Since *tudra'* is a common noun it is fully declinable (*munṣarif* etc., q.v. 1.41 n 1, 3.87 n 3): had it been a proper name it would, according to 3.89 (6), have been semi-declinable, since in form it is identical with the 2nd masc. sing. imperfect tense passive. These nouns with

ذكر المصنف ان النعت تابع للمنعوت في تعريفه وتنكيره احتاج الى بيان المعرفة
والنكرة والنكرة هي الاصل لانها لا تحتاج في دلالتها الى قرينة بخلاف المعرفة وما
يحتاج فرع عما لا يحتاج ولكن المصنف بدأ بالمعرفة وكان الاولى ان يبدأ بالنكرة
فقال والمعرفة من حيث هي خمسة اشياء بل ستة كما ستعرفه الاول الاسم المضمر
وهو ما دل على متكلم نحو انا ونحن او مخاطب كانت وانت او غائب كهو
وهي واعرف المعارف الجلالة الكريمة ثم الضمير العائد اليها ثم ضمير المتكلم ثم
ضمير المخاطب ثم ضمير الغائب ثم المشار اليه والمنادى فهما في رتبة ثم الموصول
وذو الاداة وهما في رتبة ايضا والمضاف في رتبة المضاف اليه الا المضاف الى
الضمير فانه في رتبة العلم وهذا الترتيب هو المختار وان (39b) خالف بعضهم في
ذلك والضمير اما مستتر وهو ما لا صورة له بل ينوى ولا يكون الا مرفوعا وهو

11.7 Having said that the adjective concords with its antecedent in definition and indefinition, the author now has to explain what definition and indefinition are. The fundamental state is indefinition because, unlike definition, it needs no contextual element to indicate it, and whatever has a need must be secondary to that which has no need.[1] Nevertheless our author begins with definition, even though it would have been more appropriate to begin with indefinition:

11.701 <u>Defined elements</u>[1] as such <u>are of five kinds:</u> (or rather, six, as you will learn).

11.71 (1) <u>The pronoun,</u>[1] which may denote the speaker,[2] <u>e.g. *'anā* 'I',</u> *naḥnu* 'we', the person addressed, e.g. *'anta* 'you' (masc. sing.), *'anti* 'you' (fem. sing.), or the absent person, e.g. *huwa* 'he', *hiya* 'she'.

11.711 The most definite of the defined elements is the name of Almighty God, followed by the pronoun referring to Him,[1] then the pronouns of the first, second and third persons, next the demonstrative pronoun and the vocative (both of equal rank),[2] and finally the relative and that which bears a defining particle[3] (both of equal rank also). Annexed elements have the same rank as the elements to which they are annexed, unless annexed to a pronoun, in which case they have the rank of a proper name. This is the most choice arrangement, though *(39b)* there are some who disagree with it.

11.712 Pronouns fall into two classes:[1] (a) concealed pronouns, which have no outward form[2] but are merely understood. These are always

verbal prefixes (cf. 3.89 n 6 for prefix *y*) were almost certainly true verbs before they became used as nouns, cf. Fleisch 81.

11.7 (1) See 11.8 n 1 on terminology of definition and indefinition. Though the def. art. *al* and the (to our way of thinking) indefinition marker *tanwīn* (1.4) are in complementary distribution in the sing. and sound fem. plur., they occur together (albeit with allomorphs *ni/na* of *tanwīn*) in the dual and sound masc. plur. (compare paradigms, 4.5 n 1, 4.6 n 1 respectively). This is one of the reasons why *tanwīn* is not analysed primarily as an indefinition marker (1.42 n 1) and that indefinition is regarded as the unmarked state (hence logically prior, as argued here, cf. *Kitāb* I, 6). 'Contextual element' is *qarīna,* lit. 'accompanying element' (see 9.81, 10.18), a term perhaps taken over from logic (cf. van Ess, *op. cit.* 3.87 n 2, 28, n 34). Here it embraces all definition markers, formal and abstract (cf. 11.72).

11.701 (1) *Jum.* 27, 191; *Muf.* #262; *Alf.* v 52; *Qaṭr* 89; Beeston 36; Fleisch 170; Bateson 9; Nöldeke 29; Gätje, *Arabica* 17, 225; Drozdik, *African and Asian Studies* 6, 9; Pellat, *G.L.E.C.S.* 5, 88. Further kinds of definition: 11.77 n 3.

11.71 (1) *Jum.* 27; *Muf.* #160; *Alf.* v 54; *Qaṭr* 90; Beeston 39; Fleisch 135; Bateson 39; Yushmanov 26; Nöldeke 13, 47. For 'pronoun' we have two terms: *ḍamīr* lit. 'mind, conscience, thing in the mind', and *muḍmar* lit. 'that which is concealed in the mind'. The former is only used for 'pronoun', and the latter, and its verb *'aḍmara* 'to conceal in the mind', refer to the suppression of elements in general, e.g. of *'an* 'that' in 5.4 (for an early example cf. *Kitāb* I, 52, suppression of a verb). The verb *'aḍmara* is an antonym of *'a*^{c}*raba* 'to express openly', q.v. 2.0.

(2) The periphrastic nomenclature is retained here, see 9.22.

11.711 (1) This theological intrusion (v. 5.751 n 1) may date from the time of aš-Širbīnī himself: aṣ-Ṣabbān, on al-Ušmūnī on *Alf.* v 53, can cite only aš-Šanawānī (d. 1610). The hierarchy of defined elements is not developed by Sībawayhi (cf. *Kitāb* I, 219) but has become so by the time of al-Mubarrad (*Muqtaḍab* IV, 281; cf. *Jum.* 192, *Muf.* #262 and the dispute in *Inṣāf*, prob. 101).

(2) Although implicit in Sībawayhi (cf. Troupeau, *Lexique-Index,* s.v. *quwwa* 'power' (*q-w-y*) and *manzila* 'status' (*n-z-l*), explicit terms for 'rank', viz. *rutba* (syn. *martaba*) do not appear until about the tenth century. Cf. also 11.761, 22.0 n 4.

(3) The word is *'adāh* 'tool', a synonym of *ḥarf*, see 21.02 n 1.

11.712 (1) The technique of dichotomous classification (1.2 n 2) is particularly obvious here; for convenience the subdivisions have been numbered (a) (i) and (ii), (b) (i) and (ii) in subsequent paragraphs.

(2) 'Outward form' renders *ṣūra* lit. 'form, shape, idea', a term very often encountered in philosophy but seldom in grammar (other examples 11.733, 21.12). When the concept of linguistic form needs to be

قسمان واجب الاستتار وجائزه فالقسم الاول كالمقدر وجوبا وهو ما لا يخلفه ظاهر
ولا ضمير منفصل وذلك في مواضع منها المرفوع بمضارع مبدوء بالهمزة نحو اقوم
ومنها المرفوع بمضارع مبدوء بالنون نحو نقوم ومنها المرفوع بامر الواحد المذكر
نحو قم والقسم الثاني وهو جائز الاستتار كالمقدر جوازا وهو ما يخلفه الظاهر او
الضمير المنفصل وهو المرفوع بفعل الغائب نحو زيد يقوم او بفعل الغائبة نحو هند
قامت او باسم الفاعل نحو زيد قائم او باسم المفعول نحو زيد مضروب فالضمير
في هذه الامثلة وما اشبهها مستتر جوازا واذا برز انفصل تقول زيد ما قام الا
هو وكذا الباقي واما ضمير بارز وهو قسمان ايضا قسم متصل بعامله وهو الذي لا
يبتدأ به ولا يلي الا اختيارا وينقسم الى مرفوع كتاء قمت والى منصوب نحو كاف
اكرمك والى مجرور نحو هاء غلامه فهذه الضمائر الثلاثة متصلة لانه لا يبتدأ بها
ولا تلي الا اختيارا واما المنفصل فينقسم الى مرفوع كانا للمتكلم وحده وانت بفتح

independent, and divide into two kinds, (i) compulsorily concealed and (ii) optionally concealed.

11.713 (i) The first kind are those which must remain, as it were, necessarily implicit, being irreplaceable by any explicit noun or free pronoun.[1] They occur in various positions, e.g. made independent by an imperfect tense verb beginning with *'a* such as *'aqūmu* 'I stand', made independent by an imperfect tense verb beginning with *na* such as *naqūmu* 'we stand', or made independent by a masculine singular imperative verb such as *qum* 'stand!'.

11.714 (ii) The second kind are those whose concealment is permitted, which are, so to speak, optionally[1] implicit, being replaceable by an explicit noun or free pronoun.[2] These are the pronouns made independent by the third person masculine singular verb such as *zaydun qāma* 'Zayd, he stood', the third person feminine singular verb such as *hindun qāmat* 'Hind, she stood', the agent noun such as *zaydun qā'imun* 'Zayd is standing', or the patient noun such as *zaydun maḍrūbun* 'Zayd is struck'. In these and like examples the pronoun is optionally concealed: were it to become visible it would take the form of a free pronoun, e.g. *zaydun mā qāma 'illā huwa* 'Zayd, none stood but he', and so on for the remainder.[3]

11.715 (b) The others are the visible pronouns,[1] which also divide into two kinds, (i) those which are bound to their operator, i.e. which are never subjects of equational sentences and are never suffixed to *'illā* 'except' in unconstrained usage.[2] They divide into independent (e.g. the *tu* 'I' of *qumtu* 'I stood'), dependent (e.g. the *ka* 'you' of *'ukrimuka* 'I honour you'), and oblique (e.g. the *hu* 'his' of *ġulāmuhu* 'his boy'). These three types of pronoun are bound because they never occur as subjects of equational sentences and are never suffixed to *'illā* 'except' in unconstrained usage.[3]

expressed, the more usual terms are *šakl* 'shape, form' (3.221), *ṣīġa* 'shape, form' (3.65 (2), 5.02, 7.01, 7.03), or *lafẓ* 'expression' (1.11).

11.713 (1) See 11.714 n 1 for general references, and 11.714 n 3 for continuation of the points raised here. Terminology: 'necessarily implicit' *muqaddar wujūban*, cf. 2.101 n 4 on *taqdīr* 'implication' and 9.8 n 2 on *wājib* 'compulsory'; 'irreplaceable' *lā yaḵlufuhu* lit. 'there does not take its place' (cognate with *ḵalīfa* 'caliph', cf. 5.51 n 2, here a synonym of *nāba*, q.v. 3.0 n 3); 'explicit noun' *ẓāhir*, 7.2 n 1; 'free pronoun' *ḍamīr munfaṣil*, 11.716; 'positions' *mawāḍi^c*, i.e. functions, cf. 3.1 n 4. Compulsorily concealed pronouns are found only in the 1st and 2nd person, imperfect tense and imperative; see 11.714 n 3.

11.714 (1) Concealed pronouns in general: *Muf.* #165; *Alf.* v 60, *Qaṭr* 91; Bateson 39, and cf. 7.58 n 1, 7.8 n 1. On *jā'iz* 'permissible', *jawāzan* 'optional' and *wājib* 'compulsory' see 9.8 n 2.

(2) Free pronouns only replace a concealed 3rd person pronoun after *'illā* and *'innamā* (see 7.7, 7.81, 8.8), without restriction of person, thus *mā qāma 'illā 'anā* 'none stood but I' etc. (cf. 11.717 n 4).

(3) The reasoning here and in 11.713 will be easier to understand if we bear in mind that the 3rd sing. verb has no agent marker and may, in fact, be followed by overt agents of dual or plural number (see 7.58 n 1). The agent pronoun is thus entirely inferential: it is assumed to be present when no overt agent is named (*qāma* 'he stood') or when the agent precedes the verb (*zaydun qāma* 'Zayd, he stood', cf. 7.12 n 1 and contrast *zaydun qāma 'abūhu* 'Zayd's father stood', 9.75), and it is assumed to be absent when its position is occupied by an overt agent, either noun (*qāma zaydun* 'Zayd stood') or pronoun (*qāmū* 'they stood', *mā qāma 'illā huwa* 'none stood but he'). It is true that the compulsorily concealed pronouns of 11.713 are inferential too (7.8 n 1), but these cannot be replaced by overt nouns or pronouns without moving into the 3rd person: *'aqūmu* 'I stand' has 'N. stands' as its overt equivalent, *'anā maḍrūbun* means 'I am one who has been struck' and may be expressed as *'anā huwa l-maḍrūbu* 'I am he that has been struck' (cf. Cantarino, II, 433, Fleisch 138, *Tr.* #110d, and see 11.717 n 4).

11.715 (1) *Muf.* #160; *Alf.* v 55; *Qaṭr* 92; others in 11.71 n 1. Terms are: 'visible' *bāriz*, lit. 'protruding', antonym *mustatir* 'concealed' (7.58 n 1), neither used by early grammarians (Sībawayhi, al-Mubarrad etc.) but in evidence by the time of az-Zamaḵšarī (d. 1144); for 'bound' *muttaṣil* see 11.716 n 1, 'operation' *^{c}amal* 2.11 n 1.

(2) This is a repeat of 7.5, q.v. n 2 on 'unconstrained', *iḵtiyāran*. Its antonym *iḍṭirāran* 'by constraint' and the cognate *ḍarūra* 'need, constraint' have come to denote specifically poetic licence, cf. 1.45 n 3 (8), 1.51.

(3) The full inventory of independent bound (agent) pronouns is found in 7.51-62; the paradigm of the oblique bound (possessive) pronoun is in 4.72 n 2; bound dependent (object) pronouns are in 16.301-312.

التاء للمخاطب وهو للغائب والى منصوب نحو اياي للمتكلم وحده واياك للمخاطب المذكر
واياه للغائب المذكر هذه الضمائر اصول ولها فروع ففرع الاول واحد فقط وهو نحن وهو
للمتكلم ومعه غيره او المعظم نفسه حقيقة او ادعاء لان المتعدد فرع المفرد وفرع
الثاني اربعة وهي انت بكسر التاء للمخاطبة وانتما للمخاطبين مطلقا وانتم للمخاطبين
وانتن للمخاطبات لان المؤنث فرع المذكر والمثنى والجمع فرع المفرد وفرع الثالث اربعة
(40a) وهي هي للغائبة وهما للغائبين مطلقا وهم للغائبين وهن للغائبات وفرع الرابع واحد
وهو ايانا للمتكلم ومعه غيره وفرع الخامس اربعة وهي اياك للمخاطبة واياكما
للمخاطبين مطلقا واياكم للمخاطبين واياكن للمخاطبات وفرع السادس اربعة ايضا وهي
اياها واياهما واياهم واياهن على ما تقدم من التعليل فائدة الضمائر البارزة ستون
ضميرا وذلك لان البارز اما متصل او منفصل والمتصل مرفوع ومنصوب ومخفوض
والمنفصل مرفوع ومنصوب فقط فهذه خمسة اقسام ثلاثة للمتصل واثنان للمنفصل ولكل من
الخمسة اثنتا عشرة لفظة منها واحدة للمتكلم وحده وواحدة له ولمن معه وخمس للمخاطب
واحدة للمذكر وواحدة للمؤنث وواحدة لتثنيتهما وواحدة لجمع المذكر وواحدة لجمع
المؤنث وخمس للغائب كذلك واذا ضربنا خمسا في اثني عشر خرج منها ستون ذكر

11.716 (ii) The second are the free pronouns,[1] which divide into independent (e.g. *'anā* 'I' for the first person singular, <u>*'anta* 'you'</u>—with *a* after the *t*—for the second person masculine singular, and *huwa* 'he' for the third person masculine singular), and dependent (e.g. *'iyyāya* 'me' for the first person singular, *'iyyāka* 'you' for the second person masculine singular, and *'iyyāhu* 'him' for the third person masculine singular).[2]

11.717 These are the basic pronouns,[1] and they have derivatives. There is only one derivative of the first,[2] viz. *naḥnu* 'we' for the first person plural or plural of self-magnification (either genuine or pretended), because the multiple must be derivative from the singular). The derivatives of the second are four: *'anti* 'you' (with *i* after the *t*) for the second person feminine singular, *'antumā* 'you two' for the second person dual absolutely,[3] *'antum* 'you' for the second person masculine plural, and *'antunna* 'you' for the second person feminine plural, because the feminine is derivative from the masculine and the dual and plural are derivative from the singular. The derivatives of the third are four: *(40a) hiya* 'she' for the third person feminine singular, *humā* 'they two' for the third person dual absolutely, *hum* 'they' for the third person masculine plural, and *hunna* 'they' for the third person feminine plural.[4] There is one derivative of the fourth, viz. *'iyyānā* 'us'; the fifth has four derivatives, viz. *'iyyāki* 'you' (fem. sing.), *'iyyākumā* 'you two', *'iyyākum* 'you' (masc. plur.) and *'iyyākunna* 'you' (fem. plur.); the sixth also has four, viz. *'iyyāhā* 'her', *'iyyāhumā* 'them both', *'iyyāhum* 'them' (masc.), and *'iyyahunna* 'them' (fem.), for the reasons already given.[5]

11.718 Additional Note:[1] The visible pronouns total sixty,[2] because the visible pronoun is either bound or free, and the bound is either independent, dependent or oblique, and the free either independent or dependent only, making five kinds in all (three bound and two free). Each of the five has twelve forms,[3] one for the 1st sing., one for the 1st. plur., five for the 2nd (masc. sing., fem. sing., dual, masc. plur. and

11.716 (1) *Muf.* #160; *Alf.* v 61; *Qaṭr* 93; others in 11.71 n 1. 'Free is *munfaṣil*, lit. 'separate' (same root as *ḍamīr al-faṣl* 'separating pronoun' in 9.81 n 2), antonym *muttaṣil*, lit. 'connected', clearly representing the bound/free contrast as it is now termed. Free pronouns as agents 7.7, 8.8, as subjects 9.22-24.

(2) See 16.501-512 for the free dependent pronouns.

11.717 (1) 'Basic' renders *'uṣūl*, plur. of *'aṣl* 'base, root, stock', and 'derivatives' is *furū*ᶜ, lit. 'branches', cf. 3.0 n 2. The priority of singular over dual and plural, and of masculine over feminine, are a priori assumptions which go back to the earliest grammar (e.g. *Kitāb* I, 6) and may well have been borrowed informally from Greek sources (cf. Carter, *R.E.I.* 40, 94; Versteegh has not taken up this topic, only a passing mention 84 on priority of nouns over verbs, but cf. 1.21-22). A later addition to the hierarchy is the priority of the first person over the second and so on (al-Mubarrad, *Muqtaḍab* IV, 281). For priority of undefined over defined see 11.7.

(2) The six items listed in this paragraph correspond to the six pronouns in 11.716, viz. three independent and three dependent.

(3) 'Absolutely' is *muṭlaqan*, lit. 'set loose, without restraint' (cf. 17.3 n 1), in this case meaning that there is no distinction of gender.

(4) Further to 11.714 n 3: free pronouns may indeed occur after verb phrases, but only for emphasis, e.g. *'aqūmu 'anā* 'I stand!', *qum 'anta* 'stand, you!'. Here the pronouns do not replace the concealed agents but are simply in apposition to them (cf. 13.14 n 4), it being a matter of indifference whether the antecedent pronoun is concealed, as above, or overt (visible, 11.715), e.g. *qumtu 'anā* 'I stood!'. In the type *mā qāma 'illā 'anā* 'none stood but I' (11.714 n 2) the verb strictly has no logical agent until one is explicitly mentioned (21.3), hence verbs with visible pronoun agents cannot occur in this construction, or rather, if they do, their agent cannot be the antecedent of the excepted noun itself (but *mā qumtu 'illā 'ijlālan lahu* 'I stood only out of respect for him' is possible because exception is from something other than the agent).

(5) i.e. because the fem., and the dual and plur. are derivative (n 1).

11.718 (1) This is substantially a repeat of 9.3; see also n 3 below.

(2) A feature of the pronoun (which it shares with other defined elements of a fundamentally deictic nature, viz. the def. article and the demonstratives, and cf. 11.753 n 3 on undefined relatives) is that it may yet refer to something undefined, as in *jā'a rajulun wa-sallamtu* ᶜ*alayhi* 'a man came and I greeted him' (another example 13.2 n 2), cf. *Kitāb* I, 220: 'you only pronominalize a noun after you are certain that the person you are addressing already knows whom or what you mean, and that you mean something specific' (cf. 11.72 on 'specific').

(3) Some slight casuistry is involved here: taking the free pronouns as a basis, there are indeed twelve different forms, as there is no gender

المصنف منها اثني عشر في باب الفاعل واثني عشر في باب المبتدأ والخبر
واربعة وعشرون سيذكرها في باب المفعول به ويزاد علي ذلك الياء من تفعلين
وامثلتها مشهورة فلا نطيل الكلام بذكرها تنبيه المختار في انا ان الضمير هو
الهمزة والنون فقط والالف زائدة لبيان الحركة ومذهب الكوفيين انه الاحرف الثلاثة
واختاره ابن مالك وفي انت وفروعه ان الضمير نفس ان عند البصريين واللواحق
لها حروف خطاب وفي هو وهي الجميع ضمير وهو مذهب البصريين ومذهب الكوفيين
ان الضمير هو الهاء فقط والواو والياء اشباع وفي هما وهم الضمير الهاء وحدها
وقيل انه المجموع وفي هن الهاء وحدها والنون الاولى كالميم في هم والثانية كالواو
في هموا وفي اياه الضمير نفس ايا وان اللواحق لها حروف تكلم (40b) وخطاب
وغيبة واستشكل بان الضمير ما دل على متكلم او مخاطب او غائب وايا على
حدتها لا تدل على ذلك واجيب بانها وضعت مشتركة بين المعاني الثلاثة فعند

fem. plur.), and five for the 3rd person (the same). The product of five and twelve is sixty pronouns, twelve of which the author has dealt with in the chapter on the agent, twelve in the chapter on the subject and predicate, and another twenty-four will be dealt with in the chapter on the direct object.[4] To these can be added the *ī* of *taf*ᶜ*alīna* 'you (fem. sing.) do' and the like, but we shall not dwell on them here because they are familiar enough already.[5]

11.719 Note:[1] The select opinion on *'anā* 'I' is that only *'anā* is the pronoun, the lengthening sign being redundant and serving only to make the final *a* clear in pronunciation,[2] but the Kūfan view is that the whole word with all three letters is the pronoun, and this is the one chosen by Ibn Mālik.[3] As for *'anta* 'you' (masc. sing.) and its derivatives, the opinion of the Baṣrans is that *'an* itself is the pronoun, and that its suffixes are letters of apostrophe.[4] In *huwa* 'he' and *hiya* 'she' the whole word is the pronoun according to the Baṣrans, but the Kūfan view is that only *hu* and *hi* are the pronoun, with *wa* and *ya* to fill out the sound. As for *humā* 'they two' and *hum* 'they' (masc.), only the *hu* is the pronoun, though some say that the whole word is the pronoun. In *hunna* 'they' (fem.) only the *hu* is the pronoun, the first *n* being like the *m* of *hum* 'they' (masc.) and the second like the *ū* of *humū* 'they' (masc.).[5] In *'iyyāhu* 'him' the pronoun is *'iyyā* itself, and the elements suffixed to it are particles of the first *(40b)* second and third person. The difficulty has been raised that pronouns are supposed to denote a first, second or third person, and that *'iyyā* by itself does not:[6] the answer is that originally *'iyyā* was by convention common to all three meanings,[7] and that when the need arose to distinguish

distinction in the dual. Nevertheless there are thirteen different agent suffixes (or better: 13 marked categories of agent) in the past tense verb, with 3rd dual gender distinction, and only eleven distinct forms in the imperfect tense (2nd masc. sing. and 3rd fem. sing. are the same, as are 2nd dual common and 3rd dual fem.). An Arab grammarian would argue that *ā* is a common dual agent pronoun in the 3rd dual past tense (7.60), and that the *t* prefixes of the imperfect are not pronouns (5.3 n 3).

(4) Agent pronouns 7.51-62; subject pronouns 9.22-24; object pronouns 16.301-312 (bound), 16.501-512 (free); possessive pronouns 4.72 n 2, which complete the sixty.

(5) Namely the dual agent suffix *ā* and the masc. plur. suffix *ū* (3.44). Since there is some doubt as to exactly how many imperfect tense verb forms contain these pronouns (3.45) they are pedagogically untidy and cannot be smoothly fitted into the scheme!

11.719 (1) Largely a repeat of 9.4-44 (notes there are complementary to these here).

(2) Possibly to avoid confusion with *'an* 'that' (5.41). But there is much uncertainty about the value of the final *ā* of *'anā*, which in poetry (as assured by scansion) is sometimes long and sometimes short. Rabin, *Anc. West-Ar.* 151, suggests that it may have two different roots, one with long and one with short final vowel (and cf. Nöldeke 14, Moscati ##13.2, 13.7). For Trager and Rice, *Language* 30, 226, there seemed no point in segmenting *'anā*, as it produced no useful contrasts, and in this they fortuitously side with the 'Kūfans' (9.4 n 3).

(3) 'Letters' translates *'aḥruf*, a plural of *ḥarf* (1.25) 'particle', but here clearly to be understood as grapheme or letter of the alphabet (cf. next note). For Ibn Mālik see 1.02 n 2.

(4) 'Letters of apostrophe' renders *ḥurūf al-ḵiṭāb* literally (*ḥurūf* is another plur. of *ḥarf* 'particle': the form *'aḥruf* above is theoretically a 'plural of paucity', q.v. 13.31 n 5, though this distinction is seldom correctly applied, even by grammarians). Here we must understand *ḥurūf* to mean 'morphemes', cf. 1.25 n 2. On distributional grounds Trager and Rice, *Language* 30, 226, reject the segmentation *'an-ta* etc., and opt for *'ant(a)*, thereby (synchronically at least) discounting the strong formal resemblance between the free pronouns and the agent suffixes (7.23 n 1).

(5) See 9.44 n 1 on the reasoning here.

(6) This must surely appear perverse to the Western grammarian, who can hardly be blamed for seeing the suffixes *hu* etc. on *'iyyā* as identical with the bound object pronoun suffixes. But see notes to 16.501 et seq. for the justification of the Arab view.

(7) 'By convention common to all three meanings' translates *wuḍi^{c}at muštarikatan bayna l-ma^{c}ānī ṯ-ṯalāṯati*: for *wuḍi^{c}at*, lit. 'has been put', cf. *waḍ^c* 'conventional denotation', 11.81 n 1; for *muštarika* lit. 'sharing', cf. 'equivocal' in 3.65 n 10, though our word here is to be

الاحتياج الى التمييز اردفت بحروف تدل على المعنى المراد كما اردف الفعل
المسند الى المؤنث بتاء التأنيث وهاهنا مذاهب اخر لا حاجة لنا بذكرها والثاني
من المعرفة الاسم العلم بفتح العين واللام وهو اسم يعين مسماه تعيينا مطلقا
فخرج بتقييد التعيين النكرات فانها لا تعين مسمياتها وبتقييد الاطلاق ما عدا
العلم من المعارف فان تعيينها لمسمياتها اما بقيد لفظي وهو المعرف بالصلة وال
والمضاف اليه او معنوي وهو اسم الاشارة والمضمر والعلم نوعان اما شخصي وهو ما
وضع لمعين في الخارج لا يتناول غيره من حيث ان الوضع له سواء اكان لعاقل
مذكر نحو زيد او لمؤنث نحو خرنق بكسر الخاء المعجمة والنون علم منقول عن ولد
الارنب لامرأة شاعرة ام غير عاقل اما لمكان نحو عدن بفتح العين والدال
المهملتين علم بلد بساحل اليمن ومكة او لغيرها كقرن بفتح القاف والراء اسم
قبيلة من مراد منها اويس القرني ومن قال انه منسوب الى قرن المنازل بسكون
الراء كالجوهري فقد سها ولاحق اسم فرس كان لمعاوية وشذقم علم فحل من فحول

between them *'iyyā* was suffixed with letters denoting the desired meaning, just as *t* is suffixed to the verb predicated of a feminine. There are other views on this,[8] but we need not go into them here.

11.72 (2) The second defined element is the proper name,[1] (*ᶜalam*, with *a* after the *ᶜ* and *l*), which makes what it names absolutely specific.[2] 'Specific' excludes undefined elements, since they do not make the things they name specific, and 'absolutely' excludes defined elements which are not proper names, because they only make the things they name specific either through some formal feature (viz. what is made defined by a relative clause, the definite article *al*, or being annexed), or through some abstract feature (viz. the demonstratives and pronouns).[3]

11.721 The proper name is of two kinds,[1] (a) personal, i.e. conventionally denoting some externally specified individual, and which no others can take because it has been assigned to him alone. It may denote a rational being, either male, e.g. *zaydun* 'Zayd', or female, e.g. *k̲irniqun* 'K̲irniq' (spelt with *i* after the single-dotted *k̲* and the *n*, a proper name transferred from its literal meaning 'the young of a rabbit' to the name of a poetess),[2] or its may denote an irrational being. The proper name may also be a place, e.g. *ᶜadanun* 'Aden' (spelt with undotted *ᶜ* and *d*, the name of a town on the coast of Yemen), and *makkatu* 'Mecca', and names may also denote other things, such as *qaranun* 'Qaran' (spelt with *a* after the *q* and *r*), the name of a tribe in the Murād confederation to which belongs 'Uways al-Qaranī (and whoever claims, as al-Jawharī does,[3] that this al-Qaranī is the gentilic[4] name from Qarn al-Manāzil, with unvowelled *r*, is mistaken). Also

taken quite literally; *ma^c^ānī* is literally 'meanings', but here might be better understood as 'semantic functions' (scil. pronominalization of the 1st, 2nd and 3rd person), cf. 2.2 n 5, 12.92 n 1.

(8) See 1.83 on fem. *t*, 16.504 n 2 on the 'other views' about *'iyyā*.

11.72 (1) *Jum.* 27, 192, 229; *Muf.* #4; *Alf.* v 72; *Qaṭr* 96; Beeston 36; *E.I.* (2), 1st art. 'Ism'. The term *^c^alam* 'proper name' is literally 'signpost, banner, waymark' (and is cognate with *^c^alāma* 'marker', q.v. 3.0 n 1). Further examples of proper names: 3.411, 3.89, 11.81, 23.41. The entities denoted by proper names in Arabic overlap completely the corresponding modern categories, specific people, places, countries, but cf. 11.722. On noun classes in general cf. 3.64 n 2.

(2) 'Makes...absolutely specific': see 17.3 n 1 on *muṭlaq* 'absolute'; *ta^c^yīn* 'making specific' is literally 'individualizing, nominating' (cf. *^c^ayn* 'self', 13.31, from the same root, similarly *ism ^c^ayn* 'concrete noun', 24.21 n 2). Contrast the definition of the common noun in 11.8.

(3) On 'formal', *lafẓī*, and 'abstract', *ma^c^nawī*, cf. 2.1 n 2. The fact that many proper names are prefixed with *al* 'the' is irrelevant (11.82 n 4): it remains true that formally defined common nouns can be applied to more than one individual. Abstract definition is effected by the act of pointing with the demonstratives (11.73) and apostrophizing with the vocatives (23.42 n 1). Pronominalization itself does not guarantee that a noun is defined (11.718 n 2).

11.721 (1) For formal categories of proper name see 11.723. The semantic categories are 'personal', *šaḵṣī* and 'generic', *jinsī* (11.722), the personal including places, tribes etc. For 'conventionally denoting' see *waḍ^c^*, 11.81 n 1; 'externally' contrasts with 'mentally' in 11.722.

(2) She was a pre-Islamic poet, see *G.A.S.* II, 310. Names are either 'transferred', *manqūl*, lit. 'carried over' as here, or *murtajal*, lit. 'extemporized', i.e. names not derived from existing roots (e.g. Faq^c^aṣ) or in patterns used only for names (Su^c^ād, cf. 3.89 (8), (9)).

(3) Evidently it is aš-Širbīnī who is mistaken (or rather, he has uncritically transmitted the error from his source al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* I, 114). In al-Jawharī's dictionary *aṣ-Ṣiḥāḥ*, s.v. *qaran*, it is stated unequivocally that 'Uways is named after Qaran (however, signs of confusion between Qaran and Qarn are discernible in Yāqūt's *Mu^c^jam al-buldān*, s.v. *qarn*). Al-Jawharī himself is a famous lexicographer and grammarian who died c. 1007, apparently while trying to fly from the roof of a mosque (*G.A.L.* I, 128; *E.I.* (2), art. 'al-Djawharī').

(4) 'Gentilic' is a narrow (but conventional) translation of *mansūb*, from *nisba* lit. 'relationship' of blood, extended thence to logical and other relationships (cf. 20.02 n 1). In grammar it denotes adjectives formed by suffixing *ī* (*iyyun* etc. with case endings), possibly related to the *i* of the oblique ('genitive') case. Originally suffixed only to proper names, it was soon generalized (e.g. *lafẓī* 'pertaining to form', *ḵārijī* 'external'), and the fem. sing. came to represent abstract nouns on the analogy of Greek *-ia*, e.g. *ismiyya* 'nominality' (1.31 n 3),

الابل كان للنعمان ابن المنذر وهيلة علم العنز لبعض نساء العرب وواشق علم
لكلب هذه امثلة ابن مالك في الفيته غير مكة الى سبعة اعلام وثامنها علم
كلب موازاة لقوله تعالى ويقولون سبعة وثامنهم كلبهم واما جنسي وهو (41a) ما
وضع لمعين قي الذهن اي ملاحظ الوجود فيه كاسامة علم للسبع وثعالة علم للثعلب
والعلم باعتبار ذاته شخصيا كان او جنسيا اما اسم وهو ما عدا الكنية واللقب
وهو الغالب كما مثلنا نحو زيد واسامة او لقب وهو ما اشعر برفعة المسمى كزين
العابدين او بضعته والوضيع الدني من الناس كانف الناقة وقفة او كنية وهي كل
مركب اضافي صدر باب كابي عمرو وابي بكر الصديق رضي الله تعالى عنه او ام كام
عمرو وام كلثوم بنت النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم زاد الفخر الرازي في العلم الجنسي
او ابن او بنت كابن داية للغراب وبنت الارض للحصاة والثالث من المعرفة الاسم
المبهم واراد به اسم الاشارة وحده ما دل على مسمى واشار اليه ووجه ابهامه
عمومه وصلاحيته للاشارة به الى كل جنس والى كل شخص والمشار اليه اما واحد او

lāhiqun 'Catcher', the name of one of Mu^{c}āwiya's horses,[5] *šadqamun* 'Big Mouth', the name of a camel stallion belonging to Nu^{c}mān ibn al-Mundir, *haylatun* 'Sandy', the name of a goat belonging to a certain Beduin woman, and *wāšiqun* 'Nimble', the name of a dog. These are the examples given by Ibn Mālik in his *Alfiyya* (except for *makkatu* 'Mecca'),[6] making seven names in all: the eighth, that of the dog, echoes the Qur'anic *wa-yaqūlūna sab^{c}atun wa-ṯāminuhum kalbuhum* 'and they shall say "Seven" and the eighth of them is their dog'.[7]

11.722 (b) The other kind is the generic proper name,[1] which *(41a)* by convention denotes something made mentally specific, i.e. whose existence is perceived in the mind, such as *'usāmatu* 'Usāma'. the name given to the lion, and *ṯu^{c}ālatu* 'Ṯu^{c}āla', the name given to the fox.

11.723 In itself the proper name, whether personal or generic, is either (a) a simple noun[1] (i.e. excluding nicknames and titles), this being the predominant usage, as already illustrated (e.g. *zaydun* 'Zayd', *'usāma* 'Usāma the lion'), or (b) a title, which imparts the high status of the person so named, e.g. *zaynu l-^{c}ābidīna* 'Ornament of the Devout', or even his humble station: a person of humble and lowly standing might, for example, be called *'anfu n-nāqati* 'Nose of the She-camel', or (c) a nickname, i.e. all those annexed compounds beginning with *'abū* 'father of' (e.g. *'abū ^{c}amrin* 'Father of ^{c}Amr, Abū ^{c}Amr' and *'abū bakrin* 'Father of the Young Camel, Abū Bakr', may God be pleased with him), or with *'ummu* 'mother of' (e.g. *'ummu ^{c}amrin* 'Mother of ^{c}Amr, Umm ^{c}Amr' and *'ummu kulṯūmin* 'Mother of Kulṯūm, Umm Kulṯūm',[2] i.e. the daughter of the Prophet, may God bless him and give him peace). To these Faḵru d-Dīn ar-Rāzī added *ibnu* 'son of' and *bintu* 'daughter of', as in *ibnu da'yata* 'son of the vertebrae' for 'crow' and *bintu l-'arḍi* 'daughter of the ground' for 'pebble'.[3]

11.73 (3) The third defined element is the vague noun,[1] by which the author means the demonstrative noun, defined as that which denotes something named and points to it. Its vagueness lies in its generality and its appropriateness for pointing to every species and to every

ḥarfiyya 'property of being a *ḥarf*' (21.5), *māhiyya* 'quiddity' (from *mā* 'what'), see Beeston 36; Fleisch 89; Bateson 20; Yushmanov 38.

(5) Mu^{c}āwiya was the 5th Caliph of Islām, reigned 661-680. For Nu^{c}mān, pre-Islamic king and patron, see *E.I.* (1), art. 'al-Nu^{c}mān ibn al-Mundhir'.

(6) See 1.02 n 2 on Ibn Mālik; the reference here is to *Alf.* vv 72-3.

(7) S. 18 v 22; the (facetious?) comment is from al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* I, 114, and see *E.I.* (2), art. 'Aṣḥāb al-Kahf'.

11.722 (1) On 'generic', *jinsī* see 23.31 n 1. 'Mentally specific' is *mu^{c}ayyan fī ḏ-ḏihn,* lit. 'made specific in the mind' (cf. *ta^{c}yīn* in 11.72 n 2), i.e. treating a class of creatures as a specific individual. The phenomenon is well known, cf. English 'Willie Wagtail', 'Reynard the Fox', and see Goguyer's notes to *Qaṭr* 96 for examples from French, also Fleisch, *Tr.* #76i. It would be interesting to know whether the Arabs would regard such singular nouns as *al-mu^{c}tazila* (the collective name for a school of hyper-rationalist theologians) or *al-qadariyya* (another group of theologians who denied free will) as generic proper names or as a variety of the personal proper name.

11.723 (1) 'Simple noun' is *mufrad*, q.v. 23.431 n 1; 'title' translates *laqab* (often rendered 'nickname', 'surname'); *kunya* 'nickname' (also 'by-name', 'sobriquet') strictly means an indirect, allusive name, mostly using the name of a son or daughter (and see next note). The 'Kūfans' (9.4 n 3) are said to have used *kunya* as their term for 'pronoun' (Ibn Hišām, *Šarḥ šuḏūr aḏ-ḏahab,* ed. A. G. ad-Daqar, Damascus N.D. 174). See *E.I.* (2), 1st art. 'Ism' on personal names.

(2) These names are normally never translated (see *E.I.* (2), art. 'Abū Bakr' for the first Caliph, reigned 632-4) even when, as might be the case with the examples given here, the man or woman is named after a son or daughter, viz. Abu ^{c}Amr, Umm ^{c}Amr. A variety of these names is the type *'abū n-naẓẓāra* 'the man with glasses' (lit. 'father of spectacles'), *'abū ḏ-ḏibbān* 'the man with bad breath' (lit. 'father of flies' etc., where *'abū* is synonymous with *ḏū* 'possessor' (3.42). Except for the 'simple' name, these are formally 'annexed compounds', q.v. 3.65 n 7.

(3) The immediate source is al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* I, 120, referring to Fakr ad-Dīn ar-Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ al-ḡayb,* Istanbul 1889-90, I, 32. On ar-Rāzī (died 1209), 'one of the most celebrated theologians and exegetists of Islam', see *E.I.* (2), art. 'Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī', *G.A.L.* I, 506. See 11.1 n 2 and 11.41 n 2 for the reasons why his name appears in three different forms in our text and footnotes, depending on the system of transliteration preferred.

11.73 (1) *Jum.* 27; *Muf.* #171; *Alf.* v 82; *Qaṭr* 99; Beeston 42; Fleisch 139; Bateson 41; Yushmanov 29; Nöldeke 48. It has two names in Arabic: *al-ism al-mubham* 'the vague noun' and *ism al-'išāra* lit. 'the noun of pointing' (translated in the text as 'demonstrative pronoun'). There is no demonstrative adjective in Arabic: though *hāḏā r-rajulu* may safely

او اثنان او جماعة وكل واحد منها اما مذكر او مؤنث وكل واحد من هذه الستة
اما قريب المسافة او بعيدها وزاد بعضهم او متوسطها فمجموع ذلك حينئذ ثمانية
عشر وهي للمذكر القريب ذا بالف ساكنة وذاء بهمزة مكسورة بعد الالف وذائه
بهاء مكسورة بعد الهمزة وذاؤه بهاء مضمومة بعد همزة مضمومة وللمؤنث المفرد
في القرب ذي بكسر اوله وسكون ثانيه وذه باسكان الهاء وتي بكسر اوله وسكون
ثانيه وذه بكسر الهاء وته باسكان الهاء وته بكسر الهاء وتا وذات وتان وذان
للمثنى المذكر القريب وتان للمثنى المؤنث القريب بالالف فيهما رفعا وبالياء
فيهما جرا ونصبا كاعراب المثنى وهل هي مثنى حقيقة او جيء بها (41b) على
صورة المثنى رأيان والاصح الثاني لان من شرط التثنية قبول التنكير واسماء الاشارة
لازمة للتعريف واولاء ممدودة عند الحجازيين ومقصورة عند بني تميم لجمع المذكر
والمؤنث وبلغة اهل الحجاز جاء التنزيل قال الله تعالى اولئك هم المفلحون هذا
كله في المشار اليه القريب كما تقرر ويجب تجرده من الكاف ويقرن بهاء النتبيه

individual. What is pointed at may be single, a pair, or a group, and may be either masculine or feminine; each of the resulting six may be either nearby or far away, to which some have added a middle distance, so that the total is eighteen.[2]

11.731 The demonstratives are:[1] for the near masculine, *ḏā* 'this' (with no vowel after the lengthening sign),[2] *ḏā'i* 'this' (with *i* after the *ā'*), *ḏā'ihi* 'this' (with *i* after the *'ih*), and *ḏā'uhu* (with *u* after the *'uh*).

11.732 For the near feminine:[1] *ḏī* 'this' (with *i* after the first letter and no vowel after the second),[2] *ḏih* 'this' (with unvowelled *h*), *tī* 'this' (with *i* after the first letter and no vowel after the second), *ḏihi* 'this' (with *i* after the *h*), *tih* 'this' (with unvowelled *h*), *tihi* 'this' (with *i* after the *h*), *tā* 'this' and *ḏāti* 'this'.

11.733 Then there are *tāni* and *ḏāni* 'these two', *ḏāni* being for the near masculine dual and *tāni* for the near feminine dual. Both have *ā* in independence and *ay* in dependence and obliqueness.[1] Whether they are true duals or whether they have been produced *(41b)* only according to the form of the dual are two differing opinions: the latter is the sounder view, since it is a condition of the dual that it should be capable of indefinition, and the demonstratives are inherently defined.[2]

11.734 For the masculine and feminine plural:[1] *'ulā'i* 'these', with the lengthened *ā'* among the Ḥijāzīs and the shortened *ā* among the Tamīmīs.[2] The dialect of the Revelation is Ḥijāzī, cf. the Qur'anic *'ulā'ika humu l-mufliḥūna* 'those, they are the prosperous ones'.[3]

11.735 All the above are used for the near demonstrative, as already stated, and they must never be suffixed with *ka*. But they may be prefixed optionally with the '*hā* of attracting attention',[1] e.g. *hāḏā*

be translated 'this man', *ar-rajulu* is regarded by the Arabs as being in apposition to the noun *hāḏā* (cf. 14.12 n 1). Paradigm 11.737 n 2.

(2) See 9.3 n 1 on permutations. Fleisch remarks (142) that the hypothetical middle distance demonstrative is 'factice, simple fruit de la spéculation grammaticale'.

11.731 (1) As will be apparent, the demonstratives are a graveyard of archaic and obsolete forms (Fleischer, *Kl. Schr.* I, 348, claimed never to have seen *ḏā'i* and *ḏā'ihi*, but they are mentioned by al-Ušmūnī on *Alf.* v 82). The masc. sing. has as its base the deictic element *ḏ*, which is also to be seen in the word *'iḏ* 'lo!' (1.441 n 5), *ḏū* (3.42) and the relative *allaḏī* (11.753), cf. Moscati #13.33.

(2) The Arabic has 'with vowelless *ā*', in other words, with the consonant *'alif* functioning only as a lengthening marker for *ā*, and not as the consonant *'* (see 2.43 n 2). On spelling instructions cf. 3.44 n 2.

11.732 (1) Here also are remains of old deictic elements, showing a double contrast (a) between masc. *ḏ* and fem. *t*, and (b) between masc. *a* and fem. *i* (which is also found in agent suffixes, cf. 7.54 n 1).

(2) The second being the *y* which functions as a lengthening marker for *ī* (cf. 2.43 n 2: *tī* = *tiy*). See Fischer, *Islamica* 3, 44 on fem. demon.

11.733 (1) i.e. *ḏāni* in indep. form, *ḏayni* in dep./obl. form, etc. (table in 11.737 n 2). The dual demonstratives are the only ones which inflect for case (cf. relatives, 11.753).

(2) The problem has already been aired in 3.65 (2), though it can hardly be doubted that *ḏāni* etc. (and the relatives *allaḏāni* etc.) are indeed true dualizations. To be sure, demonstratives are by nature defined, but there is no objection to making proper names either fictionally (3.65 (4)) or formally (1.42) undefined, and there seems no reason why the same should not work for demonstratives. For the Arabs, however, these are more akin to *kilā* 'both' etc. (3.63) in being intrinsically dual.

11.734 (1) The deictic element here is clearly *l*, which has several other deictic functions in Arabic (e.g. def. art. *al*, 11.74; plur. *'ulū* of *ḏū* 'possessor', 3.412 (a); emphatic prefix *la*, 13.6 n 3). The *'u* of *'ulā'i*, *'ulā'ika* (and *'ulū*) is invariably pronounced short, though spelt as if long (in compensation for loss of the first *l* of an assumed original * *'ullay*, so Rabin, *Anc. West-Ar.* 153, but cf. Fleisch 247 n 23).

(2) These two symbolize the polarization of pre-Classical Arabic into Eastern (Tamīmī) and Western (Ḥijāzī) dialect groups (cf. Rabin, op. cit. 1). On the two varieties of *ā* see 3.89 n 2.

(3) S. 2 v 5; Rabin (loc. cit. n 1) suggests that the intervocalic *'* (which is neither a Proto-Semitic nor a genuine Arabic dialect feature) arose to break up an otherwise doubly long syllable **āy*>*ā'i*.

11.735 (1) See 11.737 n 2 for full paradigm. '*Hā* of attracting attention' is lit. for *hā' at-tanbīh*, a deictic element which may occur

جوازا نحو هذا زيد وهذه هند وهذان وهاتان وهؤلاء واما البعيد على الاول الذي
هو قريب ثان فيشار اليه بالكاف الحرفية مجردة من اللام مطلقا سواء اكان المشار
اليه مفردا ام لا او مقرونة باللام مبالغة في البعد الا في ثلاث مسائل الاولى في
المثنى مطلقا سواء اسبقته هاء التنبيه ام لا والثانية الجمع في لغة من مده وهو
اهل الحجاز كما مر والثالثة فيما تقدمته هاء التنبيه بالف غير ممدودة فلا
تقترن اللام بالكاف في هذه المواضع فلا يقال ذانلك ولا اولالك ولا هذالك واما على
ان المراتب ثلاثة وهو ما جرى عليه ابن هشام في شرح اللمحة فالقربى هي المجردة
من اللام والكاف والبعدى هي المقرونة بهما والوسطى هي المقرونة بالكاف وحدها لان
زيادة الحرف يشعر بزيادة المسافة وقد اشبعت الكلام على ذلك في شرح القطر
والرابع من المعرفة الاسم الذي فيه الالف واللام للتعريف نحو الرجل والغلام والفرس
والمعرف ال لا اللام وحدها وفاقا للخليل وسيبويه وليست الهمزة زائدة خلافا لسيبويه

zaydun 'this is Zayd', *hāḏihi hindun* 'this is Hind',[2] and *hā'ulā'i* 'these'.

11.736 The distant demonstratives (if we adopt the first view, which regards them as the other variety of near demonstratives),[1] are made by adding the particle *ka*, either (a) absolutely without the infix *l* and regardless of whether the thing pointed at is singular or otherwise, or (b) accompanied by the infix *l* in order to exaggerate the distance,[2] except in three cases: (1) in the dual absolutely, whether prefixed with the '*hā* of attracting attention' or not, (2) in the plural when it has the dialect form with the lengthened *ā'*, i.e. the Ḥijāzī, (3) when prefixed with the '*hā* of attracting attention' but not ending in the lengthened *ā'*. In these three places *ka*[3] and *l* do not combine, hence you do not say **ḏānilika* 'those two', **'ulā'ilika* 'those' or **hāḏālika* 'that'.

11.737 If we adopt the other view, that there are three orders of demonstratives (as followed by Ibn Hišām[1] in his *Commentary on the Lumḥa*), the nearest is that which has neither infix *l* nor *ka*, the furthest is that in which both are combined, and the middle is that which is combined only with *ka*, because the addition of a letter conveys the increase in distance,[2] which I have already dealt with exhaustively in my *Commentary on Qaṭr an-nadā*.[3]

11.74 (4) The fourth of the defined elements is the noun prefixed with *al* 'the',[1] denoting definition, e.g. *ar-rajulu* 'the man', *al-ḡulāmu* 'the boy' and *al-farasu* 'the horse'. It is *al* and not *l* alone which makes defined, in agreement with al-Ḵalīl and Sībawayhi, and the *a* is not redundant, contrary to Sībawayhi.[2]

alone, e.g. *hā 'anā dā* 'it is I' (lit. 'look! I am that', cf. Fleisch 114), or as a suffix, e.g. *'ayyuhā* 'O!' (23.5 n 2); cf. also *hunā* etc., 18.212, *hāti* and *halumma*, 5.21 n 1.

(2) Note that these are sentences: 'this Zayd' would have to be *zaydun hādā*, with *hādā* in apposition to *zaydun*. With common nouns, however, the situation is different: *hādā r-rajulu* is 'this man', the sentence equivalent being *hādā huwa r-rajulu* 'this is the man' (cf. 9.81 n 2). Annexed phrases behave like proper nouns: *hādā baytuka* 'this is your house', *baytuka hādā* 'this house of yours'. Cf. Beeston 43.

11.736 (1) i.e. according to the view that there are only two orders of demonstratives, near and not near; 'particle *ka*' (*ḥarfiyya*) is meant to exclude *ka* as a pronoun suffix, but see n 3 below.

(2) The reasoning appears somewhat specious. In practice *dāka/dālika* etc. simply appear to be free variants.

(3) The deictic function of *k* is obvious: it is related to the object pronoun suffix set with *k* (16.303 etc.) and the prefix *ka* 'like' (1.708), cf. Fleisch 147, Brockelmann, *Grundr.* II, 389. By analogy with the object pronoun suffix, the *k* of *dālika* 'that' sometimes follows the number and gender of the person addressed, thus fem. sing. *dāliki*, dual *dālikumā*, masc. plur. *dālikum*, fem. plur. *dālikunna*. This is a Qur'anic speciality; cf. *Muf.* #561, Yushmanov 30.

11.737 (1) See 1.02 n 1 on Ibn Hišām, 3.45 n 3 on his *Commentary on the Lumḥa*. Here, however, aš-Širbīnī is actually paraphrasing al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* I, 129. 'Infix *l* or *ka*' is a very free translation of *al-lām wa-l-kāf* lit. 'letter *l* and letter *k*', with no mention of 'infix'.

(2) The most commonly occurring demonstratives are:

	'this'	'that'	
masc. sing.	*hādā*	*dāka*	*dālika*
fem. sing.	*hādihi*	*tīka*	*tilka*
masc. dual	*hādāni*	*dāni*	*dānnika*
fem. dual	*hātāni*	*tāni*	*tānnika*
comm. plur.	*hā'ulā'i*		*'ulā'ika*

Duals have dep./obl. case in *-ayni* (11.733).

(3) See 0.4 n 6.

11.74 (1) *Jum.* 27; *Muf.* ##262, 599; *Alf.* v 106; *Qaṭr* 114 (cf. *Muġnī* I, 48); Beeston 37; Bateson 10; Yushmanov 33; *al* as noun marker 1.5; juncture features 11.1 n 2; assimilation of *l* 11.41 n 2; *al* on proper names 11.82 n 4.

(2) *Kitāb* II, 63 (see 0.1 n 1 on al-Kalīl and Sībawayhi). The def. art. is either quoted as an independent morpheme *''al'* or given the names *al-'alif wa-l-lām* *''a-l'* or *lām at-ta^{c}rīf* 'the defining *l*' (in *Kitāb* invariably *al-'alif wa-l-lām*). The dispute, which aš-Širbīnī reproduces from al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* I, 148, turns upon the question of whether the initial *'a* (only realized as such when not in juncture, 11.1 n 2) is

وهي اما جنسية (42a) فان لم تخلفها كل فهي لبيان الحقيقة نحو وجعلنا من الماء
كل شيء حي افلا يؤمنون وان خلفتها حقيقة فهي لشمول افراد الجنس نحو وخلق الانسان
ضعيفا وان خلفتها مجازا فلشمول خصائص الجنس مبالغة نحو انت الرجل علما
واما عهدية والعهد اما ذكري نحو فعصى فرعون الرسول او علمي نحو اليوم اكملت
لكم دينكم والخامس من المعرفة وهو الذي اسقطه المصنف الموصول وهو قسمان حرفي
واسمي فالحرفي ما اول مع صلته بمصدر ولم يحتج الى عائد نحو وان تصوموا خير
لكم اي صومكم وليس هذا من المعارف .واما الموصول الاسمي وهو المراد فهو كل
اسم افتقر الى صلة وعائد وهو ضربان ضرب نص في معناه لا يتجاوزه الى غيره
وضرب مشترك بين معان مختلفة بلفظ واحد فالضرب الاول نحو الذي للمفرد

11.741 The definite article is either (a) generic,[1] *(42a)*, in which case, if it cannot be replaced by *kull* 'all, every', it is termed the 'factual article', e.g. the Qur'anic *wa-ja^c^alnā min al-mā'i kulla šay'in ḥayyin 'a-fa-lā yu'minūna* 'and we made everything living from the water, so why do they not believe?'.[2] Otherwise, if *kull* 'all, every' can literally replace the article, it is then termed the 'article which embraces all individuals of the species', e.g. the Qur'anic *wa-kuliqa l-'insānu ḍa^c^īfan* 'and man was created weak'. If it can be replaced metaphorically by *kull* 'all, every', then it is termed the 'article embracing the characteristics of the species hyperbolically', e.g. *'anta r-rajulu ^c^ilman* 'you are *the* man as regards knowledge!'.[3]

11.742 Or (b) it is the 'article of familiarity',[1] in which case awareness may be due either to previous mention, as in the Qur'anic *fa-^c^aṣā fir^c^awnu r-rasūla* 'and Pharaoh disobeyed the messenger',[2] or to prior knowledge, as in the Qur'anic *al-yawma 'akmaltu lakum dīnakum* 'today I have perfected for you your religion'.[3]

11.75 (5) The fifth member of the defined class, omitted by the author, is the relative. It is of two kinds, particle and noun type.[1]

11.751 The particle type[1] is that which, together with its relative clause, paraphrases a verbal noun and does not need any referential pronoun, e.g. the Qur'anic *wa-'an taṣūmū kayrun lakum* 'and that you should fast is best for you',[2] i.e. *ṣawmukum* 'your fasting'. This is not a member of the defined class.

11.752 The noun type[1] (which is the one intended in this context), is every noun which is incomplete without a relative clause and a referential pronoun. It is of two kinds, (a) that which has one fixed meaning and does not go beyond it, and (b) that which is common to several meanings in the one form.

part of the article or not, since in juncture it is absorbed by the previous word.

11.741 (1) Terms are: 'generic article' *lām al-jins* or *al-lām al-jinsiyya* (see 23.31 n 1 on *jins* 'genus'); 'factual article' *al-lām li-bayān al-ḥaqīqa* lit. '*l* for expressing the fact'; 'article which embraces all individuals of the species' *al-lām li-šumūl 'afrād al-jins* (lit. translated), also called *lām al-istiġrāq* '*l* of total immersion' i.e. 'all-embracing'. On *kull* 'all' see 13.4.

(2) The two quotations here are S. 21 v 30 and S. 4 v 28 respectively: *kull* cannot replace *al* in *al-mā'i* 'water', but can in *al-'insānu* 'man'.

(3) Metaphorically *kullu rajulin* 'every man' is clearly hyperbolic, but still structurally correct. On 'metaphor' *majāz* see 13.3 n 1; on 'hyperbole', *mubālaġa* cf. 9.81 n 4; on the dep. form *ᶜilman* here see 20.6 n 2. Note that the two uses of the article shown here are subdivisions of Beeston's 'generalizing function' of *al* (37).

11.742 (1) Termed *lām al-ᶜahd,* and translated literally (= Beeston's 'particularizing function', 37). In this function the article reveals its deictic origins unmistakably (11.734 n 1).

(2) S. 73 v 16; initial element of *al* is replaced by the last vowel of *firᶜawnu* in juncture (11.1 n 2), and *l* assimilates to *r* (11.41 n 2).

(3) S. 5 v 3; here the initial element of *al* has its full consonantal value *'*, but this is not noted in the transliteration because (at least in correct Arabic spelling) is never written, cf. 11.1 n 2.

11.75 (1) *Jum.* 27, 338; *Muf.* ##176, 262; *Alf.* v 88; *Qaṭr* 103; Beeston 43, 49; Fleisch 149, 194; Bateson 41, 47; Yushmanov 75; Nöldeke 97. 'Relative' for *mawṣūl* (lit. 'thing joined') is a compromise: the elements treated here are not relative pronouns (contra Bateson, Yushmanov) but simply join the relative clause to its antecedent (syntax, 11.753 n 3), and the translation 'relative' has been chosen to reflect this function. See further 11.752 n 1.

11.751 (1) 'Particle type' renders (*mawṣūl*) *ḥarfī*, lit. 'belonging to the particle family' (cf. 11.721 n 4 on the *ī* suffix of *harfī*), so called because these elements (essentially the nominalizers *'an* 'that', 5.41, and *'anna* 'that', 10.42) are not nouns or pronouns. On 'relative clause', *ṣila*, and 'referential pronoun', *ᶜā'id*, see 11.752 n 1.

(2) S. 2 v 184, and cf. 9.02.

11.752 (1) 'Noun type' is (*mawṣūl*) *ismī*, lit. 'of the noun family'. Terminology of relatives is: *mawṣūl* 'relative' (11.75 n 1), i.e. the element which connects the relative clause to the antecedent (but see 11.753 n 3); *ṣila* 'relative clause' (lit. 'join, connection'); *ᶜā'id* 'referential pronoun', (lit. 'thing returning, going back'), which, as will be seen (11.753 n 3) is the true relative pronoun. Structurally the relative (*mawṣūl*) and its clause (*ṣila*) are indispensable to each other (cf. 9.71 for some incomplete examples). The translation 'who' for *allaḏī* etc. is quite arbitrary: see 11.75 n 1.

المذكر عاقلا كان ام لا واللذان لتثنية المذكر واللتان لتثنية المؤنث ويتلفظ
بهما بالالف رفعا وبالياء جرا ونصبا كاعراب المثنى تقول جاءني اللذان قاما
واللتان قامتا بحذف الياء من الذي والتي ولجمع المذكر شيئان احدهما الذين
للعاقل فقط بالياء في حالة الرفع والنصب والجر والثاني الاولى للعاقل وغيره ولجمع
المؤنث شيئان ايضا احدهما اللائي باثبات الياء وبحذفها والثاني اللاتي باثبات
الياء وبحذفها والضرب الثاني نحو من بفتح الميم وهي مختصة بالعاقل نحو ومن
عنده علم الكتاب وتكون لغير العاقل ان نزل منزلته نحو قوله تعالى ومن اضل
ممن يدعوا (42b) من لا يستجيب له او اختلط به تغليبا للافضل نحو قوله تعالى
يسجد لله من في السماوات ومن في الارض فان الاول يشمل الملائكة والشمس والقمر
والنجوم وغيرها والثاني يشمل الادميين والجبال والدواب وغيرها وما الموصولة وهي
لغير العاقل فقط نحو قوله تعالى ما عندكم ينفد وتكون له مع العاقل نحو قوله
تعالى يسبح لله ما في السماوات وما في الارض والسادس وهو في كلام المصنف

11.753 (a) The first kind[1] is, for example, *allaḏī* 'who' for the masculine singular, whether a rational being or not, *allaḏāni* 'who' for the masculine dual, and *allatāni* 'who' for the feminine dual. The two latter are pronounced with *ā* in independence, and *ay* in dependence and obliqueness, exactly like the dual inflection of nouns,[2] e.g. *jā'anī llaḏāni qāmā wa-llatāni qāmatā* 'there came to me the two (masc.) who had stood and the two (fem.) who had stood'.[3] In these the *ī* of *allaḏī* 'who' (masc. sing.) and *allatī* 'who' (fem. sing.) has been elided. For the masculine plural there are two forms: *allaḏīna* 'who' for rational beings only, with *ī* in independence, dependence and obliqueness, and *al-'ulā* 'who' for both rational and irrational beings. For the feminine plural there are also two forms: *allā'ī* 'who' (with final *ī* or *i*) and *allātī* 'who' (with final *ī* or *i*).[4]

11.754 (b) The other kind is *man* 'who'[1] (spelt with *a* after the *m*), which is specifically for rational beings, e.g. the Qur'anic *wa-man ᶜindahu ᶜilmu l-kitābi* 'and he who has knowledge of the Book',[2] though it can be used for irrational beings if they are given rational status,[3] e.g. the Qur'anic *wa-man aḍallu mim-man yadᶜū dūna llāhi (42b) man lā yastajību lahu* 'and who is more in error than him who calls upon something besides God which will not answer him?'.[4] Sometimes it denotes both rational and irrational beings simultaneously, by allowing the superior to subsume the inferior, as in the Qur'anic *yasjudu lahu man fī s-samāwāti wa-man fī l-'arḍi* 'there bows before him whoever is in the heavens and whoever is on the earth',[5] in which the former embraces the angels, the sun, moon and stars etc., while the latter embraces mankind, mountains, trees, animals etc.

11.755 And there is also the relative *mā* 'which',[1] used only for irrational beings, as in the Qur'anic *mā ᶜindakum yanfadu* 'what you have will run out',[2] but it may also be used with rational beings, as in the Qur'anic *yusabbiḥu li-llāhi mā fī s-samāwāti wa-mā fī l-'arḍi* 'that which is in the heavens and that which is on the earth praises God'.[3]

11.753 (1) Cf. 11.731-4 on the deictic elements *l, ḏ, t* in these words; 1.51 for *al* 'the' as a relative; 11.1 n 2 for the juncture feature which they share with *al* 'the'.

(2) But they are not regarded as true duals, see 3.65 (2).

(3) Syntax of relatives. The relative (*mawṣūl*) concords with its antecedent in number, gender, definition and (where marked) case: with undefined antecedents the *mawṣūl*, being by nature defined, cannot occur. The relative clause (*ṣila*) is a normal sentence (nominal or verbal) in all respects but one: its topic is always a pronoun, viz. the referential pronoun (*ᶜā'id*) which stands for the antecedent. The *ṣila* remains the same whether the antecedent is defined or not, thus *ar-rajulu llaḏī marartu bihi* 'the man by whom I passed' (lit. 'the man-*mawṣūl*-I passed by him'), *rajulun marartu bihi* 'a man by whom I passed' (lit. 'a man-Ø-I passed by him'). General references 11.75 n 1.

(4) A masc. plur. *allaḏūna*, analogous to the indep. sound masc. plur. *ūna* (3.41) has been noted (Rabin, *Anc. West-Ar.* 89). In practice, however, only the following are regularly encountered:

	sing.	dual	plur.
masc.	*allaḏī*	*allaḏāni/ayni*	*allaḏīna*
fem.	*allatī*	*allatāni/ayni*	*allātī*

11.754 (1) Beeston 49; Fleisch 150; Bateson 42; Yushmanov 75; Nöldeke 103; other refs. 11.75 n 1. Interrogative *man* 5.87 n 2; conditional *man* 5.83. Spelling instruction (3.44 n 2) rules out *min* 'from', 1.701.

(2) S. 13 v 43; the relative clause (*ṣila*) here is an inverted nominal sentence, scil. 'with him is the knowledge...' (cf. 9.74), and the referential pronoun (*ᶜā'id*) is the *hu* 'him' suffixed to *ᶜinda* (18.207). Normally *man* is grammatically masc. sing. even when known to refer to fem. or plur. (so *man 'uḥibbuhu* 'the one(s) I love'), but the modern tendency is to use whichever pronoun is appropriate.

(3) 'Status' is *manzila*, originally a term for social standing, but applied by Sībawayhi to grammatical status as the correlative of *mawḍiᶜ* 'function' (3.1 n 4), cf. Carter, *R.E.I.* 40, 84, also 23.2 n 1.

(4) S. 46 v 5; here the first *man* is interrogative (5.87 n 2), the second refers to a rational being (note assimilation **min man*>*mim-man*) and only the third illustrates the irrational being, viz. stones, trees and other false gods.

(5) S. 22 v 18; see further comment in 11.755 n 3.

11.755 (1) Refs. as for 11.754 n 1, and see 5.82 n 1, 5.84 n 1.

(2) S. 16 v 96.

(3) S. 62 v 1. In the verse quoted in the previous paragraph (S. 22 v 18) the pronoun *man* 'who' is allowed to subsume irrational beings both in heaven and earth (angels being considered inferior to men). Here the reverse is the case, for the pronoun *mā* 'what' is now allowed

خامس ما اضيف الى واحد من هذه الاربعة على كلام المصنف وما اضيف الى واحد
من الخمسة لان النكرة اذا اضيفت الى معرفة تعرفت فتقول جاء غلامي وغلام زيد
وغلام هذا وغلام الذي في الدار وغلام القاضي والمضاف الى معرفة في رتبة التعريف
بحسب ما يضاف اليه فالمضاف الى العلم والى اسم الاشارة في رتبته وكذا الباقي
الا المضاف الى الضمير فهو في رتبة العلم لا في رتبة الضمير لانك تقول مررت بزيد
صاحبك فتصف العلم باسم المضاف الى الضمير فلو كان الاسم المضاف الى الضمير في
رتبة الضمير لزم ان تكون الصفة اعرف من الموصوف فهو ممنوع تنبيه انما قيدت
الحيثية بالمعرفة المطلقة لان المعارف التي ذكرها بالنسبة الى كونها تنعت وينعت
بها اقسام الاول المضمر لا ينعت ولا ينعت به الثاني العلم ينعت ولا ينعت به
الثالث والرابع والخامس اسم الاشارة والمعرف بالالف واللام والمعرف بالاضافة
ينعت وينعت به والاسم النكرة لا ينحصر بالعد بل بالحد وحده كل اسم

11.76 (6) The sixth, which is the fifth according to the author, is that which is annexed to any of these four.[1] As the author puts it, for 'that which is annexed to any of these five'. This is because an undefined element becomes defined when annexed to a defined element,[2] e.g. *jā'a ḡulāmī* 'my boy came', *jā'a ḡulāmu zaydin* 'Zayd's boy came', *jā'a ḡulāmu hāḏā* 'this person's boy came', *jā'a ḡulāmu llaḏī fī d-dāri* 'the boy of him who is in the house came', and *jā'a ḡulāmu l-qāḍī* 'the judge's boy came'.[3]

11.761 That which is annexed to a defined element has the same rank in definition as that to which it is annexed:[1] thus whatever is annexed to a proper name or a demonstrative has their rank, and so on for the remainder. The exception is that which is annexed to a pronoun, for this has the rank of a proper name and not that of a pronoun, because you say *marartu bi-zaydin ṣāḥibika* 'I passed by Zayd your friend', qualifying a proper name by a noun annexed to a pronoun: if the noun annexed to a pronoun had the rank of a pronoun it would follow that the qualifier was more defined than its antecedent, which is impossible.

11.77 Note:[1] The feature of absolute definition has been made the criterion here because the above-mentioned defined classes, according to whether they may be qualified by adjectives or be qualifiers themselves, fall into quite different categories, viz. firstly the pronoun, since it is never qualified and never qualifies adjectivally, secondly the proper name, which may be qualified but never qualifies adjectivally, while third, fourth and fifth[2] are the demonstratives, nouns defined by *al* 'the' and that which is annexed to a defined element, for all of these may be qualified and qualify adjectivally.[3]

to subsume rational beings (mankind) among the things praising God. Another relative which could be included here is *'ayyu* 'whichever, whoever', cf. Fleisch 151; Bateson 42; Yushmanov 75; see also 5.86.

11.76 (1) *Jum.* 27; *Muf.* #262; *Alf.* v (53), 385; *Qaṭr* 117; Beeston 46; Fleisch 171; Bateson 10; Yushmanov 64; Nöldeke 29; Gätje, *Arabica* 17, esp. 231f. See further 26.7

(2) Annexation alone is not sufficient to define a noun, though it may confer a higher degree of specificity (*baytu rajulin* 'the house of a man' is technically undefined but still more specific than *baytun* 'a house', cf. 26.91). The definition status of certain annexation units still provokes discussion, particularly in the case of *kull* 'all' (v. 13.4 n 6) and the so-called 'elative' adjectives, q.v. 20.4 n 1.

(3) In the examples, *ġulām* 'boy is annexed respectively to a pronoun (11.71), proper name (11.72), demonstrative (11.73), relative (11.75) and noun with def. art. (11.74). The slight deviation from the order of Ibn Ājurrūm's presentation is accounted for by the fact that here aš-Širbīnī is following Ibn Hišām's order (probably via al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* I, 94).

11.761 (1) The principle underlying these observations (which stem either directly from *Qaṭr* 118 or indirectly from al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* I, 95) is that a qualified element must be at least as defined as its qualifier. Between definition and indefinition there is little difficulty: undefined elements can only be qualified by undefined elements (*rajulun qā'imun* 'a standing man' etc.), but defined elements may be qualified by both (undefined qualifiers generally in dependent form, see 19.5, 20.5). Since, however, definition is hierarchical, a problem arises when qualifier and qualified are both defined: this is seen clearly by comparing *zaydun hāḏā* 'this Zayd' with *hāḏā r-rajulu* 'this man' (11.735 n 2), where word order is determined by 'rank' (*rutba*, 11.711 n 2). The rule is apparently broken in such modernisms as *al-maliku fayṣalun* 'King Fayṣal' (cf. also Beeston 43).

11.77 (1) This continues the theme of the previous paragraph, but this time aš-Širbīnī seems to have lifted it from al-Azharī on *Āj.* 70. The criterion of qualifiability is present in *Kitāb* I, 221f, and has become rather more organized by the time of al-Mubarrad (*Muqtaḍab* IV, 281). See also *Muf.* #147.

(2) The sixth category, the relative (11.75) is omitted from this scheme probably because it is not in aš-Širbīnī's immediate source (see previous note). It would have been elegant to include it here, since it fills the last space implied by the dichotomous classification, viz. 'qualifies but is never qualified adjectivally'. For 'qualify' in this context the notion *na*^{c}*t* is used, q.v. 11.0 n 1, which is thus seen to be somewhat wider in application than simple 'adjective'.

(3) Definition can be effected by the vocative structure (23.42), and perhaps also (though in a different way) by the categorical negative construction with *lā* 'no', q.v. ch. 22, esp. 22.11 n 1.

موجود شائع في جنسه الشامل له ولغيره لا يختص به واحد من افراد جنسه دون
اخر نحو رجل فانه موضوع لما(43a) كان حيوانا ناطقا ذكرا بالغا وكلما وجد من
هذا الجنس واحد فهذا الاسم صادق عليه او ما شاع في جنس مقدر كشمس فانها
موضوعة لما كان كوكبا نهاريا ينسخ ظهوره وجود الليل فحقها ان تصدق على
متعدد كما ان رجلا كذلك وانما يختلف ذلك من جهة عدم وجود افراد له في
الخارج ولو وجد لكان اللفظ صالحا له فانه لم يوضع على ان يكون خاصا كزيد
وعمرو وانما وضع اسما للاجناس وما ذكره المصنف من حد اسم النكرة فيه
غموض على المبتدئ فوضحه بقوله وتقريبه اي الاسم النكرة على المبتدئ كلما اي
كل اسم صلح بفتح اللام وضمها دخول الالف واللام عليه في فصيح الكلام فهو نكرة
نحو الرجل للعاقل والفرس لغيره فان اصلهما رجل وفرس فهما نكرتان قبل دخول
ال عليهما ومعرفتان بعد دخولها عليهما ولا تصلح في غيرهما من المعارف ان تقول
الزيد والهند فانهما معرفتان بالعلمية فلا يصلح دخول الالف واللام عليهما ولما

11.8 The undefined noun[1] cannot be described by enumeration but only by giving a definition. It is defined as being every noun denoting an existing thing that applies generally to the whole species, including itself and all others, without specifying any single member of the individuals in that species to the exclusion of the others, e.g. *rajulun* 'a man', which denotes by convention[2] *(43a)* a mature, male, rational animal. Whenever any single member of this species exists it is correct to apply this noun to it; the same is true of words applied generally when the species itself is only implicit, e.g. *šamsun* 'a sun', which conventionally denotes a daytime star whose appearance dispels the night.[3] It is perfectly correct for a word such as this to be applied to more than one just as *rajulun* 'a man' can be, the difference here being simply that other individuals of that species are non-existent in the external world: if they did exist it would then be proper to apply such expressions to them.

11.81 It is not the convention[1] for this kind of word to denote a particular individual such as *zaydun* 'Zayd' or *ᶜamrun* 'ᶜAmr'; the convention is that undefined nouns denote entire species.

11.82 The author's definition of the undefined noun contains some obscurity for the beginner,[1] so he clarifies it by saying: in simple terms (i.e. to make the undefined noun easier for the beginner): everything (i.e. every noun) to which it is proper (either *ṣalaḥa* or *ṣaluḥa*[2] 'to be proper') for *al* 'the' to be prefixed, in the purest speech, is undefined, e.g. *ar-rajulu* 'the man' for a rational being, and *al-farasu* 'the horse'.[3] (An irrational being). The original form is *rajulun* 'a man' and *farasun* 'a horse', and both are undefined before the prefixing of *al* 'the' and defined afterwards. It is not proper for *al* 'the' to be prefixed to other words in the category of defined nouns, so as to say **az-zaydu* 'the Zayd' or **al-hindu* 'the Hind', because these are already defined by their quality of being proper names, and it is improper to prefix *al* 'the' to them.[4]

11.8 (1) *Jum.* 191; *Muf.* ##3, 262; *Alf.* v 52; *Qaṭr* 90; Beeston 37; Fleisch 153; Bateson 9; Yushmanov 34, 65; Gätje, *Arabica* 17, 235. For 'undefined' Arabic uses *nakira*, formally a noun meaning 'something unknown' (from which the denominative verb *nakkara* 'to make undefined' and its verbal noun *tankīr* 'making (or being) undefined'). Antonym is *ma^{c}rifa*, lit. 'knowledge', hence 'something known' (also with its denominative *^{c}arrafa* 'to make defined', noun *ta^{c}rīf* 'making (or being) defined'). It will be appreciated that definition/indefinition reside with the listener rather than the noun: when formally or functionally unmarked (e.g. *marartu bi-zaydin/bi-baytin* 'I passed by Zayd/by a house'), only the listener's knowledge distinguishes a proper name from a common noun. Students who have wasted time looking up proper names in dictionaries will understand this well. Cf. Fleisch, *Tr.* #76k.

(2) See 11.81 n 1 on 'convention' (*waḍ^{c}*). Degrees of indefinition (cf. 11.711 n 1), on a purely semantic basis (viz. 'thing' is more undefined than 'body' and so on) appear for the first time in al-Mubarrad, *Muqtaḍab* III, 186, IV, 280.

(3) Names such as *^{c}abdu šamsin* '^{c}Abd Šams' (= 'sun-worshipper') suggest that at one time there were defined common (?) nouns without *al*, though it cannot be inferred from this that the suffix *n* originally had defining function, cf. Moscati #12.75, 77. Misleading, too, is the simple equation of *tanwīn* with the English indefinite article.

11.81 (1) Lexical meaning plays very little part in Arabic grammar (cf. 12.92 n 1): the meaning of a word is as arbitrary, and as conventional, as the sounds, forms and structures in which words manifest themselves. The same applies to the proper name, whose 'meaning' (apart from any residual lexical content) is the specific individual it refers to (11.72), with the additional feature that the speaker can create a proper name simply by assigning any word to that category, by the process of *waḍ^{c}* lit. 'putting', see further 1.14 n 1.

11.82 (1) Aš-Širbīnī's concern for the perplexity of the beginner is no doubt genuine, but is expressed in the words of al-Azharī on *Āj.* 71. The reason for the obscurity is Ibn Ājurrūm's departure from the purely formal level of his presentation, to which he now returns.

(2) See 10.22 n 2 on the variation in medial vowel. Though somewhat uncomfortable in the context of 'proper names', 'proper' was chosen to translate *ṣaluḥa* because it conveys the necessary moral flavour of linguistic correctness: 'to be structurally correct' was originally expressed by *ḥasuna*, lit. 'to be (morally) good' (cf. Carter, *J.A.O.S.* 93, 148, also 12.91 n 8), and *ṣaluḥa* is merely a synonym thereof.

(3) 'Man', 'horse' and 'to strike' are the eternal examples in almost every Arabic grammar (including the *Kitāb*): that they are the same as the standard Greek examples is clear, but how did they find their way to the Arabs, and what else came with them? Try Versteegh 42.

(4) From this point of view there are three classes of proper name: those which never have the def. article, those which always do (e.g.

فرغ المصنف من الباب الاول وهو النعت وما يتعلق به من المعرفة والنكرة شرع في التابع الثاني وهو العطف فقال

باب العطف اي المعطوف وهو نوعان عطف بيان وعطف نسق والذي اراده هنا عطف النسق وهو بفتح السين بمعنى المنسوق من نسقت الشيء نسقا بالتسكين اذا اتيت به متتابعا وهو التابع المتوسط بينه وبين متبوعه احد الحروف التي وضعتها العرب للعطف وذكرها المصنف بقوله وحروف العطف عشرة بناء على القول بان اما المكسورة الهمزة عاطفة والتحقيق(43b) خلافه وهي تسعة فقط وهي اي حروف العطف

11.9 Having finished with the first chapter on the concordants,[1] namely the adjective (and the connected matters of definition and indefinition), the author now turns to the second of the concordants, to wit coordination.

CHAPTER TWELVE

12.0 Chapter on coordination:[1] i.e. that which is coordinated. It is of two kinds, explanatory[2] and sequential.[3] Intended here is sequential coordination, i.e. coordination by arrangement in sequence (the term is *nasaq*, spelt with *a* after the *s*, used in the meaning of *mansūq* 'thing arranged in sequence', derived from *nasaqtu š-šay'a nasqan* 'I arranged the thing in sequence',[4] with no vowel after the *s* in *nasq* 'action of arranging in sequence'), in other words, placing consecutively. It is defined as the concordant joined to its antecedent by one of the particles with which the Arabs conventionally denote coordination.[5] The author deals with them as follows:

12.01 The particles of coordination are ten in number: (this is based on the assertion that *'immā* 'either', with *i* after the *'*, is a coordinator, but the truth is *(43b)* otherwise: there are only nine of them),[1]

al-qāhiratu 'Cairo', aš-Širbīnī), and those which sometimes do and sometimes do not have it, e.g. *nu^c^mānu, an-nu^c^mānu* 'Nu^c^mān', *ḥasanun, al-ḥasanu* 'Ḥasan'. The distribution of *al* in the last category appears to be entirely arbitrary (cf. *Muf.* #11, *Alf.* v 109). One thing is certain: proper names almost always take *al* when dualized or pluralized (cf. 3.65 n 8)

11.9 (1) Appositional nouns with an apparently adjectival function, e.g. *rajulun ^c^adlun* 'a just man' lit. 'a man justice' (Fleisch 187) are not dealt with by aš-Širbīnī, possibly because, being invariable (*rijālun ^c^adlun* 'just men'), they are not true concordants (see 11.61 n 1 for the similarities between nouns and adjectives). A frequent appositional structure is the type *ṯawbun ḵazzun* 'a silk garment' lit. 'a garment silk', *al-ḵātamu l-ḥadīdu* 'the iron ring' lit. 'the ring the iron', cf. Fleisch 187, Fleischer, *Kl. Schr.* I, chs. 1, 2. See 26.72 for the synonymous annexation construction *ṯawbu ḵazzin* 'a garment of silk' etc.

12.0 (1) *Jum.* 30; *Muf.* ##157, 538; *Alf.* v 540; *Qaṭr* 346; Beeston 97; also *M.U.S.J.* 48, 167; Fleisch 157 (188); Bateson 38; Yushmanov 62; Nöldeke 93. Terminology: *^c^aṭf* 'act of leaning towards, inclining', i.e. coordination, *ma^c^ṭūf* 'thing coordinated', i.e. coordinated element, *ma^c^ṭūf ^c^alayh* 'thing to which coordinated', i.e. antecedent, *ḥarf ^c^aṭf* 'particle of coordination' (cf. 3.84 n 3).

(2) 'Explanatory coordination' is *^c^aṭf bayān*, lit. 'coordination of making clear' (cf. *bayān*, 5.82 n 3, *tabyīn*, 20.0). See 14.51 n 1.

(3) 'Sequential coordination' is *^c^aṭf nasaq*, lit. 'coordination of arranging in order'. The term is absent from early grammar, and was perhaps introduced to resolve the ambiguity of *^c^aṭf* (and cf. 23.45 n 5).

(4) Cf. 1.11, 4.5 for the method of paraphrasing *nasaq* by the patient noun *mansūq*. The difference between *nasq* and *nasaq* (spelling instructions 3.44 n 2, and cf. 17.1 on verbal noun) is that *nasq* is only a verbal noun, while *nasaq* denotes the result of that action.

(5) 'Arabs' always means Beduins, cf. 1.21 n 1; 'conventionally denote' renders *waḍa^c^at*, lit. 'they (the Arabs) have assigned them', cf. *waḍ^c^* in 11.81 n 1, and see further 12.92 n 1.

12.01 (1) See the discussion in 12.6. Spelling instructions (3.44 n 2) are to avoid confusion with *'ammā* 'as for', q.v. 9.95 n 3.

مختلفة المعاني الاول الواو وهي تشرك بين المعطوف والمعطوف عليه في اللفظ
والمعنى اما تشريكها بينهما في اللفظ فلانها تجعل الثاني تابعا للاول في اعرابه
من رفع ونصب وخفض وجزم واما تشريكها بينهما في المعنى فلانها تجعل الثاني
تابعا للاول في الحكم عليه نفيا او اثباتا وتكون لمطلق الجمع على الصحيح لا
للترتيب ولا للمعية تقول في العطف بها جاء زيد وعمرو ورأيت زيدا وعمرا ومررت
بزيد وعمرو فعمرو تابع لزيد في رفعه ونصبه وخفضه ومشارك له في حكمه واذا
كانت لمطلق الجمع فتعطف متأخرا في الحكم على متقدم عليه نحو قوله تعالى
ولقد ارسلنا نوحا وابراهيم ومتقدما في الحكم على متأخر نحو قوله تعالى كذلك
يوحي اليك والى الذين من قبلك ومصاحبا للمعطوف عليه في الحكم نحو قوله تعالى
فانجيناه واصحاب السفينة والثاني الفاء وهي تشرك ما بعدها مع ما قبلها
في الاعراب والمعنى مع الترتيب المعنوي وهو ان يكون المعطوف بها لاحقا

and they are (i.e. the particles of coordination, whose meanings vary):[2]

12.1 (1) wa 'and',[1] which associates the coordinated element with its antecedent both in form and meaning. In formal association it makes the second element concord with the first in its inflection,[2] whether independence, dependence, obliqueness or apocopation, and in association of meaning it makes the second element concord with the first in its logical predicament,[3] whether of negation or assertion. It serves for absolute coordination in the strict sense and not for ordering or accompaniment: thus when used for coordination you say, for example, *jā'a zaydun wa-ᶜamrun* 'Zayd and ᶜAmr came', *ra'aytu zaydan wa-ᶜamran* 'I saw Zayd and ᶜAmr' and *marartu bi-zaydin wa-ᶜamrin* 'I passed by Zayd and ᶜAmr', where *ᶜamrun* 'ᶜAmr' is a concordant of *zaydun* 'Zayd' in its independence, dependence and obliqueness, and shares in its logical predicament.[4]

12.11 When *wa* 'and' is used for absolute joining it can coordinate the the logically posterior to the anterior, as in the Qur'anic *wa-la-qad 'arsalnā nūḥan wa-'ibrāhīma* 'and we did send Noah and Abraham',[1] or the anterior to the posterior, as in the Qur'anic *ka-ḏālika yūḥī 'ilayka wa-'ilā llaḏīna min qablika* 'thus he inspires you and those before you',[2] or the logically concomitant, as the Qur'anic *fa-'anjaynāhu wa-'aṣḥāba s-safīnati* 'and so we saved him and the people on the ship'.[3]

12.2 (2) fa 'and then',[1] which associates what follows it with its antecedent in inflection and meaning but with an abstract ordering,[2] which

(2) See 12.92 n 1 on *ma^c^ānī* 'meanings'.

12.1 (1) *Jum.* 31; *Muf.* #539; *Alf.* v 543; *Qaṭr* 346 (*Muḡnī* II, 30); other refs. as in 12.0 n 1. For *wa* as a subordinating conjunction see 5.54, 5.55; *wa* with dep. nouns in the meaning of 'with', ch. 25; *wa* as a 'particle of swearing' with oblique nouns, 26.5; *wa* as a synonym of *rubba* with oblique nouns, 26.61; coordinating sentences, 12.93.

(2) There is some debate as to whether the coordinated element concords with the antecedent through a formal operator (*^c^āmil lafẓī*), namely *wa* 'and' or an abstract operator (*^c^āmil ma^c^nawī*), namely concordance as such (*tab^c^iyya*): see further 1.31 n 4, 11.01 n 1.

(3) 'Logical predicament' is *ḥukm*, lit. 'verdict', a direct borrowing from logic (contrast *ḥukm* as a legal borrowing in 24.1 n 2). In spite of Versteegh 74 n 22, *ḥukm* is an early synonym of *qaḍiyya* in its purely logical meaning of *apophasis* (q.v. Versteegh 145), cf. Zimmermann, op. cit. 9.3 n 1, 536. See further 12.23 n 1.

(4) In *Inṣāf* prob. 64 the 'Kūfans' (9.4 n 3) argue that *wa* is redundant in S. 39 v 73: *ḥattā 'iḏā jā'ūhā wa-futiḥat 'abwābuhā* 'until when they came to it (scil. Paradise) and its gates were opened', for no main verb appears here or in the rest of the verse. Is this a survival of the original deictic function of *'iḏā*: 'until, lo and behold, they came to it and...'? Cf. 1.441 n 5.

12.11 (1) S. 57 v 26, inverting the historical order; the first *wa* (untranslated) is not in question here, as it only coordinates verses. 'Logically posterior/anterior is *muta'akkir/mutaqaddim fī l-ḥukm* 'delayed/advanced in predicament', see 12.1 n 3 on *ḥukm*.

(2) S. 42 v 3. With rare exceptions (v. 12.94 n 2) nouns may not be coordinated with oblique pronouns, hence the repetition of *'ilā* here (v. 1.702 n 1 on *'ilay-*). The verb *yūḥī* is Stem IV (8.63 n 1), root *w-ḥ-y*. The relative clause *'ilā llaḏīna min qablika* (which assumes an elided *'awḥā* 'he inspired') contains a predicate of the type set out in 9.74, i.e. a prepositional phrase dependent on a compulsorily deleted verb phrase or equivalent.

(3) S. 29 v 15; here the dep. noun *'aṣḥāba* may correctly be coordinated with the dep. pronoun suffix *hu*. This occurs only with overt pronouns: concealed pronouns must be externalized by apposition, e.g. *uskun 'anta wa-zawjuka* 'dwell thou and thy wife' (S. 2 v 35), with *'anta* repeating the concealed pronoun in *uskun* (cf. 11.713). 'Concomitant' is a lit. translation of *muṣāḥib*.

12.2 (1) *Jum.* 31; *Muf.* #540; *Alf.* v 545; *Qaṭr* 348 (*Muḡnī* I, 139); other refs. as in 12.0 n 1; *fa* as subordinating conjunction 5.54, 5.55. The translation 'and then' somewhat over-emphasizes the difference between *wa* and *fa*: both have, however, a much wider range of functions as sentence coordinators, cf. 12.93 n 1.

(2) 'Abstract ordering' is *tartīb ma^c^nawī* (see 2.1 n 2 on *ma^c^nawī*); cognate with *tartīb* 'ordering' are *rutba*, *martaba* 'rank' (11.711 n 2)

كقوله تعالى خلقك فسواك وقد تكون للترتيب الذكري والمراد به ان يكون المعطوف
بها بعد المعطوف عليه انما هو بحسب الذكر لفظا لا ان معنى الثاني وقع بعد
زمان وقوع الاول واكثر ما يكون ذلك في عطف مفصل على عطف مجمل نحو قوله
تعالى فقد سألوا موسى اكبر من ذلك فقالوا ارنا الله جهرة وتكون (44a) مع
الترتيب للتعقيب وهو ان يكون متصلا بها بلا مهلة نحو اماته فاقبره وتعقيب
كل شيء بحسبه الا ترى انه يقال تزوج فلان فولد له اذ لم يكن بينهما الا مدة
الحمل وان كانت مدته متطاولة تقول في العطف بها جاء زيد فعمرو ورأيت زيدا
فعمرا ومررت بزيد فعمرو فعمرو تابع لزيد في اعرابه ومشارك له في حكمه مع
الترتيب والتعقيب والثالث ثم بضم الثاء المثلثة وهي للتشريك بين المعطوف
والمعطوف عليه في الاعراب والمعنى وتفيد الترتيب والتراخي بين المتعاطفين
تقول جاء زيد ثم عمرو ورأيت زيدا ثم عمرو ومررت بزيد ثم عمرو فعمرو تابع

is that the coordinated element should be subsequent to the antecedent, as in the Qur'anic *kalaqaka fa-sawwāka* 'he created you and then fashioned you'.[3]

12.21 It can also be used for narrative ordering:[1] this means that the element coordinated by *fa* 'and then' is mentioned purely formally after the antecedent, and not that the meaning of the second element occurs later in time than that of the first. This is most common in the coordination of detail to a general idea, as in the Qur'anic *fa-qad sa'alū mūsā 'akbara min ḏālika fa-qālū 'arinā llāha jahratan* 'and they asked Moses a greater thing than that, and said, "show us God openly"'.[2]

12.22 It can also *(44a)* denote immediate consequence[1] as well as order, i.e. that something should be connected by it without interval, as in the Qur'anic *'amātahu fa-'aqbarahu* 'he killed him and then buried him'.[2] The consequence of a thing depends on what it is: do you not see that it is possible to say *tazawwaja fulānun fu-wulida lahu* 'so-and-so married and then had a child',[3] as there is between these two events only the period of pregnancy, no matter how long that might be?

12.23 Using *fa* 'and then' in coordination you say *jā'a zaydun fa-ᶜamrun* 'Zayd came and then ᶜAmr', *ra'aytu zaydan fa-ᶜamran* 'I saw Zayd and then ᶜAmr', and *marartu bi-zaydin fa-ᶜamrin* 'I passed by Zayd and then ᶜAmr', where *ᶜamrun* 'ᶜAmr' is a concordant of *zaydun* 'Zayd' in its inflection, and shares in its logical predicament accompanied by ordering and consequence.[1]

12.3 (3) ṯumma 'then',[1] (spelt with *u* after the three-dotted *ṯ*), which associates the coordinated element with its antecedent in inflection and meaning, and conveys ordering and looseness of connection[2] between the two coordinated elements, e.g. *jā'a zaydun ṯumma ᶜamrun* 'Zayd came, then ᶜAmr', *ra'aytu zaydan ṯumma ᶜamran* 'I saw Zayd, then ᶜAmr' and *marartu bi-zaydin ṯumma ᶜamrin* 'I passed by Zayd, then ᶜAmr', where

and *tarattaba* 'to follow from (apodosis from protasis)' in 5.811.

(3) S. 82 v 7; this time two verbs are coordinated (cf. 12.93).

12.21 (1) 'Narrative ordering' is *tartīb ḏikrī*, lit. 'ordering by mention' (cf. *ḏikrī* 'due to previous mention' in 11.742).

(2) S. 4 v 153. 'Coordination of detail to a general idea' is *ᶜaṭf al-mufaṣṣil ᶜalā mujmal*: *mufaṣṣil* is related to *faṣl* 'subsection, differentiation' (cf. 3.63), *mujmal* to *jumla* 'sentence' (19.6 n 1). See 20.42 n 2 on the comparative construction of *'akbara min ḏālika*.

12.22 (1) 'Immediate consequence' translates *taᶜqīb*, lit. 'following on the heels of something'. Qualitatively *fa* differs from *wa* in that the latter is indifferent to the chronological order of events (12.11).

(2) S. 80 v 21. In his own commentary on this verse (IV, 466), aš-Širbīnī points out that the choice of *fa* here instead of the neutral *wa* stresses the immediacy of the burial and that the corpse was not left lying about!

(3) 'So-and-so' is *fulānun* (fem. *fulānatu*, 3.89 (4), and adj. *fulānī* 'belonging to So-and-so'. The connection suggested by Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, London 1967, 644 n 1, between *fulān* and Old French *poulains* is fortuitous: *fulān* occurs many centuries earlier (e.g. *Kitāb* II, and is probably composed of deictic elements (Fleisch, *Tr.* 118k). Note impersonal passive *wulida lahu*, lit. 'there was given birth for him', cf. 8.11 n 1.

12.23 (1) See 12.1 n 3 on *ḥukm* 'logical predicament'. The two possible 'predicaments' are assertion and negation (see 12.41 n 2 on these and related borrowings from logic). 'Assertion' is termed either *'iṯbāt* (lit. 'confirming') or *'ījāb* (lit. 'necessitating, root *w-j-b*, cf. 21.1 n 4), and 'negation' is *nafy* (5.76 n 1) among grammarians, but *salb* (lit. 'dispossessing, snatching away') among logicians. There are complexities in the history of these terms (both *'iṯbāt* and *'ījāb* are used apparently indiscriminately by Sībawayhi, cf. Troupeau, *Lexique-Index*), on which see Zimmermann, op. cit. 9.3 n 1, 532.

12.3 (1) *Jum.* 31; *Muf.* #540; *Alf.* v 545; *Qaṭr* 351 (*Muġnī* I, 107); other refs. as in 12.0 n 1. The spelling instruction (3.44 n 2) is to avoid confusion with *ṯamma* 'there' (18.213). Yushmanov 62 makes the observation that *ṯumma* replaces *wa* 'and' when anything has to be coordinated with God, e.g. *'ašhadtu llāha ṯumma jamāᶜatan min al-muslimīna* 'I call upon God and a number of Muslims as my witness'.

(2) 'Ordering and looseness of connection' is *tartīb wa-tarāḵī* (cf. 12.2 n 2 on *tartīb*); *tarāḵī* is lit. 'slackness, limpness', the term favoured by Ibn Hišām and aš-Širbīnī's immediate source, al-Azharī, on *Āj.* 73. Az-Zajjājī and az-Zamaḵšarī prefer *muhla* 'interval, delay' for this feature of *ṯumma*, while Ibn Mālik, in the *Alfiyya* at least, opposes *fa* and *ṯumma* by means of the antithetical terms *ittiṣāl* 'connection' and *infiṣāl* 'disconnection, separation'.

لزيد في اعرابه مشارك له في حكمه الا ان المعنى المنسوب الى المعطوف متأخر عن
المعنى المنسوب الى المعطوف عليه في الزمان ومنه قوله تعالى فاقبره ثم اذا شاء
انشره والرابع او وهي تشارك بين المعطوف والمعطوف عليه في الاعراب والمعنى
تقول جاء زيد او عمرو ورأيت زيدا او عمرا ومررت بزيد او عمرو فعمرو تابع
لزيد في اعرابه ومشارك له في حكمه وهي لاحد الشيئين نحو جاء زيد او عمرو او
احد الاشياء نحو جاء زيد او عمرو او بكر ومفيدة بعد الطلب للتخيير بين
المتعاطفين نحو تزوج زينب او اختها او الاباحة نحو جالس العلماء او الزهاد
والفرق بين التخيير والاباحة امتناع الجمع بين المتعاطفين في التخيير وجوازه في
الاباحة وبعد الخبر وهو مقابل الطلب اي الكلام الخبري الذي من شأنه ان يحتمل
الصدق والكذب للشك من المتكلم نحو قوله تعالى لبثنا يوما او بعض يوم او الابهام
على المخاطب نحو قوله تعالى وانا او اياكم لعلى (44b) هدى او في ضلال مبين
والخامس ام لطلب التعيين اذا وقعت بعد همزة دالة على احد الشيئين المنسوبين

^{c}*amrun* '^{c}Amr' is a concordant of *zaydun* 'Zayd' in its inflection, and shares in its logical predicament, except that the meaning attributed to the coordinated element is later than the meaning attributed to the antecedent, cf. the Qur'anic *fa-'aqbarahu ṯumma 'iḏā šā'a anšarahu* 'and then he buried him; then, if he wishes, he will resurrect him'.[3]

12.4 (4) *'aw* 'or',[1] which associates the coordinated element with its antecedent in inflection and meaning: thus you say *jā'a zaydun 'aw* ^{c}*amrun* 'Zayd or ^{c}Amr came', *ra'aytu zaydan 'aw* ^{c}*amran* 'I saw Zayd or ^{c}Amr', and *marartu bi-zaydin 'aw* ^{c}*amrin* 'I passed by Zayd or ^{c}Amr', where ^{c}*amrun* '^{c}Amr' is a concordant of *zaydun* 'Zayd' in its inflection and shares in its logical predicament. This particle may denote one of two alternatives, e.g. *jā'a zaydun 'aw* ^{c}*amrun* 'Zayd or ^{c}Amr came', or one of several alternatives, e.g. *jā'a zaydun 'aw* ^{c}*amrun 'aw bakrun* 'Zayd, ^{c}Amr or Bakr came'. It can also convey a restricted choice[2] between the two coordinated elements after a request, e.g. *tazawwaj zaynaba 'aw 'uḵtahā* 'marry either Zenobia or her sister', or a free choice,[3] e.g. *jālis il-*^{c}*ulamā'a 'aw iz-zuhhāda* 'sit with scholars or ascetics'. The difference between restricted and free choice is that in restricted choice it is impossible to combine the two coordinated elements, while that is possible in free choice.

12.41 It is also used after a statement (and then corresponds to a request),[1] i.e. the kind of predicative statement which can be intrinsically true or false,[2] to express the speaker's doubt, e.g. the Qur'anic *labiṯnā yawman 'aw ba*^{c}*ḍa yawmin* 'we tarried a day, or part of a day',[3] or to make the listener have doubts, as in the Qur'anic *wa-'innā 'aw 'iyyākum la-*^{c}*alā (44b) hudan 'aw fī ḍalālin mubīnin* 'verily we, or you, are in a state of guidance, or in plain error'.[4]

12.5 (5) *'am* 'or',[1] which serves as a request to be specific when it occurs after the interrogative *'a* '?' which denotes one of two relevant alternatives,[2] e.g. *'a-zaydun* ^{c}*indaka 'am* ^{c}*amrun* 'is it Zayd with you or

(3) S. 80, vv 21, 22, being the continuation of the verse quoted in 12.22. Here *ṯumma* coordinates the complex sentence *'iḏā šā'a 'anšarahu*, in which *'iḏā* 'when' has pseudo-conditional force (5.94), i.e. it does not mean 'when he wished, he resurrected him'.

12.4 (1) *Jum*. 31; *Muf*. ##541-544; *Alf*. v 551; *Qaṭr* 353 (*Muġnī* I, 59); other refs. as in 12.0 n 1; *'aw* as a subordinating conjunction 5.56. Some idea of the extent to which later grammar moved away from the strict structuralism of Sībawayhi can be gained from Ibn Hišām's statement (*Muġnī* I, 59) that 'modern grammarians' distinguish no less than twelve functions for *'aw*, viz. doubt (12.41), making vague (12.41), division (e.g. 'words are either nouns, verbs or particles'), option (the 'restricted choice' of 12.4 n 2), allowance (the 'free choice' of 12.4 n 3), unrestricted union (synonym of *wa* 'and', 12.1), digression (synonym of *bal* 'rather', 12.7), synonymous with *'illā*, synonymous with *'ilā* (see both in 5.56), approximation (e.g. 'I do not know whether he said hallo or goodbye'), condition (e.g. 'I shall beat him, whether he live or die') and finally partition (e.g. 'be ye Jews or Christians', S. 2 v 135). The translations and examples above are taken from Howell, #543.

(2) 'Restricted choice' is *taḵyīr* lit. only 'choice', but qualified here in order to contrast with the other type of choice involved. It is cognate with *iḵtiyāran* 'voluntarily', q.v. 7.5 n 2, 9.8 n 2.

(3) 'Free choice' is *'ibāḥa*, lit. 'permission, allowance', qualified by 'free' in the translation to fit the context. It is related to the legal term *mubāḥ* 'allowed', which is the neutral grade of legality between the opposite poles of *ḥarām* 'forbidden' and *farḍ* ('religious obligation', synonym *wājib* 'obligatory act, cf. 9.8 n 2).

12.41 (1) Cf. 5.54, 5.55, where *ṭalab* (here 'request') has been rendered 'demand'. The request is for confirmation of one of the two alternatives (cf. n 3 below).

(2) 'Predicative statement' is a literal translation of *al-kalām al-ḵabarī* (cf. 1.1 on *kalām* 'speech', 9.1 on *ḵabar* 'predicate'), but such classifications of sentence types are borrowings from logic and are not found in Sībawayhi. It contrasts with the *kalām 'inšā'ī* 'exclamatory statement' (lit. 'originative', Howell #1), i.e. commands, exclamations, entreaties etc. Several other classifications on the basis of meaning exist, on which see Versteegh 147, and contrast the simple formal opposition of 'nominal' and 'verbal' sentence, 9.24 n 2.

(3) S. 18 v 19, scil. 'we tarried a day, or was it part of a day?'.

(4) S. 34 v 24. On *'innā*<*'innanā* see 10.55 n 3; on *'iyyākum* see 16.506; on emphatic prefix *la* see 13.6 n 3.

12.5 (1) *Jum*. 31, 32; *Muf*. ##541, 542; *Alf*. v 548; *Qaṭr* 355 (*Muġnī* I, 39); other refs. as in 12.0 n 1.

(2) 'Relevant alternatives' is a free translation of *al-mansūbayni* lit. 'the two things attributed'; while this may be connected with *nisba* in

نحو ازيد عندك ام عمرو اذا كنت قاطعا بان احدهما عنده ولهذا يكون الجواب
بالتعيين تقول زيد او تقول عمرو ولا بنعم ولا بلا لعدم التعيين وتسمى هذه متصلة
وهي على نوعين احدهما ان تكون مسبوقة بهمزة يطلب بها وبام النعيين كما
مثلنا النوع الثاني ان تكون مسبوقة بهمزة التسوية سواء اوجدت لفظة ام لا وهي
الداخلة على جملة بحيث تكون الهمزة مع الجملة في محل المصدر كقوله تعالى
وسواء عليهم اانذرتهم ام لم تنذرهم اي سواء عليهم الانذار وعدمه وانما سميت
ام هذه متصلة لان ما بعدها وما قبلها لا يستغنى باحدهما عن الاخر والمتصلة
بقسميها تشرك في الاعراب والمعنى نحو سواء اجاء زيد ام عمرو وسواء ارأيت
زيدا ام عمرا وسواء امررت بزيد ام عمرو واجاء زيد ام عمرو وارأيت زيدا ام
عمرا وامررت بزيد ام عمرو فعمرو تابع لزيد في اعرابه ومشارك له في حكمه
واما ام المنفطعة فهي الخالية مما ذكر في المتصلة فلا يقدم عليها هموة يطلب
بها وبام التعيين ولا همزة التسوية وسميت منقطعة لوقوعها بين جملتين مستقلتين

^{c}Amr?', when you are quite sure that one of the two is there. For this reason the answer must be specifically 'Zayd' or '^{c}Amr', and cannot be 'yes' or 'no' because these do not specify.[3]

12,51 This *'am* 'or' is called 'conjunctive',[1] and is of two kinds: (a) preceded by the interrogative *'a* '?' which, with *'am* 'or', requests specification as already illustrated, and (b) preceded by the 'equalizing *'a*'[2] (whether formally expressed or not). This second *'am* 'or' occurs before sentences in which *'a* and its own sentence are together equivalent in status[3] to a verbal noun, as in the Qur'anic *wa-sawā'un* ^{c}*alayhim 'a-'anḏartahum 'am lam tunḏirhum* 'and it is the same for them whether you warned them or did not warn them',[4] i.e. *sawā'un* ^{c}*alayhim al-'inḏāru wa-*^{c}*admuhu* 'the same for them is warning or the lack of it'. This *'am* 'or' is only called 'conjunctive' because neither what precedes it nor what follows it can be dispensed with in a self-sufficient utterance.[5] Both kinds of 'conjunctive *'am*' associate the coordinated elements in inflection and meaning, e.g. *sawā'un 'a-jā'a zaydun 'am* ^{c}*amrun* 'it is the same whether Zayd or ^{c}Amr came',[6] *sawā'un 'a-ra'aytu zaydan 'am* ^{c}*amran* 'it is the same whether I saw Zayd or ^{c}Amr', *sawā'un 'a-marartu bi-zaydin 'am* ^{c}*amrin* 'it is the same whether I passed by Zayd or ^{c}Amr'. Likewise *'a-jā'a zaydun 'am* ^{c}*amrun* 'did Zayd or ^{c}Amr come?', *'a-ra'aytu zaydan 'am* ^{c}*amran* 'did I see Zayd or ^{c}Amr?' and *'a-marartu bi-zaydin 'am* ^{c}*amrin* 'did I pass by Zayd or ^{c}Amr?'. In all these ^{c}*amrun* '^{c}Amr' is a concordant of *zaydun* 'Zayd' in its inflection and shares its logical predicament.

12.52 There is also the 'disjunctive *'am*',[1] to which none of the above remarks on the 'conjunctive *'am*' apply: it is not preceded by the inter -rogative *'a* '?' which, with *'am* 'or', requests specification, nor by the 'equalizing *'a*'. It is called 'disjunctive' because it occurs between two independent sentences,[2] and is inseparably associated with the

its grammatical sense of (genetic) relationship (cf. 11.721 n 4), it is just as likely that it here has the logical flavour of this term in its sense of predicative relationship. Cf. also 20.02 n 1.

(3) See 5.741 n 1 on interrogative *'a*, and 12.51 n 6 on indirect questions. 'Specify' is *ta^{c}yīn*, the same as 'making specific' in the context of proper names (11.72).

12.51 (1) 'Conjunctive' is *muttaṣil* lit. 'continuous, uninterrupted' (cf. 21.1 n 5); the same root *w-ṣ-l* supplies the basic terminology of relative sentences, 11.752 n 1, and bound pronouns, 11.716 n 1.

(2) 'Interrogative *'a*' is *'alif al-istifhām*, q.v. 5.741 n 2; the 'equalising *'a*' is *'alif at-taswiya*, translated literally, also known as *'alif al-mu^{c}ādala* 'balancing *'a*'.

(3) 'Equivalent in status' renders *fī maḥall*, lit. 'in the place of'. Elsewhere (5.81 n 3) it has been equated with *manzila* 'status' (23.2 n 1) rather than *mawḍi^{c}* 'function' (3.1 n 4), even though it may seem that 'functionally equivalent' is the obvious translation. The reason is that *maḥall* does not denote absolute replaceability as does *mawḍi^{c}*, but equivalence of function between elements of different form classes (see 5.84 n 4), particularly when the element concerned is a sentence (*jumla*, q.v. 19.6 n 1), as sentences cannot exhibit inflection and can therefore only be regarded as having the status of inflected elements.

(4) S. 36 v 10; note vowel harmony in suffix *-him* in *^{c}alayhim* (cf. 13.9 n 9) and past tense meaning of verb negated by *lam* (5.71).

(5) 'Neither can be dispensed with' renders *lā yustaġnā bi-'aḥadihimā ^{c}an il-'āḵari* fairly literally: in its positive form the cognate term *mustaġnī* denotes a self-sufficient utterance (e.g. *Kitāb* I, 202, 208, 347, 480), while the negative most often appears in the context of absent elements or features (e.g. 5.44, 13.7), but see 19.6 on the notion that elements can be indispensable to the complete utterance. This explains why this type of *'am* is called 'conjunctive' (n 1 above).

(6) Arabic has no distinctive structure for indirect questions, though under foreign influence there is a tendency to transfer pronouns into reported speech forms (cf. indirect speech, 10.64 n 1). Thus 'I asked him whether he was going' is either *sa'altuhu 'a-'anta ḏāhibun*, with direct speech in the subordinate sentence ('are you going?') or *sa'altuhu 'a-huwa ḏāhibun*, with indirect speech form ('whether he was going'). The other interrogative pronouns (5.87 n 2) behave similarly.

12.52 (1) This is *'am l-munqaṭi^{c}*, lit. 'the severed *'am*' (cf. 21.11 n 2), see below, n 4, on the reason for this name.

(2) See 19.6 n 1 on *jumla* 'sentence'; 'independent' is a literal translation of *mustaqill*, now most commonly encountered in political contexts. It will be noticed that aš-Širbīnī has taken it for granted that the single nouns after this *'am* will be construed as elliptical sentences (scil. *jā'a zaydun 'am jā'a ^{c}amrun* 'Zayd came or ^{c}Amr came'), a rare failure to grasp an opportunity for *taqdīr* (q.v. 2.101 n 1).

ولا يفارقها معنى الاضراب تقول جاء زيد ام عمرو ورأيت زيدا ام عمرو ومررت
بزيد ام عمرو معناه بل عمرو وهي حينئذ مشتركة في الاعراب دون المعنى
وسادسها اما المكسورة الهمزة المسبوقة بمثلها او بما في معناها تقول جاء اما
زيد واما عمرو ورأيت (45a) اما زيدا واما عمرا ومررت اما بزيد واما بعمرو
فعمرو تابع لزيد فى اعرابه وفي حكمه واسقط هذه من حروف العطف ابن هشام وهو
مذهب ابي علي وابني كيسان وبرهان بفتح الباء الموحدة واما اكثر النحويين فهي
عندهم في الطلب نحو تزوج اما هندا واما اختها وفي الخبر نحو جاءني اما زيد
واما عمرو بمنزلة او في العطف والمعنى فتكون بعد الطلب للتخيير والاباحة وبعد
الخبر للشك والابهام وعند الاولين انها مثل او في المعنى فقط لا في العطف والسابع
بل فيعطف بها بعد الايجاب نحو قام زيد بل عمرو ورأيت زيدا بل عمرا ومررت
بزيد بل عمرو فعمرو تابع لزيد في اعرابه دون حكمه وهو الموصوف بالفعل دون

meaning of retraction,[3] e.g. *jā'a zaydun 'am ᶜamrun* 'Zayd came, or else ᶜAmr', *ra'aytu zaydan 'am ᶜamran* 'I saw Zayd, or else ᶜAmr', and *marartu bi-zaydin 'am ᶜamrin* 'I passed by Zayd, or else ᶜAmr', in the meaning of *bal* 'or rather'. Hence it associates in inflection but not in meaning.[4]

12.6 (6) *'immā* 'either',[1] (spelt with *i* after the '), which must be followed by another *'immā* or a synonym,[2] e.g. *jā'a 'immā zaydun wa-'immā ᶜamrun* 'either Zayd came or ᶜAmr', *ra'aytu (45a) 'immā zaydan wa-'immā ᶜamran* 'I saw either Zayd or ᶜAmr' and *marartu 'immā bi-zaydin wa-'immā bi-ᶜamrin* 'I passed either by Zayd or by ᶜAmr', where *ᶜamrun* 'ᶜAmr' is a concordant of *zaydun* 'Zayd' in its inflection and in its logical predicament. This particle is omitted from the particles of coordination by Ibn Hišām, following Abū ᶜAlī, Ibn Kaysān and Ibn Barhān[3] (spelt with *a* after the *b*). But in the opinion of most grammarians, when it occurs after demands, e.g. *tazawwaj 'immā hindan wa-'immā 'uḵtahā* 'marry either Hind or her sister' or in predicative statements, e.g. *jā'a 'immā zaydun wa-'immā ᶜamrun* 'Zayd came or ᶜAmr', it has exactly the same status[4] as *'aw* 'or' both in being a coordinator and in meaning, in that after demands it serves to denote restricted or free choice,[5] and after statements it serves to denote doubt or to induce it. In the opinion of the former authorities,[6] however, *'immā* 'either' is only similar in meaning to *'aw* 'or' and not in being a coordinator.

12.7 (7) *bal* 'nay rather',[1] used as a coordinator after an assertion,[2] e.g. *qāma zaydun bal ᶜamrun* 'Zayd, nay rather ᶜAmr stood', *ra'aytu zaydan bal ᶜamran* 'I saw Zayd, nay rather ᶜAmr' and *marartu bi-zaydin bal ᶜamrin* 'I passed by Zayd, nay rather ᶜAmr', where *ᶜamrun* 'ᶜAmr' is a concordant of *zaydun* 'Zayd' in its inflection but not in its logical predicament, since it is ᶜAmr, not Zayd, who is qualified by the verb.[3]

(3) 'Retraction' is *'iḍrāb*, lit. 'turning away' (hence in modern Arabic 'striking' against employers, from root *ḍ-r-b* 'to strike').

(4) As the translations are meant to imply (by use of the comma after the first sentence), neither statement is essential to the utterance. Whether the second must always contain a retraction of the first is problematical: apart from tending to make both statements thereby indispensable to each other, it can surely be argued that this type of *'am* sentence must fit somewhere into the many functions of *'aw* 'or' listed in 12.4 n 1! Note that *bal* (12.7) replaces *'am* in the paraphrase, however, and not *'aw*.

12.6 (1) *Jum.* 31; *Muf.* ##541, 543, 544; *Alf.* v 553; *Qaṭr* 357, (*Muġnī* I, 56); other refs. in 12.0 n 1. The spelling instructions (3.44 n 2) are to avoid confusion with *'ammā* 'as for', q.v. 9.95 n 3. There are two objections: however, if *'immā* is not a conjunction, what is it?). Cf. so often occurs with *wa* 'and' prefixed (as in the examples here), and second that prepositions must be repeated after it (by contrasting *wa-'immā bi-ᶜamrin* here and *wa-ᶜamrin* in 12.1 it is easy to grasp the obections: however, if *'immā* is not a conjunction, what is it?). Cf. also n 6 below.

(2) The only synonym which may follow *'immā* is *'aw* 'or'(12.4).

(3) On Ibn Hišām see 1.02 n 1; Abū ᶜAlī is Abū ᶜAlī al-Fārisī, q.v. 10.71 n 1; Ibn Kaysān was a prominent pupil of al-Mubarrad (22.3 n 1) and of Ṯaᶜlab, leaders of the 'Baṣrans' and 'Kūfans' respectively (cf. 9.4 n 3), and died in 911 or 932 (*G.A.L.* I, 111, *E.I.* (2), art. 'Ibn Kaysān'); Ibn Barhān was an eccentric, but highly respected teacher who died in 1064 (*G.A.L.* Suppl. I, 491).

(4) Here 'status' is *manzila*, q.v. 23.2 n 1 and contrast 12.51 n 3.

(5) See 12.4 on restricted and free choice, 12.41 on doubts.

(6) The 'former authorities' are Abū ᶜAlī etc., mentioned above. For the reservations about *'immā* see n 1: to those may be added the fact that *'immā* always occurs in pairs, wherein the first *'immā* certainly is not a conjunction. The coordinating function has to be ascribed to the *wa* 'and' which invariably accompanies the second *'immā*.

12.7 (1) *Jum.* 31; *Muf.* #545; *Alf.* vv 550, 555; *Qaṭr* 356 (*Muġnī* I, 103); other refs. in 12.0 n 1.

(2) 'Assertion' is *'Ījāb*, q.v. 12.23 n 1.

(3) See 12.1 n 3 on *ḥukm* 'logical predicament'. Note that 'qualified' here is *mawṣūf*, the same term that is used for the antecedent of the adjective (11.0 n 1): the reason is that verbs are also analysed as adjectival qualifiers, usually of their agents (11.45 n 1), but here, interestingly, the verb phrases *qāma, ra'aytu* and *marartu bi-* are all construed as qualifiers, first (formally) of Zayd and then (through retraction) of ᶜAmr. While this is obvious with *qāma*, it is perhaps worth emphasizing that for the other two the implied paraphrases are **zaydun bal ᶜamrun ra'aytuhu* 'Zayd, rather ᶜAmr I saw', **zaydun bal*

زيد وبعد النفي نحو ما جاء زيد بل عمرو وما رأيت زيدا بل عمرا وما مـــررت
بزيد بل عمرو فعمرو تابع لزيد في اعرابه دون حكمه وعمرو هو الموصوف بالفعل دون
زيد والثامن لا يعطف بها بعد الايجاب نحو قام زيد لا عمرو ورأيت زيدا لا عمرا
ومررت بزيد لا عمرو فعمرو تابع لزيد في اعرابه دون حكمه وزيد هو الموصوف
بالفعل دون عمرو وبعد الامر نحو اضرب زيدا لا عمرا فزيد هو المأمور بضربه دون
عمرو وعمرو تابع لزيد في اعرابه والتاسع لكن بسكون النون ويعطف بها بشروط
افراد معطوفها وان تسبق بنفي او نهي وان لا تقترن بالواو عند الاكثرين مثالها
بعد النفي نحو ما قام زيد لكن عمرو وما رأيت زيدا لكن عمرا وما مررت بزيد
لكن عمرو فعمرو تابع لزيد في اعرابه دون حكمه وعمرو هو الموصوف (45a) بالفعل
دون زيد ومثالها بعد النهي لا تضرب زيدا لكن عمرا فزيد هو المنهي عن ضربه
دون عمرو وعمرو تابع لزيد في اعرابه دون حكمه وليست عاطفة اذا تلتها جملة

12.71 It also occurs after negation,[1] e.g. *mā jā'a zaydun bal ^{c}amrun* 'Zayd did not come but rather ^{c}Amr', *mā ra'aytu zaydan bal ^{c}amran* 'I did not see Zayd but rather ^{c}Amr', and *mā marartu bi-zaydin bal ^{c}amrin* 'I did not pass by Zayd but rather ^{c}Amr', where *^{c}amrun* '^{c}Amr' is a concordant of *zaydun* 'Zayd' in its inflection but not in its logical predicament, since it is ^{c}Amr, not Zayd, who is qualified by the verb.[2]

12.8 (8) lā 'not',[1] used as a coordinator after assertions, e.g. *qāma zaydun lā ^{c}amrun* 'Zayd stood, not ^{c}Amr', *ra'aytu zaydan lā ^{c}amran* 'I saw Zayd, not ^{c}Amr' and *marartu bi-zaydin lā ^{c}amrin* 'I passed by Zayd, not ^{c}Amr', where *^{c}amrun* '^{c}Amr' is a concordant of *zaydun* 'Zayd' in its inflection but not in its logical predicament, since it is Zayd, not ^{c}Amr, who is qualified by the verb.[2]

12.81 It also occurs after the imperative, e.g. *iḍrib zaydan lā ^{c}amran* 'strike Zayd not ^{c}Amr',[1] where Zayd is the one who is commanded to be struck, not ^{c}Amr, hence the word *^{c}amrun* '^{c}Amr' is a concordant of *zaydun* 'Zayd' in inflection only.[2]

12.9 (9) lākin 'but',[1] (spelt with unvowelled *n*), used as a coordinator on certain conditions: (a) that the coordinated element be a single word,[2] (b) that it be preceded by negation or prohibition[3] and (c) that it not be accompanied by *wa* 'and', in the opinion of most grammarians.[4] Examples after negation: *mā qāma zaydun lākin ^{c}amrun* 'Zayd did not stand, but ^{c}Amr', *mā ra'aytu zaydan lākin ^{c}amran* 'I did not see Zayd, but ^{c}Amr', and *mā marartu bi-zaydin lākin ^{c}amrin* 'I did not pass by Zayd, but ^{c}Amr', where *^{c}amrun* '^{c}Amr' is a concordant of *zaydun* 'Zayd' in its inflection but not in its logical predicament, as it is ^{c}Amr who is qualified by the verb *(45b)* not Zayd. Examples after prohibition:[5] *lā taḍrib zaydan lākin ^{c}amran* 'do not strike Zayd, but ^{c}Amr', where Zayd is the one forbidden to be struck, not ^{c}Amr, hence *^{c}amrun* '^{c}Amr' is a concordant of *zaydun* 'Zayd' in its inflection but not in its logical predicament.

^{c}*amrun marartu bihi* 'Zayd, rather ^{c}Amr I passed by' respectively, in which the verb phrases are complex predicates of the type in 9.75

12.71 (1) See 5.76 n 1 on negation, *nafy*, in general.

(2) Further to 12.7 n 3: here again the verb phrases are analysed as adjectival qualifiers, scil. **zaydun bal ^{c}amrun mā ra'aytuhu* 'Zayd, rather ^{c}Amr I did not see' etc. The 'logical predicament' remains a choice between assertion and negation: it is not a matter of the meaning of the proposition but simply of whether the given predicate applies to the stated subject or not.

12.8 (1) *Jum.* 31; *Muf.* #545; *Alf.* vv 554, 555; *Qaṭr* 356 (*Muḡnī* I, 194); other refs. in 12.0 n 1; for *lā* negating verbs see 5.76; for *lā* negating nouns categorically see ch. 22.

(2) Though not a conjunction in the sense intended by aš-Širbīnī, the resumptive *lā* which is used as a repeater for previous negatives may as well be mentioned here. It repeats any of the various negative particles (5.76 n 1), always with *wa*, e.g. *mā qāma wa-lā takallama* 'he did not stand, nor speak', *lam yaqum wa-lā takallama* 'he has not stood nor spoken'. Cf. Cantarino, I, 107, Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.* 338, Nöldeke 93.

12.81 (1) While an elided second verb need not be assumed here (**iḍrib zaydan lā taḍrib ^{c}amran*), there seems to be no choice with *mā ḍarabtu zaydan wa-lā ^{c}amran* 'I did not hit Zayd nor (did I hit) ^{c}Amr'.

(2) The translation 'the word ^{c}*amrun*' is necessary here because ^{c}Amr's name is quoted in the metalanguage with the indep. form as subject of 'is a concordant', rather than with dep. form as a concordant to *zaydan* (the alternative: '^{c}*amran* is a concordant to *zaydan*' is also possible, but it is not so close to the original).

12.9 (1) *Jum.* 31, 32; *Muf.* #545; *Alf.* vv 554, 555; *Qaṭr* 356 (*Muḡnī* I, 226); other refs. in 12.0 n 1. The spelling instruction (3.44 n 2) distinguishes *lākin* from *lākinna* (10.43): cf. 12.903 n 1 on the other 'light' (*ḵafīf*) or 'lightened' (*muḵaffaf*) alternants of *nn*, and see further 3.241 n 2.

(2) 'Be a single word' renders *'ifrād* lit. 'causing something to be *mufrad*, viz. single, singular, simple' (see 23.431 n 1 on *mufrad*).

(3) In *Inṣāf* prob. 68, the 'Kūfans' (9.4 n 3) argue somewhat speciously (and in the absence of evidence) that *lākin*, being a synonym of *bal* 'rather' (12.7), may be used after positive sentences, e.g. *'atānī zaydun lākin ^{c}amrun* 'Zayd, but rather ^{c}Amr, came to me'. The 'Baṣran' reply does not seem very positive, probably again through lack of evidence: they concede that *lākin* might occur in such a position but only (a) if the second element contradicts the first (i.e. if it falls into the category dealt with below in 12.903, where it is actually an allomorph of *lākinna*), or (b) if the first element is an error or oversight. But in the latter case, *bal* already exists for the correction of errors and oversights, and so (the Baṣrans claim), *lākin* is not needed in that function.

كقول الشاعر
ان ابن ورقاء لا تخشى بوادره (جمع بادرة وهي الحدة) لكن وقائعه في الحرب تنتظر
فوقائعه مبتدأ وتنتظر خبره ولكن الداخلة على هذه الجملة حرف ابتداء او تلت
واوا نحو ما كان محمد ابا احد من رجالكم ولكن رسول الله فليس رسول الله
معطوفا على ابا احد من عطف مفرد على مفرد بل هو خبر لكان محذوفة اي ولكن
كان رسول الله او سبقت بايجاب نحو قام زيد لكن عمرو لم يقم فعمرو مبتدأ
ولم يقم خبره ولكن حرف ابتداء ولا يجوز لكن عمرو بالافراد على انه معطوف
لفوات شرطه وهو النفي والنهي والعاشر حتى وهي تشرك في الاعراب والمعنى

12.901 This particle is not a coordinator if it is followed by a sentence,[1] as in the verse

'inna bna warqā'a lā tukšā bawādiruhu
lākin waqā'i^cuhu fī l-ḥarbi tuntaẓaru

'Indeed the onslaughts (*bawādiru* 'onslaughts' is the plural of *bādiratun*, i.e. *ḥiddatun* 'vehemence') of Ibn Warqā' are not feared, but his attacks in battle are anticipated'.[2] Here *waqā'i^cu* 'attacks' is the subject, *tuntaẓaru* 'are anticipated' is its predicate,[3] and *lākin* 'but' preceding this sentence is a particle which introduces equational sentences.[4]

12.902 Likewise if it follows *wa* 'and',[1] as in the Qur'anic *mā kāna muḥammadun 'abā 'aḥadin min rijālikum wa-lākin rasūla llāhi* 'Muḥammad is not the father of any of your men, but the apostle of God',[2] where *rasūla llāhi* 'the apostle of God' is not coordinated to *'abā 'aḥadin* 'the father of one' as one single element coordinated to another,[3] but is the predicate of an elided *kāna* 'is, has always been', i.e. *wa-lākin kāna rasūla llāhi* 'but he is the apostle of God'.

12.903 In the same way, when it is preceded by an assertion, e.g. *qāma zaydun lākin ^camrun lam yaqum* 'Zayd stood, but ^cAmr did not stand', *^camrun* '^cAmr' is the subject of an equational sentence,[1] *lam yaqum* 'he did not stand' is its predicate, and *lākin* 'but' is a particle which introduces equational sentences. It is not allowed to say *lākin ^camrun* 'but ^cAmr' by itself as if it were coordinated, because the necessary condition is lacking, viz. that of being preceded by negation or prohibition.

(4) After *wa*, *lākin* reverts to being an allomorph of *lākinna*, 12.903.

(5) See 5.76 on prohibition, *nahy*.

12.901 (1) See 19.6 n 1 on *jumla* 'sentence', and see below, n 4.

(2) *Schaw. Ind.* 90 (add *Muġnī* I, 226; al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* II, 147). Although attributed to the pre-Islamic poet Zuhayr (and included in his published poems), it seems that this verse is first quoted in a grammatical context by Ibn Hišām. Apart from the grammar of *lākin*, note: *'inna* with dep. nouns (10.41); juncture in *ibna* (23.7 n 1); semi-declinable proper name *warqā'a* (3.89 (2) and (4)); passive of weak 3rd rad. verb *tuḵšā* (8.3 n 1 (b)); fem. sing. verb with broken plur. agent (7.22 n 1); broken plur. *bawādiru* (3.221); possessive suffix *hu* (4.72 n 2); preposition *fī* (26.25); juncture of *al* (11.1 n 2); passive of Stem VIII verb (8.68 n 1).

(3) Note that, since the noun precedes its verb, a nominal sentence (7.12) is created, with a complex predicate as in 9.75.

(4) 'Particle which introduces equational sentences' translates *ḥarf ibtidā'*: for *ḥarf* 'particle' see 1.25; *ibtidā'* is literally 'the act of starting an utterance with a noun', q.v. 9.12 n 2.

12.902 (1) The argument is that if the conjunction *wa* is already present the following element cannot also be a conjunction (cf. the case of *'immā*, 12.6 n 1). See also n 3 below.

(2) S. 33 v 40. Note here the past tense form of *kāna* 'to be' in its 'timeless' meaning (cf. 5.52 n 2), scil. 'Muḥammad has never been...' (and see 10.11 on dep. form of predicate *'abā 'aḥadin* with *kāna* and related verbs). For *'abā*, with long vowel inflection, see 3.61.

(3) 'As one single element to another' is *mufradin ᶜalā mufradin*, see 23.431 n 1 on *mufrad* 'single' etc. Note that 'single' refers to functional, not morphological singleness here: the annexation unit is formally composed of at least two elements, in the present instance *'abā 'aḥadin* and *rasūla llāhi*, but these are functionally equivalent to single nouns (26.91 n 1). However, even if the coordinated nouns in this verse had been single items, *lākin* would still not be a conjunction, as long as it has *wa* prefixed to it. In the absence of a better explanation, it is assumed that *lākin* here is an allomorph of *lākinna* (12.903).

12.903 (1) See 12.901 n 4 for the terminology, and id. n 3 for the equational (= nominal) sentence with verb phrase as predicate. In this function *lākin* is an allomorph of *lākinna* (10.43), and belongs to a set of 'light' and 'heavy' (12.9 n 1) doublets comprising *'inna/'in* (10.41), *'anna/'an* (10.42), *ka'anna/ka'an* (10.44) and *lākinna/lākin* (10.43). In each case (though by no means with equal distribution: 'light *'in*' is both archaic and rare, for example), the 'light' form is neutralized and does not bring about dependent forms in the nouns following it, cf. *lākinna ḵālidan* in 10.43 and *lākin ᶜamrun* in this paragraph. *Muf.* #525; *Alf.* v 190; *Qaṭr* 156; Fleisch 199; Bateson 38; Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.* 125, 129, 130.

وقوله في بعض المواضع اشار به الى ان العطف بها قليل عند البصريين وانكره الكوفيون ويحملون ما اوهم العطف على ان حتى فيه ابتدائية وما بعدها على اضمار عامل وعلى اعمالها انما تعمل بشروط اربعة احدها كون المعطوف اسما لانها منقولة من حتى الجارة وهي لا تدخل على الافعال والثاني كونه ظاهرا فلا يجوز قام القوم حتى انا والثالث كونه بعضا من المعطوف عليه تحقيقا نحو اكلت السمكة حتى رأسها او تأويلا نحو

القى الصحيفة كي يخفف رحله والزاد حتى نعله القاها

فان الصحيفة (46a) والزاد في تأويل القى ما يثقله او شبيها بالبعض في شدة الاتصال كقولك اعجبتني الجارية حتى كلامها ويمتنع حتى ولدها لان ولدها ليس جزءا منها ولا شبيها به وضابط ذلك انه ان حسن الاستثناء المتصل حسن دخول حتى والا فلا

12.91 (10) *ḥattā* 'even',[1] which associates both in inflection and meaning. When the author adds: in certain positions,[2] he is indicating that its use as a coordinator is rare in the opinion of the Baṣrans and denied altogether by the Kūfans.[3] They attribute its coordinating implications to the fact that, in such cases, it is a particle which introduces equational sentences, and that an operator has been suppressed after *ḥattā* 'even', making *ḥattā* itself the operator. It operates only on four conditions: (a) the coordinated element must be a noun, because this *ḥattā* 'even' is transferred from the *ḥattā* 'till' which is an oblique operator and does not occur before verbs,[4] (b) the coordinated noun must be overt: it is not allowed to say **qāma l-qawmu ḥattā 'anā* 'the people stood, even I',[5] (c) the coordinated noun must be part of its antecedent, either literally, as in *'akaltu s-samakata ḥattā ra'sahā* 'I ate the fish, even its head', or figuratively,[6] as in the verse

'alqā ṣ-ṣaḥīfata kay yukaffifa raḥlahu
wa-z-zāda ḥattā na^{c}lahu 'alqāhā

'he threw away the letter to lighten his saddle, and the supplies and even his sandals he threw away',[7] where the letter *(46a)* and the supplies can be paraphrased as 'he threw away what weighed heavily on him'. Alternatively the coordinated noun only needs to resemble a part of its antecedent when the connection between the two is extremely close, e.g. *'a^{c}jabatnī l-jāriyatu ḥattā kalāmuhā* 'the girl delighted me, even what she said', while it is impossible to say **ḥattā waladuhā* 'even her son' because her son is neither part of her nor resembles part of her. The guiding principle for all this is that if it is correct[8] with 'continuous exception' then it is also correct with *ḥattā* to occur before it, otherwise not.[9]

12.91 (1) *Jum.* 30, 77; *Muf.* #540; *Alf.* v 547; *Qaṭr* 351; (*Muġnī* I, 111); Beeston 98, 99; Fleisch 222; *ḥattā* as a subordinating conjunction 5.53; *ḥattā* as a preposition 26.31.

(2) 'Positions' is *mawāḍi*ᶜ, i.e. 'functions', q.v. 3.1 n 4.

(3) See 9.4 n 3 on 'Kūfans' and 'Baṣrans'. Surprisingly there is no trace of this dispute in the *Inṣāf*, where one would most expect to find it (though *ḥattā* as a subordinating conjunction is debated in prob. 83, cf. 5.53 n 2).

(4) It is this principle which requires that, for the Baṣrans at least (5.5), *ḥattā* may not operate directly upon a verb, but must operate by means of an assumed *'an* 'that'; i.e. upon a noun phrase (cf. 5.53). For *ḥattā* as a preposition see 26.31.

(5) This condition is obscure and inapplicable, at least for modern Arabic: see Cantarino, II, 297. 'Et tu, Brute' is *ḥattā 'anta yā brūṭus*.

(6) 'Literally' is *taḥqīqan*, lit. 'by verification', related to *ḥaqīqa* 'truth, fact', which normally has as its antonym *majāz* 'figure of speech, metaphor' (see 13.3 n 1). Here, however, it is opposed to *ta'wīlan* 'by paraphrase' (cf. the cognate *mu'awwal*, 9.02 n 1) in a distinction which is semantic rather than syntactic: the sandals are not part of the antecedent but only of what weighed upon the rider.

(7) *Schaw. Ind.* (add *Jum.* 81). As quoted by Sībawayhi (*Kitāb* I, 50) this verse has *na*ᶜ*lihi* with obl. form (i.e. with *ḥattā* as preposition), though no reasons are given in the text or by the editors (Derenbourg also has *na*ᶜ*lihi*). In fact Sībawayhi establishes that all three cases are possible with *ḥattā*: indep. *na*ᶜ*luhu* as subject of a new sentence (with *'alqāhā* as predicate as in 9.75), obl. *na*ᶜ*lihi*, or dep. *na*ᶜ*lahu* as preposed object of *'alqāhā* and concording by attraction with the dep. forms *zāda* etc. preceding. Sībawayhi's preference is clearly for the last, but he has to acknowledge that the obl. form is commonly met (and therefore is correct!), while he has reservations about the indep. form. The same three possibilities exist with *'akaltu s-samakata ḥattā ra'sahā*: indep. *ra'suhā* as subject of new sentence, dep. *ra'sahā* as direct object coordinated with *ḥattā*, and obl. *ra'sihā* after prepositional *ḥattā*. In the last case, however, the meaning could be 'up to (but not including) its head'.

(8) The first grammatical criteria were ethical in origin, viz. *ḥasan* 'good' and *qabīḥ* 'bad', relating to structure, and *mustaqīm* 'right' and *muḥāl* 'wrong' relating to meaning (cf. Carter, *J.A.O.S.* 93, 147). With time, as grammar grew more prescriptive, these appear less often, and tend to be replaced with the simple opposition *yajūz* 'it is allowed': *lā yajūz* 'it is not allowed' (cf. 9.8 n 2). This is the only instance in this work of *ḥasuna* 'to be structurally correct' (though elsewhere we find the occasional synonym, e.g. 11.82, *ṣaluḥa*).

(9) He means neg. continuous exception (v. 21.2), i.e. *mā 'a*ᶜ*jabatnī l-jāriyatu 'illā kalāmuhā* 'only what the girl said delighted me'.

والرابع ان يكون ما بعدها غاية لما قبلها في زيادة حسية مرجعها الى الحس
والمشاهدة نحو فلان يهب الاعداد الكثيرة حتى الالوف او في زيادة معنوية مرجعها
الى المعنى نحو مات الناس حتى الانبياء او في نقص حسي نحو المؤمن يجزى
بالحسنات حتى مثقال الذرة او في نقص معنوي نحو غلبك الناس حتى النساء
والصبيان وتكون للتدريج بان ينقضي ما قبلها شيئا فشيئا وتفيد مطلق الجمع كالواو
لا للترتيب كالفاء وثم خلافا لابن الحاجب بدليل قوله عليه الصلاة والسلام كل شيء
بقضاء وقدر حتى العجز والكيس ولا ترتيب في القضاء والقدر وانما الترتيب في
ظهور المتعلقات وهذه الحروف العشرة مع اختلاف معانيها تشرك ما بعدها لما
قبلها في اعرابه فان عطفت انت بها على مرفوع رفعت المعطوف او على منصوب
نصبت المعطوف او على مخفوض خفضت المعطوف او على مجزوم جزمت المعطوف تقول
في عطف الاسم على الاسم في الرفع جاء زيد وعمرو وفي النصب رأيت زيدا وعمرا
وفي الخفض مررت بزيد وعمرو واما في الفعل فتقول في عطف الفعل على

12.911 Finally, (d) what follows *ḥattā* 'even' must be a limit[1] to the antecedent in terms of some perceptible addition ultimately going back to perception and observation, e.g. *fulānun yahabu l-'a^c^dāda l-kaṯīrata ḥattā l-'ulūfa* 'so-and-so donates large sums, even thousands', or some abstract addition[2] ultimately going back to the meaning of the antecedent, e.g. *māta n-nāsu ḥattā l-'anbiyā'u* 'the people died, even the prophets', or some perceptible decrease, e.g. *al-mu'minu yujzā bi-l-ḥasanāti ḥattā miṯqāli ḏ-ḏarrati* 'the believer is rewarded for good deeds, even for the weight of an atom',[3] or some abstract decrease,[4] e.g. *ḡalabaka n-nāsu ḥattā n-nisā'u wa-ṣ-ṣibyānu* 'the people browbeat you, even the women and children'.

12.912 It also serves for gradation,[1] in that its antecedent proceeds little by little, and it can convey absolute coordination[2] like *wa* 'and' without any of the ordering implied by *fa* 'and then' or *ṯumma* 'then' (contrary to Ibn al-Ḥājib).[3] This is proved by the Saying of the Prophet (blessing and peace upon him): *kullu šay'in bi-qaḍā'in wa-qadarin ḥattā l-^c^ajzu wa-l-kaysu* 'everything is by decree and predestination, even incapacity and intelligence',[4] for there is no ordering in decree and predestination, since ordering can only appear in things which are connected with each other.

12.92 These, then, are the ten particles (with their various meanings)[1] which associate their antecedent with what follows them in inflection, and when you use them as coordinators with an independent antecedent you make the coordinated element likewise independent, with a dependent antecedent you make the coordinated element likewise dependent, with an oblique antecedent you make the coordinated element likewise oblique, and with an apocopated antecedent you make the coordinated element likewise apocopated. Thus you say (coordinating one independent noun with another) *jā'a zaydun wa-^c^amrun* 'Zayd and ^c^Amr came', and in dependence *ra'aytu zaydan wa-^c^amran* 'I saw Zayd and ^c^Amr', and in obliqueness *marartu bi-zaydin wa-^c^amrin* 'I passed by Zayd and ^c^Amr'.[2]

12.911 (1) 'Limit' is *ġāya*, cf. also the definition of *min*, 1.701, and cf. 21.01 n 1.

(2) 'Perceptible addition' is *ziyāda ḥissiyya*, 'abstract addition' is *ziyāda ma^cnawiyya*; see 3.231 n 1 on *ziyāda* 'augment, increase' etc., and cf. 1.704 on *ḥissiyya*, 2.1 n 2 on *ma^cnawiyya*.

(3) This sounds like one of the 'Traditions' of Muḥammad (1.01 n 4), but is not listed as such in Wensinck's *Concordance* (others of similar content and wording, I, 294). Read *miṯqāli* with obl. form coordinated by *ḥattā* with *bi-l-ḥasanāti* (obl. sound fem. plur., q.v. 3.83).

(4) 'Perceptible decrease' is *naqṣ ḥissī*, 'abstract decrease' is *naqṣ ma^cnawī*, cf. n 2 above; *naqṣ* 'decrease' is morphological in 3.221, and cf. *nāqiṣ* 'structurally defective', 9.71 n 2.

12.912 (1) 'Gradation' is *tadrīj*, 'making something proceed step by step', hence to be distinguished from *tartīb* 'ordering', 12.2 n 2.

(2) 'Absolute conjunction' is *muṭlaq al-jam^c*: see 11.717 n 3 on *muṭlaq* 'absolute'. Here *jam^c*, lit. 'gathering, uniting' is a synonym of *^caṭf* (q.v. 12.0 n 1), but it is also the normal term for 'plural' (3.23 n 1).

(3) See *E.I.* (2), art. 'Ibn al-Ḥādjib', *G.A.L.* I, 303, on this most famous grammarian, who was active mainly in Damascus and Cairo and died in 1239. Ibn Hišām (1.02 n 1) relies heavily upon him. Here the reference is to Ibn al-Ḥājib's *Kāfiya* (countless editions, try Istanbul [1964], with commentary of al-Jāmī, 405): aš-Širbīnī has evidently added Ibn al-Ḥājib's name to what he has adapted from *Qaṭr* 352.

(4) This Tradition (1.01 n 4) is in Wensinck, *Concordance* IV, 137, but reads *bi-qadarin*, omitting *qaḍā'in* (cf. *Qaṭr* 353, Goguyer's note 4). Since predestination consists of God's actions, these can hardly be arranged in any order (especially grammatically or logically, unless by God himself, cf. 12.11). Cf. religious scruples in 5.751 n 1.

12.92 (1) Once again let it be stressed that meaning is not lexical (cf. 11.81 n 1). Examine the lists of 'meanings' (*ma^cānī*, also rendered 'senses') in 1.701-709, 10.51-55 and those of the conjunctions in this chapter, and it should be clear that all are expressed in the form of verbal nouns, in other words, as kinds of linguistic acts. Look, also, at the contents list of any Arabic grammar: it is a series of verbal nouns, in the same way that the contents list of an Islamic law text-book is a series of verbal nouns (praying, washing, marrying, giving evidence etc. etc.) and for the same reason, namely, that the purpose of both disciplines is to regulate human behaviour. Only seldom is meaning expressed by synonym ('and' in the meaning of 'with', ch. 25) or paraphrase (ch. 18 passim), which is known to lead to infinite regression (*Kitāb* II, 312).

(2) In passing we note that coordination does not usually occur when nouns are qualified by more than one adjective, e.g. *rajulun ṣāliḥun ṣādiqun* 'a good, honest man'. However, coordination is obligatory in the situation where the adjectives qualify only part of the antecedent

الفعل في الرفع يقوم ويقعد زيد وفي النصب لن يقوم ويقعد زيد وفي الجزم لم يقم
(46b) ويقعد زيد وقس سائر الحروف على هذا تنبيه فهم من كونه لم يشترط في
العطف ما اشترط في النعت من كونه موافقا للمنعوت في التعريف والتنكير انه
يجوز عطف النكرة على المعرفة نحو جاء زيد ورجل وعطف المعرفة على النكرة نحو
جاء رجل وزيد والمفرد على المثنى والمجموع وعكسه والظاهر على المضمر والمضمر على
الظاهر ولما فرغ من بيان الثاني من التوابع وهو عطف النسق شرع في بيان الثالث
منها وهو التوكيد فقال

باب التوكيد اي الموكد بكسر الكاف من اطلاق المصدر مرادا به اسم الفاعل ويقال
فيه ايضا التأكيد بالهمزة وبابدال الهمزة الفا والواو اكثر ولذلك شاع استعماله
بالواو عند النحاة التوكيد بمعنى الموكد تابع يقرر امر متبوعه في النسبة

12.93 With verbs, when coordinating one verb with another in independence you say *yaqūmu wa-yaq^cudu zaydun* 'Zayd stands and sits', in dependence *lan yaqūma wa-yaq^cuda zaydun* 'Zayd will not stand and sit', and in apocopation *lam yaqum (46b) wa-yaq^cud zaydun* 'Zayd did not stand and sit'.[1] Use these as an analogy[2] for the rest of the particles.

12.94 Note: It is understood from the fact that coordination is not bound by the same conditions as the adjective (i.e. agreement with the antecedent in definition and indefinition)[1] that it is allowed to coordinate the undefined to the defined, e.g. *jā'a zaydun wa-rajulun* 'Zayd and a man came', or the defined to the undefined, e.g. *jā'a rajulun wa-zaydun* 'a man and Zayd came', or the singular to the dual and plural and vice versa, or the overt to the pronoun and the pronoun to the overt.[2]

12.95 Having finished setting out the second of the concordants, namely sequential coordination,[1] the author now turns to the third of them, i.e. corroboration.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

13.0 Chapter on corroboration.[1] In other words, on the 'corroborating element' (*al-muwakkid*, spelt with *i* after the *k*, but he uses the unqualified verbal noun to mean the agent noun). It is sometimes called *ta'kīd* 'corroboration' with *'*, or *tākīd*, showing alternation of *ā* and *a'*, but *tawkīd* with *w* is commoner and for that reason its use is most widespread among grammarians.

13.1 Corroboration[1] (meaning 'the corroborating element') is a concordant which establishes the import of its antecedent with regard to its

viz. with dual and plur. nouns in the construction *al-luġatāni l-^{c}arabiyyatu wa-l-ingliziyyatu* 'the Arabic (sing.) and English (sing.) languages (dual)'; cf. Cantarino, II, 52.

12.93 (1) Coordination of sentences proper (e.g. *yaqūmu zaydun wa-yaq^{c}udu,* where the second verb is a complete sentence) is not dealt with by aš-Širbīnī. In fact the conjunctions *wa* and *fa* may express almost any logical relationship between propositions according to context, e.g. 'while' (q.v. 19.9 n 1), 'but', 'because', 'although' etc., cf. Beeston 89, 97; Fleisch (216 n 2).

(2) The verb here is *qis* 'make an analogy!', imperative of *qāsa*, and cognate with *qiyās* 'analogy', q.v. 8.3 n 2.

12.94 (1) The complete concord of the adjective (11.02) reflects its ability to stand alone, without antecedent (11.61), with which it is, therefore, semantically and syntactically identical (this is true even for predicative adjectives: *ar-rajulu qā'imun* 'the man is standing' implies **ar-rajulu rajulun qā'imun* 'the man is a standing man'). But coordinated elements share only the function of their antecedent and (though not necessarily, cf. 12.7-9) its logical predicament.

(2) Coordination of nouns with pronouns is frowned upon, however, (cf. *Inṣāf*, prob. 65; *Muf.* #158; *Alf.* v 557). Nöldeke 93 n 3 has a good example: *^{c}anhu wa-'islāmihi* 'about him and his Muslim faith'.

12.95 (1) There exists one type of compulsory coordination, viz. between agents of verbs denoting reciprocal action, e.g. *ištaraka zaydun wa-^{c}amrun* 'Zayd and ^{c}Amr worked together', see 25.23 n 2.

13.0 (1) *Jum.* 33; *Muf.* #132; *Alf.* v 520; *Qaṭr* 333; Fleisch 188; Nöldeke 47. Terminology: *tawkīd* or *ta'kīd* (also *tākīd*), 'emphasizing, corroboration', *al-muwakkid* or *al-mu'akkid* 'emphasizer, corroborating element', *al-muwakkad* or *al-mu'akkad* 'thing emphasized or corroborated' (translated 'antecedent'). The triad of function—active element—passive element is particularly obvious here (cf. 3.84 n 3). The same vocabulary is used for the emphasizing function of *'inna* 'verily' (10.41, 51) and the emphatic elements *la* and *anna* (13.6 n 3). On the alternation of *w* and *'* see Cantineau, *Études* 78, 178, Vollers, op. cit. 3.96 n 2, 43; for *a'* to *ā* Cantineau 77, *E.I.* (2), art. 'Hamza'. Like most grammarians, aš-Širbīnī is inconsistent, preferring *'akkada* as the verbal form but *tawkīd, muwakkid* etc. for the nominal forms.

13.1 (1) This formulation stems from Ibn al-Ḥājib, op. cit. 12.912 n 3,

والشمول وهو على قسمين لفظي ومعنوي فاللفظي هو الذي يعاد فيه المتبوع بعينه
او بموافقه معنى وكل منهما يكون في الاسم نحو قول الشاعر
اخاك اخاك ان من لا اخا له كساع الى الهيجاء بغير سلاح
فانتصاب اخاك الاول بتقدير احفظ او الزم او نحو ذلك واخاك الثاني تأكيد الاول
وقولك حقيق جدير فانه بمعنى حقيق ويكون في الفعل نحو قول الشاعر
فاين الى اين النجاء ببغلتي اتاك اتاك اللاحقون احبس احبس
والشاهد في قوله اتاك اتاك فكرر الفعل والمفعول واللاحقون فاعل اتاك الاول واما
الثاني فلا فاعل له لانه لم يؤت به للاسناد بل لمجرد التأكيد وقولك سكت صمت

relationship and scope, and is of two kinds, formal and abstract.[2]

13.11 (1) In the formal kind the antecedent is repeated either (a) identically or (b) by means of a synonym.[1] Both types occur with nouns, e.g. the verse

'akāka 'akāka 'inna man lā 'akā lahu
ka-sā^{c}in 'ilā l-hayjā'i bi-ğayri silāḥin

'your brother! your brother! One who has no brother is like one who runs off into the desert with no weapon',[2] where the dependent form of the first *'akāka* 'your brother' is caused by an implicit *iḥfaẓ* 'look to!', *ilzam* 'stay by!' or something of that sort, while the second *'akāka* 'your brother' is a corroboration of the first. An example of type (b) is the expression *ḥaqīqun jadīrun* 'true, right', for *jadīrun* 'right' is synonymous with *ḥaqīqun* 'true'.[3]

13.12 It also occurs with verbs, as in the verse

fa-'ayna 'ilā 'ayna n-najā'u bi-bağlatī
'atāka 'atāka l-lāḥiqūna ḥbisi ḥbisi

'where, whither are you rushing off with my mule!? The pursuers have overtaken you, overtaken you, stop! stop!'.[1] The evidence[2] here is in the expression *'atāka 'atāka* 'have overtaken you, overtaken you', in which the verb and its direct object are repeated. The agent of the first *'atāka* 'have overtaken you' is *al-lāḥiqūna* 'the pursuers', but the second *'atāka* has no agent because it was not introduced in order to be a predicate but merely as a corroborative. Another example is

219, whence aš-Širbīnī may have it directly, or perhaps through Ibn Hišām, op. cit. 11.723 n 1, 550.

(2) 'Relationship' is *nisba*, originally 'genetic relationship' (cf. 11.721 n 4) but here in its logical sense (q.v. 20.02 n 1). 'Scope' is *šumūl*, lit. 'act of embracing, comprehending', cf. 14.3 n 1. On the relevance of both terms to corroboration see further 13.3. Note the dichotomous classification here (1.2 n 2), and see 2.1 n 2 on 'formal', *lafẓī* and 'abstract', *ma^{c}nawī*.

13.11 (1) 'Identically' is *bi-^{c}aynihi* 'by or through itself': this can be construed as a kind of abstract corroboration with *'ayn* (13.31), with an underlying structure **yu^{c}ādu l-matbū^{c}u bi-l-matbū^{c}i bi-^{c}aynihi* *'the antecedent (*matbū^{c}* 'that which is followed', cf. 11.01 n 1) is repeated by the antecedent itself'. 'By a synonym' is *bi-muwāfiqihi ma^{c}nan* 'by what agrees with it as to meaning' (*ma^{c}nan* is a 'specifying element', *tamyīz*, q.v. ch. 20).

(2) *Schaw. Ind.* 52; this verse is cited more often as an illustration of elided verbs than of corroboration, viz. the verb which has to be assumed in order to account for the dep. form of the first *'aḵāka* (cf. 16.311 n 1). On the anomalous *lā 'aḵā lahu* cf. 4.72 n 1. Note that the relative clause *man lā 'aḵā lahu* 'he who has no brother' (v. 11.754) has dep. status as the subject noun of *'inna* (10.41), and that *sā^{c}in*, made obl. by *ka* (1.708) is of the type *qāḍin*, 4.2 m 2.

(3) A kind of corroboration not dealt with by aš-Širbīnī is *'itbā^{c}*, lit. 'causing to follow' (cognate with *tābi^{c}*, 11.01 n 1), in which a word is repeated but with a different (and meaningless) initial letter, e.g. *ḥasan basan* 'beautiful, beautiful'; see Pellat, *Arabica* 4, 131.

13.12 (1) *Schaw. Ind.* 124; anonymous and apparently not quoted before Ibn Hišām (e.g. *Qaṭr* 334), banal and suspiciously expedient, this verse nevertheless shows interesting juncture features in the last two words: graphically they are *'iḥbiṣi 'iḥbisi*, morphologically *ḥbis ḥbis* and phonologically *ḥbisi ḥbisī*. The reasons are as follows:
(a) both are masc. sing. imperatives (5.2), i.e. the imperfect tense minus 2nd person prefix *ta* and mood suffix *u* (*taḥbisu*>*ḥbis*),
(b) in context the non-canonical initial consonant cluster (2.5 n 3) is resolved by taking the final vowel of the previous word (*lāḥiqūna ḥbis*). If the previous word does not end in a vowel the glide vowel *i* is automatically supplied (*ḥbisi ḥbis*), cf. 11.1 n 2,
(c) in utterance initial position the cluster is resolved by prefixing an arbitrary *'i* (sometimes *'u*, 5.2. n 3) which, for historical reasons, is notated *'*, i.e. the consonant *'alif* (2.43 n 2). This *'alif* remains even when the word is not in utterance initial position, but is marked in juncture with a sign indicating that it is to be ignored,
(d) the final *i* of the second *hbisi* is merely the rhyming vowel, q.v. 5.88 n 4, and is to be pronounced long.

It is clear from the above that syllable and word boundaries need not be the same: the last three words of this verse are syllabically *lā-ḥi-qū-naḥ-bi-siḥ-bi-si*. Note also that *an-najā'u* shows both the

فانه بمعنى (47a) السكوت ويكون في الحرف نحو قول الشاعر

لا لا ابوح بحب بثنة (وهي محبوبته) انها اخذت علي مواثقا وعهودا

فكرر حرف الجواب وهو لا مرتين وقولك اجل جير فان جير بمعنى اجل وليس من التوكيد اللفظي ما كرر في قوله تعالى كلا اذا دكت الارض دكا دكا لان معناه دكا بعد دك وان الدك كرر عليها حتى صارت هبا منبثا ولا ما كرر في قوله تعالى وجاء ربك والملك صفا صفا لان معناه ان الملائكة ينزلون فيصطفون صفا بعد صف محدقين بالجن والانس فليس الثاني في الآيتين تأكيدا بل المراد به التكرير كما تقول علمته النحو بابا بابا والقسم الثاني المعنوي وسيأتي في كلامه وكل من القسمين تابع للموكد بفتح الكاف في رفعه ان كان مرفوعا وفي نصبه ان كان منصوبا وفي خفضه ان كان مخفوضا وفي تعريفه ان كان معرفة وفهم من اقتصاره على التعريف ان التوكيد لا يكون نكرة بخلاف النعت فانه يكون نكرة والمعنوي نوعان

the expression *sakata ṣamata* 'he was silent, he was quiet', for *ṣamata* 'he was quiet' has the same meaning *(47a)* as being silent.

13.13 It also occurs with particles, as in the verse

lā lā 'abūḥu bi-ḥubbi baṯnata 'innahā
'aḵadat ᶜalayya mawāṯiqan wa-ᶜuhūdan

'I shall not, not reveal the love of Baṯna (i.e. Buṯayna his beloved) for she has taken against me covenants and oaths',[1] in which the particle of response, namely *lā* 'not' has been repeated. Another example is the expression *'ajal jayri* 'aye, yes', where *jayri* 'yes' has the same meaning as *'ajal* 'aye'.

13.14 Repetition itself is not necessarily formal corroboration, e.g. in the Qur'anic *kallā 'iḏā dukkat il-'arḍu dakkan dakkan* 'nay, when the earth is crushed with a crushing, a crushing',[1] for this means with one crushing after another and that the crushing will be repeated until the earth has become a dispersed cloud of dust. Nor is the repetition in the Qur'anic *wa-jā'a rabbuka wa-l-malaku ṣaffan ṣaffan* 'and your Lord and the angels came, rank upon rank'[2] formal corroboration, because it means that the angels will descend and form themselves into row after row, surrounded by the Jinn and mankind. The second element in both these verses is not a corroborative but a deliberate repetition,[3] just as when you say *ᶜallamtuhu n-naḥwa bāban bāban* 'I taught him grammar chapter by chapter'.[4]

13.2 (2) Second is the abstract kind, which will be discussed in due course. Both kinds are concordants of the antecedent (*muwakkad* 'corroborated element', with *a* after the *k*)[1] in its independence, if the antecedent is independent, in its dependence, if the antecedent is dependent, in its obliqueness, if the antecedent is oblique, and in its definition, if the antecedent is defined. It is understood from the author's limitation to definition that corroboration is never undefined, unlike the adjective, which may be undefined.[2]

juncture feature of the def. art. *al* (11.1 n 2) and assimilation to the first consonant of the following word (11.41 n 2).

(2) 'Evidence' is *šāhid*, lit. 'witness', a reminder of the legal influence on Arabic grammar (Carter, *R.E.I.* 40, 84); an evidentiary verse is a *šāhida* 'fem. witness', plur. *šawāhid*.

13.13 (1) *Schaw. Ind.* 79. The lady Buṯayna is called Baṯna in the verse, but is universally known by the former name, which is the diminutive of the latter (3.421 n 1). See *E.I.* (2), art. 'Dj̲amīl'. The following grammatical points should be noted: *lā* 'no, not' is called a 'particle of response' (*ḥarf jawāb*) by aš-Širbīnī (from al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* II, 129), presumably because the verse is an answer to a question, but thereby an inconsistency is created, for while the first *lā* may well mean 'no' the second can only mean 'not', i.e. is in quite a different function. Yāsīn (on *Taṣr.* ad loc.) evades the issue by taking *lā lā...* to mean 'not, not...' as an answer! The name *Baṯna* is semi-declinable, q.v. 3.89 (4), and so should *mawāṯiqan* have also been (3.89 (1)), but has *tanwīn* here by poetic licence (7.5 n 2), to create a long syllable for metrical purposes. For *ᶜalayya* see 3.421 n 3, and cf. 14.2 n 2.

13.14 (1) S. 89 v 21; on *kallā* 'nay' cf. 1.21 n 3.

(2) S. 89 v 22 (continuing the verse cited above). The eschatological tableau which follows is found in all the standard commentaries (among them aš-Širbīnī's own, IV 513), also in *Qaṭr.* 335.

(3) It is as well to point out that the dependent elements in the three examples do not all have the same grammatical status: the first *dakkan* 'crushing' is an 'absolute object' of *dukkat* 'is crushed' (see 17.53 n 2, 17.71 n 1), and as for the second we may accept the interpretation of aš-Širbīnī or not; *ṣaffan ṣaffan* 'rank upon rank' and *bāban bāban* 'chapter by chapter' are certainly not rhetorical repetition, but 'circumstantial qualifiers' of their antecedents (see ch. 19, esp. 19.33), both being necessary for the sake of the meaning.

(4) Corroboration by synonym occurs with pronouns, e.g. *ḍarabanī 'anā* 'he hit *me*', contrast *ḍarabanī huwa* '*he* hit me', cf. 11.717 n 4. To this type would also belong such combinations as *naḥnu l-muslimūna* 'we Muslims' (Beeston 43, n 1).

13.2 (1) The spelling instructions (3.44 n 2) serve to distinguish the agent from the patient noun (cf. 10.34 n 1); only one *k* is written, the doubling being marked diacritically with the sign called *šadda* 'tying together' (see further 24.23 n 2), hence it suffices in the spelling instructions to say *al-kāf* 'the *k*' (contrast 10.42-44 etc., where the doubling is phonemic).

(2) The second comment would not have been necessary if the first had not gratuitously implied that undefined elements could be corroborated, but this comes from following al-Azharī, *Āj.* 76 too closely. As may be expected, the 'Kūfans' (9.4 n 3) assert that corroboration of undefined nouns is possible (*Inṣāf*, prob. 63), this time with a

احدهما ما يوكد به لرفع المجاز عن الذات ويكون بالفاظ معلومة عند العرب وهي
النفس والعين خاصة فان قلت جاء زيد احتمل ان يكون الجائي خبره او كتابه او
غلامه فاذا قلت نفسه او عينه ارتفع الاحتمال ولك ان تقول بالنفس وحدها
وبالعين وحدها وان تجمع بينهما بشرط ان تقدم النفس وتؤخر العين في اللفظ نحو
جاء زيد نفسه عينه لان النفس هي الجملة والعين مستعارة لها ويجمعان على وزن
افعل بضم العين جمع قلة وجوبا على الافصح مع غير المفرد وهو المثنى والمجموع
تقول في التثنية جاء الزيدان انفسهما او اعينهما او انفسهما اعينهما (47b)
ويجوز في غير الافصح نفسهما وعينهما بالافراد وفي الجمع جاء الزيدون او زيد
وعمرو وبكر انفسهم او اعينهم او انفسهم اعينهم ولا يجوز نفوسهم او عيونهم

13.3 Abstract corroboration is of two kinds: (a) the corroborative which removes the possibility of an entity being taken metaphorically,[1] <u>and it uses certain well-known expressions,</u> (well-known, that is, to the Arabs),[2] <u>namely:</u>

13.31 <u>*an-nafsu* 'the self', *al-*^{c}*aynu* 'the essence',</u> these two in particular.[1] Thus, if you say *jā'a zaydun* 'Zayd came', it may be that what actually did come was news of Zayd or a letter from him, or his boy, but when you say *jā'a zaydun nafsuhu* or ^{c}*aynuhu* 'Zayd himself came', this possibility is removed.[2] You may say *nafsu-* '-self' alone or ^{c}*aynu-* '-self' alone, or you may combine them on condition that *nafsu-* is put before ^{c}*aynu-* in the utterance, e.g. *jā'a zaydun nafsuhu* ^{c}*aynuhu* 'Zayd himself in person came', because *an-nafsu* 'the self' is the comprehensive term[3] and *al-*^{c}*aynu* 'the essence' is metaphorical[4] for the self. They both make their plural in the *'af*^{c}*ul* pattern (with *u* after the ^{c}), which is a plural of paucity.[5] In pure speech the plural is compulsory with anything not singular (i.e. the dual and plural): in the dual you say *jā'a z-zaydāni 'anfusuhumā* or *'a*^{c}*yunuhumā*, or *'anfusuhumā 'a*^{c}*yunuhumā* 'the two Zayds themselves came' *(47b)*, though in impure speech[6] it is allowed to say *nafsuhumā* or ^{c}*aynuhumā* '*theirself' with singular corroboratives. In the plural you say *jā'a z-zaydūna* (or *zaydun wa-*^{c}*amrun wa-bakrun*) *'anfusuhum* or *'a*^{c}*yunuhum*, or *'anfusuhum 'a*^{c}*yunuhum* 'the Zayds (or 'Zayd, ^{c}Amr and Bakr') themselves came'. It is not allowed to say *nufūsuhum*, ^{c}*uyūnuhum* or *nufūsuhum* ^{c}*uyūnuhum* '*theirselves'.[7] In the masculine singular you say, for

considerable body of evidence. It is limited, however, to expressions of time and place, e.g. *qa^{c}adtu yawman kullahu* 'I sat a whole day'; cf. Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.* 167 for further examples.

13.3 (1) *li-raf^{c}i l-majāzi ^{c}an iḏ-ḏāti*, lit. 'for lifting the metaphor from the entity'; see 20.01 n 2 on *ḏāt* 'essence, entity'. 'Metaphor' is *majāz*, lit. 'going across' (scil. from literal, *ḥaqīqī*, to figurative), but see 13.31 n 4. *Majāz* still needs to be further investigated: in *Muqtaḍab* it often means 'grammatical process'.

(2) See 1.21 n 1 on 'Arabs'.

13.31 (1) In fact, these are the only two in category (a); *nafs* also means 'soul', while *^{c}ayn* has many meanings ranging from 'eye' to 'spring', see further 13.9, also 20.13 n 2 for fem. gender.

(2) For the other possibility, that *nafs* and *^{c}ayn* might themselves be taken literally when corroborating concealed pronouns, see 13.9. Note the variant *bi-^{c}aynihi* in 13.11 n 1, another example 22.43.

(3) Possibly there is also a historical reason, that *^{c}ayn* came into use when *nafs* was felt to have lost some of its force (something like the strengthening of 'same' by 'self' to give 'self-same'). 'Comprehensive term' is *jumla*, a word which in grammar most often means 'sentence' (cf. 19.6 n 1), but originally meant only a gathering or collection (hence also 'totality').

(4) 'Metaphorical' is *musta^{c}ār*, from *isti^{c}āra* 'metaphor', lit. 'borrowing', impossible to distinguish in translation from *majāz*, used already above, though they are not strictly synonymous in rhetoric: *majāz* is broader than *isti^{c}āra* and embraces all figurative language (cf. al-Jurjānī, op. cit. 10.53 n 1, 379, 428, *E.I.* (2), 'Isti^{c}āra').

(5) 'Plural of paucity' is a literal translation of *jam^{c} al-qilla*, cf. 3.221 n 2. The patterns in which this plural allegedly occurs are *fi^{c}latun, 'af^{c}ālun, 'af^{c}ulun* and *'af^{c}ilatun*, but there is a great deal of inconsistency in their use (even grammarians waver between *ḥurūf* and *'aḥruf* as plurals of *ḥarf*). Not many nouns actually have more than one plural pattern, though *^{c}ayn* gives a good idea of the range of possibilities: as 'self' it has the plur. *'a^{c}yun*, as 'eye' it has the plural *^{c}uyūn*, plur. of paucity *'a^{c}yān*, while as 'dignitary' it has *'a^{c}yān* for its plural. To complicate matters further, *^{c}ayn* also appears here as the regular name for the second radical of a word (see 3.45 n 1)!

(6) 'Impure speech' is *ḡayr al-'afṣaḥ*, lit. 'not the most eloquent', from *faṣīḥ* 'eloquent, speaking clearly and correctly', the linguistic ideal of the Arabs, after which Classical Arabic is named *al-luḡa l-fuṣḥā* 'the most pure language'. It constrasts with *al-luḡa l-^{c}āmma* 'the general, ordinary language'. Cf. Beeston 11, Bateson 77, Yushmanov 4.

(7) The translations reproduce the errors of the Arabic, and perhaps serve to remind us that similar forms occur in spoken English (e.g. 'hisself', 'theirselves' etc.). Why plurals of *nafs* and *^{c}ayn* must be

او نفوسهم عيونهم وفي المفرد المذكر جاء زيد نفسه او عينه او نفسه عينه وفي
المؤنث جاءت هند نفسها او عينها او نفسها عينها وفي جمع المؤنث جاءت الهندات
انفسهن او اعينهن او انفسهن اعينهن وقد علم مما تقرر انه لا بد من ضمير
متصل بالنفس والعين مطابق للموكد بفتح الكاف الا في التثنية على الافصح كما مر
والنوع الثاني ما يوكد به لرفع توهم ارادة الخصوص بما ظاهره العموم ويكون
بلفظ كل واجمع وجميع وعامة مع قلة لغير المثنى وهو الجمع والمفرد ان يتجزأ
ذلك الغير بنفسه نحو جاء القوم كلهم او اجمعون او جميعهم او عامتهم او يتجزأ
بعامله نحو اشتريت العبد كله او جميعه او عامته ولا يجوز جاء زيد كله لانه
لا يتجزأ بذاته ولا بعامله وانما كان ذلك لرفع الاحتمال المذكور لانك اذا قلت
جاء القوم يحتمل انك تريد بالقوم بعضهم كما في قوله تعالى يجعلون اصابعهم في
اذانهم اي بعضها وهو الانامل فلما قلت كلهم ارتفع ذلك الاحتمال ويجب ان

example, *jā'a zaydun nafsuhu* or *^{c}aynuhu* or *nafsuhu ^{c}aynuhu* 'Zayd himself came', in the feminine singular you say *jā'at hindun nafsuhā* or *^{c}aynuhā* or *nafsuhā ^{c}aynuhā* 'Hind herself came', and in the feminine plural *jā'at il-hindātu 'anfusuhunna* or *'a^{c}yunuhunna* or *'anfusuhunna 'a^{c}yunuhunna* 'the Hinds themselves came'.

13.32 It will be recognized from the foregoing that in the purest speech *nafsu-* and *^{c}aynu-* 'self'[1] must always be suffixed by a bound pronoun corresponding to the corroborated element (*al-muwakkad,* spelt with *a* after the *k*), except in the dual, as already mentioned.[2]

13.4 (b) The second kind of abstract corroboration is that used to remove the supposition of an intended particularity in something of ostensibly general meaning. This is done by means of *kullun* 'all',[1] *'ajma^{c}u* 'whole', and also (but rarely) *jamī^{c}un* 'all' and *^{c}āmmatun* 'totality', with everything but the dual[2] (i.e. the plural and singular), provided that the non-dual entity is by itself divisible into parts, e.g. *jā'a l-qawmu kulluhum* or *'ajma^{c}ūna* or *jamī^{c}uhum* or *^{c}āmmatuhum* 'the people came, all of them', or is divisible into parts by its own operator,[3] e.g. *ištaraytu l-^{c}abda kullahu* or *jamī^{c}ahu* 'I bought the slave, all of him'. It is not allowed to say **jā'a zaydun kulluhu* 'Zayd came, all of him', because 'Zayd' is indivisible both in essence and by its own operator.[4] This corroboration is used simply to remove the abovementioned possibility, because when you say *jā'a l-qawmu* 'the people came' it is quite possible that you only mean some of them (as in the Qur'anic *yaj^{c}alūna 'aṣābi^{c}ahum fī 'āḏānihim* 'they put their fingers in their ears',[5] meaning some part of their fingers, namely the tips), so when you add *kulluhum* 'all of them', that possibility is removed.[6]

used when the antecedent is dual is not clear: the problem was noted very early (e.g. *Kitāb* II, 201), as the construction occurs in the Qur'ān, e.g. S. 66 v 4 etc. (try *G.L.E.C.S.* 3, 15, 26).

13.32 (1) For convenience *nafsu-* and *ᶜaynu-* are quoted here in the forms ready to receive the pronoun suffixes, though the Arabic has *an-nafsu, al-ᶜaynu*. Whether this is the 'generic article' (11.741) or the 'article of familiarity' (11.742) is an open question.

(2) Obligatory pronoun suffixation is one of the features which distinguish the corroborative from the substitute (14.12). See 4.72 n 1 for table of suffixed pronouns, and further 13.9.

13.4 (1) *Jum.* 33; *Muf.* #137; *Alf.* v 522; *Qaṭr* 337 (*Muḡnī* I, 164); Fleisch 153, 188; Nöldeke 33. 'Intended particularity in something of ostensibly general meaning' is a literal translation of *'irādatu l-ḵuṣūṣi bi-mā ẓāhiruhu ᶜumūmun*: as the examples will show, this definition assumes that *kull* corroborates elements bearing the generic article or equivalent (see 11.741), but see below, n 6, for *kull* in annexation to undefined elements.

(2) For which see 13.43.

(3) 'By its own operator' is literally *bi-ᶜāmilihi* (v. 2.11 n 1): the question is, does this refer to the preceding verb or to the human agent? Since the speaker is the ultimate operator on all the elements of his discourse, there is every possibility that *ᶜāmil* here denotes the human agent (cf. Carter *J.A.O.S.* 93, 151 n 46, also 8.2 n 2).

(4) See 20.01 n 2 on *ḏāt* 'essence'; there are acute metalinguistic problems here (cf. 12.81 n 2), as we either have to take *zaydun* as the name of the agent (and thus say 'his own operator') or as an element quoted in the metalanguage (thus 'its own operator'). In the light of note 3, both are possible.

(5) S. 2 v 19; Arabic, like English, relies on common sense here!

(6) In addition to is corroborative function *kull* may be annexed to nouns and pronouns in all positions in the meaning of 'each, every, all', as follows:

(a) undef. sing.	*kullu yawmin*	'every day'	--------	
	kullu rajulin	'each man'	--------	
(b) def. sing.	*kullu l-yawmi*	'the whole day'	*kulluhu*	'all of it'
	kullu l-qawmi	'all the people'	*kulluhum*	'all of them'
(c) def. plur.	*kullu r-rijāli*	'all the men'	*kulluhum*	'all of them'

There is no pronominalization of (a); *kullahu* in 13.2 n 2 is a special case equivalent to *kulla l-yawmi* (cf. 11.718 n 2). Both (b) and (c) are grammatically defined, which is usually only apparent in relative sentences (*kullu l-qawmi llaḏīna marartu bihim* 'all the people by whom I passed') and in their ability to stand as subjects. Type (a) is formally undefined but occasionally appears to be defined (so Nöldeke 33, and cf. Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.* 155). Compare superlative, 20.42 n 3.

يتصل كل و اجمع وجميع وعامة بضمير الموكد لفظا ليحصل الربط بين التابع والمتبوع
فليس من التوكيد خلق لكم ما في الارض جميعا لعدم الضمير ولو كان كذلك لقال
جميعه و ايضا التوكيد بجميع قليل كما مر فلا يحمل عليه التنزيل كما قاله ابن هشام
في المغنى بل جميعا حال من ما الموصولة ويوكد المثنى بكلا وكلتا تقول جاء
الزيدان كلاهما والمرأتان كلتاهما اذا اتحد معنى المسند الى الموكد كما في قام
الزيدان كلاهما فلا يوكد بهما اذا اختلف فلا يقال مات زيد وعاش(48a) عمرو
كلاهما ويوكد باجمع للمفرد المذكر وبجمعاء للمفرد المؤنث وبجمعهما لجمعهما
فجمع اجمع اجمعون موكد به جمع الذكور كما مر وجمع جمعاء جمع بضم الجيم فيوكد
به جمع الاناث وقد يحتاج المقام الى زيادة التوكيد فيؤتى بالفاظ اخر معلومة
وتسمى تلك الالفاظ توابع اجمع وتوابع اجمع لا تتقدم عليه وهي اي توابع اجمع
اكتع مأخوذ من تكتع الجلد اذا اجتمع وابتع مأخوذ من البتع وهو طول العنق

13.41 *kullun* 'all', *'ajma^{c}u* 'whole',[1] *jamī^{c}un* 'all' and *^{c}āmmatun* 'totality' must always be formally suffixed with the pronoun of the corroborated element in order to achieve a link between the corroborative and its antecedent.

13.42 The following is not corroboration: the Qur'anic *ḵalaqa lakum mā fī l-'arḍi jamī^{c}an* 'he created for you what is in the earth, totally',[1] because it lacks a pronoun. If it had been corroboration it would have been *jamī^{c}ahu* 'all of it', but in any case corroboration with *jamī^{c}un* is rare, as already mentioned,[2] and the Revelation is not to be taken as evidence of it as Ibn Hišām claims in his *Muġnī l-labīb*:[3] on the contrary, *jamī^{c}an* 'all, totally' in this verse is a circumstantial qualifier of the relative *mā* 'that which'.

13.43 The dual is corroborated by *kilā* (masc.) and *kiltā* (fem.) 'all two, both',[1] e.g. *jā'a z-zaydāni kilāhumā wa-l-mar'atāni kiltāhumā* 'the two Zayds both came and both the women', provided that the predicate of both corroborated elements is the same, e.g. *qāma z-zaydāni kilāhumā* 'the two Zayds both stood'. If it is different *kilā* and *kiltā* 'both' must not be used to corroborate: one does not say **māta zaydun wa-^{c}āša (48a) ^{c}amrun kilāhumā* 'Zayd died and ^{c}Amr lived, both of them'.[2]

13.44 *'ajma^{c}u* 'whole'[1] is used in corroborating the masculine singular, *jam^{c}ā'u* for the feminine singular, and *jam^{c}uhumā* 'the whole of them two' for two together. The plural of *'ajma^{c}u* 'whole' is *'ajma^{c}ūna* for corroborating the masculine plural (as already mentioned), and the plural of *jam^{c}ā'u* 'whole' is *juma^{c}u* (with *u* after the *j*) for corroborating the feminine plural.[2]

13.45 Occasionally the situation requires extra corroboration, and so certain well-known expressions are introduced, which are termed the 'subsidiaries of *'ajma^{c}u*';[1] and the subsidiaries of *'ajma^{c}u* 'whole', which never precede *'ajma^{c}u*, are (i.e. the 'subsidiaries of *'ajma^{c}u*') namely *'akta^{c}u* 'all', derived from *takatta^{c}a l-jildu* 'the skin contracted', i.e. gathered itself together,[2] *'abta^{c}u* 'all', derived from

13.41 (1) *'ajma^{c}u* should not be here (v. 13.6), but aš-Širbīnī is following ad-Azharī, *Taṣr.* II, 122. See 5.86 n 3 on *rabṭ*, 'link'.

13.42 (1) S. 2 v 29; the translation reproduces the orthodox parsing of this verse, i.e. with *jamī^{c}an* as a circumstantial qualifier (q.v. ch. 19), albeit with emphatic function (*tawkīd!*). Cf. also 24.51.

(2) 13.4.

(3) 'Revelation' is *tanzīl* 'causing to come down'. The reference is to *Muġnī* II, 111, though taken directly from al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* II, 122. On Ibn Hišām see 1.02 n 1; *Muġnī l-labīb* ('All the intelligent man needs') treats particles and difficult words alphabetically, followed by two extremely important sections dealing with problems of syntax and elision: the whole work awaits a proper evaluation.

13.43 (1) 'All two' is certainly less elegant than 'both', but was chosen to reflect an assumed etymological connection between *kilā* and *kull* 'all' (so Reckendorf, *Synt. Verh.* 141: however, *kilā* is also said to have the root *k-l-'*, Fleischer, *Kl. Schr.* I, 665, Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.* 157 n 4, and any link with *k-l-l* must be prehistoric); 'Kūfans' (*Inṣāf* prob. 62) derive *kilā* from *kull*. Syntactically *kilā* is highly restricted (unlike *kull*), occurring only in annexation (there is no point in positing a base form **kilāni*, as Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.* 158, Moscati #14.2), and it does not always inflect for case.

(2) Cf. 3.63, 13.7. By asserting that the predicate must be the same aš-Širbīnī obscures the fact that the subjects or agents need not be: *māta zaydun wa-^{c}amrun kilāhumā* 'Zayd and ^{c}Amr both died', *zaydun wa-^{c}amrun kilāhumā qā'imāni* 'Zayd and ^{c}Amr both are standing'. In *hāḏā li-zaydin wa-^{c}amrin kilayhimā* 'this belongs to both Zayd and ^{c}Amr', the predicate is the same in that it can be paraphrased by the single term *la-humā* 'belongs to them both'.

13.44 (1) Heterogeneous forms are involved here: masc. sing. *'ajma^{c}u* is semi-declinable, adj. pattern *'af^{c}alu* (3.89 (10)), so is fem. sing. *jam^{c}ā'u*, adj. pattern *fa^{c}lā'u* (ibid.); dual *jam^c* is simply a noun (in other contexts used for 'plural', 3.23 n 1), masc. plur. *'ajma^{c}ūna* is regular (3.411, as *'afḍalūna*), while the fem. plur. *juma^{c}u* is unaccountably semi-declinable, as if being treated as a proper name (3.89 (8), and cf. *Qaṭr* 339 n 3, Fleisch, *Tr.* #55k).

(2) As 'plural' is *jam^c*, the text reads *jam^{c}u 'ajma^{c}a 'ajma^{c}ūna* for 'the plur. of *'ajma^{c}u* is *'ajma^{c}ūna*' and *jam^{c}u jam^{c}ā'a juma^{c}u* for 'the plur. of *jam^{c}ā'u* is *juma^{c}u*', a good specimen of the metalanguage for practice!

13.45 (1) 'Subsidiaries' renders *tawābi^c* 'followers' (also used for 'concordants', q.v. 11.0 n 1).

(2) The etymologies, though accurate, are not very helpful (cf. Reckendorf, *Synt. Verh.* 151 n 1), and are taken directly from al-Azharī *Āj.* 77.

وابصع بالصاد المهملة مأخوذ من البصع وهو العرق المجتمع والاصل افراد النفس عن
العين وكل عن اجمع واجمع عن توابعه تقول في افراد النفس عن العين في الرفع
قام زيد نفسه وفي افراد كل عن اجمع في النصب رأيت القوم كلهم وفي افراد اجمع
عن توابعه في الخفض مررت بالقوم اجمعين تنبيه هذه الالفاظ كلها يوكد بها
حالة كونها غير مضافة لضمير الموكد لانها انما يوكد بها غالبا بعد كل وكل
مضافة الى ضمير الموكد وهذه تابعة لها فلا يحتاج الى اضافة قال تعالى فسجد
الملائكة كلهم اجمعون وقد يوكد بهن استقلالا من غير ان تتقدم عليها كل نحو
قولك جاء الجيش اجمع والقبيلة جمعاء والقوم اجمعون والنساء جمع قال الله تعالى
لاغوينهم اجمعين وان جهنم لموعدهم اجمعين ولا يجوز تثنية اجمع ولا جمعاء عند
جمهور البصريين استغناء بكلا وكلتا عن تثنية اجمع وجمعاء كما استغنوا غالبا

bata^{c}un 'being long in the neck', and *'abṣa^{c}u* 'all'; (its *ṣ* having no dot above),[3] derived from *baṣ^{c}un* 'collected sweat'.

13.5 It is normal[1] for *an-nafsu* 'the self' to be used alone without *al-^{c}aynu* 'the essence', for *kullun* 'all' to be used alone without *'ajma^{c}u* 'whole', and for *'ajma^{c}u* 'whole' to be used alone without its subsidiaries: thus you say (using *an-nafsu* 'the self' alone without *al-^{c}aynu* 'the essence', in independence) *qāma zaydun nafsuhu* 'Zayd himself stood', and (using *kullun* 'all' alone without *'ajma^{c}u* 'whole', in dependence) *ra'aytu l-qawma kullahum* 'I saw the people, all of them', and (using *'ajma^{c}u* 'whole' alone without its subsidiaries, in obliqueness) *marartu bi-l-qawmi 'ajma^{c}īna* 'I passed by the people, all of them'.[2]

13.6 Note: *'ajma^{c}u* 'whole' and its subsidiaries are all used as corroboratives without being annexed to the pronoun of their antecedent.[1] This is because they are generally used as corroboratives only after *kullun* 'all', and *kullun* is annexed itself to the pronoun of the antecedent, so that these, being subsidiaries to it, need not be annexed, cf. the Qur'anic *fa-sajada l-malā'ikatu kulluhum 'ajma^{c}ūna* 'and the angels bowed down, all of them, all'.[2] They may, in fact, be used as corroboratives in their own right, without being preceded by *kullun* 'all', e.g. *jā'a l-jayšu 'ajma^{c}u wa-l-qabīlatu jam^{c}ā'u wa-l-qawmu 'ajma^{c}ūna wa-n-nisā'u juma^{c}u* 'the whole army came, and the whole tribe, and the whole people and all the women', and cf. the Qur'anic *la-'uġwiyannahum 'ajma^{c}īna* 'I shall most certainly lead them all astray'[3] and *wa-'inna jahannama la-maw^{c}iduhum 'ajma^{c}īna* 'and verily Hell is promised to them all'.[4]

13.7 According to the great majority of Baṣrans it is not allowed to dualize *'ajma^{c}u* and *jam^{c}ā'u* 'whole', because *kilā* and *kiltā* 'both' make the dual of *'ajma^{c}u* and *jam^{c}ā'u* unnecessary,[1] rather in the same way as people have on the whole dispensed with the dual of *sawā'un* 'like' (spelt with the 'lengthened *ā*'') by using the dual of *siyyun* 'like'

(3) The spelling instructions (3.44 n 2) are to avoid confusion of *ṣ* and *ḍ*: the former is *muhmal* 'undotted', lit. 'neglected' (cf. 5.431 n 3), while 'dotted' is expressed by *mu*^{c}*jam*, lit. 'made to look foreign', same root as *'i*^{c}*jām* in 2.0 n 1.

13.5 (1) See 3.0 n 2 on *'aṣl* 'normal', lit. 'base, root, stock'.

(2) This is the end of the chapter as far as Ibn Ājurrūm is concerned; aš-Širbīnī ploughs on. largely with the help of al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* II, 124, 126. The opportunity will be taken to give a few miscellaneous pointers. Other examples of *kull* annexed to nouns (i.e. not as a corroborative): 9.94, 11.61, 12.912, 17.64, 18.32, 21.61, 25.27; *kull*, *al-kull* used alone ('the whole'): 14.11, 14.2. *Nafs*, non-corroborative 9.91; note that *nafs* when annexed to nouns corresponds to 'same', e.g. *marartu bi-nafsi r-rajuli* 'I passed by the same man', *ra'aytu nafsa r-rijāli* 'I saw the same men'. The same structure with *ḡayr* (21.4) gives 'not the same as, other', e.g. *marartu bi-ḡayri r-rajuli* 'I passed by someone other than the man' (v. 21.42 n 1).

13.6 (1) Cf. 13.41 n 1. It happens that *'ajma*^{c}*u* etc. belong to a set of patterns which, as well as being semi-declinable, are somewhat ambiguous as to definition (see 3.89 n 12). Without claiming that they are, in fact, defined, we suggest that they are defined enough to be able to occur in apposition to defined elements without a suffixed pronoun. Support for this view comes from the dual *jam*^{c}*uhumā: jam*^{c}*un* is the only member of the set which is fully declinable, and it alone also has the pronoun suffix (masc. plur. *'ajma*^{c}*ūna* has all the syntactic features of its semi-declinable sing.). An alternative line is to oppose the *'ajma*^{c}*u* set (defined, and marked for number, gender and case) to the *kull*, *nafs* and *jamī*^{c} set (undefined, marked for case but only partially for number, rest supplied by suffix pronouns).

(2) S. 15 v 30.

(3) S. 15 v 39. Note the emphatic prefix *la*, called *lām at-tawkīd* (cf. 13.0 n 1 on *tawkīd*), which is often found on verbs bearing the emphatic suffix *anna* (q.v. 26.34 n 2), and is also prefixed subjects (*la-zaydun munṭaliqun* 'Zayd is going away', predicates (see next note) and regularly to the apodosis of *law* conditions (5.811 n 1, e.g. *law qāma la-qumtu* 'if he had stood I would have stood'). *Muf.* ##600-605; *Alf.* v 181; Beeston 103; Fleisch 109, 143.

(4) S. 15 v 43; note that the predicate is introduced by the prefix *la* (see n 3 above), hence termed *lām al-ḵabar* 'predicative *la*' (cf. Fleisch 169), which is related to the *l* which appears with deictic function in various demonstrations and pronominal elements, 11.734 n 1.

13.7 (1) See 3.63 and 3.65 (7) for the substance of this debate, which is here reported in the words of al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* II, 124. There, we learn, the 'Kūfans' (9.4 n 3) allow the strictly analogical duals of *'ajma*^{c}*u* and *jam*^{c}*ā'u*, viz. *'ajma*^{c}*āni* and *jam*^{c}*āwāni* respectively (note intervocalic *'* $>$ *w*, cf. 3.62 n 2). See 13.44 for the 'orthodox' dual *jam*^{c}.

بتثنية سي بكسر السين المهملة وتشديد الياء عن تثنية سواء بالمد فقالوا سيان
ولم يقولوا سواآن الا نادرا واذا اجتمعت الفاظ التوكيد وجب ترتيبها بان
تقدم كل ثم اجمع ثم اكتع ثم ابصع ثم ابتع فيجوز ان تتعدد اذا اريد التقوية
لكنها بخلاف النعوت المتعددة لمنعوت فانه(48b) يجوز فيها ان تتعاطف لاختلاف
المعاني ولا يجوز ان تتعاطف الكلمات الموكدة بل تذكر متتابعة دون فصل على
الاصح لاتحاد معناها فنزلت منزلة الشيء الواحد والعطف يقتضي المغايرة فلا يقال
جاء زيد نفسه وعينه لما مر ويقال في النعت جاء زيد العالم والصالح والورع لما
تقدم ولا يجوز قطع الفاظ التوكيد بخلاف النعت كما مر تتمة اذا اكد ضمير
مرفوع متصل بالنفس او بالعين وجب توكيده اولا بالضمير المنفصل نحو قمت انت
نفسك وقوما انتما انفسكما وقاما هما انفسهما وقوموا انتم انفسكم وقاموا هم انفسهم
وقمن هن انفسهن وقمتن انتن انفسكن كراهية ايهام الفاعلية عند استتار الضمير المؤنث

(spelt with *i* after the undotted *s*, and double *y*),[2] saying *siyyāni* 'two like' instead, and only rarely using *sawā'āni* 'two like'.

13.8 When these corroborative expressions are combined they must be arranged in the following order: first *kullun* 'all', then *'ajma^{c}u* 'whole', then *'akta^{c}u, 'abṣa^{c}u* and finally *'abta^{c}u* 'all'. They may be used severally if it is desired to strengthen the meaning, but in this they are not like adjectives used severally of an antecedent, for this *(48b)* allows the successive coordination of adjectives, because their meanings differ, whereas it is not allowed to coordinate corroborative words.[1] On the contrary, in the most correct speech they are mentioned in uninterrupted succession, because they all have the same meaning and thereby acquire the status of a single term.[2] Coordination, on the other hand, implies some difference of meaning, so we cannot say **jā'a zaydun nafsuhu wa-^{c}aynuhu* 'Zayd came himself and himself', while we can say, with adjectives, *jā'a zaydun il-^{c}ālimu wa-ṣ-ṣāliḥu wa-l-wari^{c}u* 'Zayd the wise, the good and the pious came'[3] for the reason already given. Nor is it allowed to suspend the concordance[4] of corroborative expressions, unlike adjectives (as dealt with above).

13.9 Supplementary Note: If an independent bound pronoun[1] is corroborated by *an-nafsu* 'the self' or *al-^{c}aynu* 'the essence', that pronoun must first be corroborated by the free pronoun,[2] e.g. *qumta 'anta nafsuka* 'you yourself (masc. sing.) stood', *qūmā 'antumā 'anfusukumā* 'stand you two yourselves!', *qāmā humā 'anfusuhumā* 'they two themselves stood', *qūmū 'antum 'anfusukum* 'stand you yourselves!' (masc.), *qāmū hum 'anfusuhum* 'they themselves (masc.) stood', *qumna hunna 'anfusuhunna* 'they themselves (fem.) stood' and *qumtunna 'antunna 'anfusukunna* 'you yourselves (fem.) stood'.[3] This is to avoid giving the impression that the corroborative itself has agent status when there is a concealed feminine pronoun,[4] since, if you were to say **k̲arajat ^{c}aynuhā* 'herself

(2) The spelling instructions (3.44 n 2) serve to distinguish *sìyyun* from *šay'un* 'thing' and *sawā'un* from *siwan* 'other than' (21.02 (c)). The objections to *sawā'āni* are possibly more orthographical than phonological: suffixing *ā* to *ā'* produces three consecutive *'alifs* (cf. 2.43 n 2) and, even when reduced to two by an arbitrary spelling device, still leaves two together, and that is something which the language will hardly tolerate.

13.8 (1) Coordination of attributive adjectives by means of conjunctions is by no means so common with undefined nouns (cf. 12.92 n 2), but they are in any case excluded from the present topic. It must be admitted that the basis of the argument here, that adjectives need not be synonymous and corroboratives always are, seems rather weak. A series of synonymous adjectives can be coordinated just as easily. See also n 3 below.

(2) This, too, is not a feature peculiar to corroboratives: the noun and its adjectives(s) have been recognized from the first as being functionally equivalent to a single element (*ism wāḥid* 'one noun', cf. *Kitāb* I, 210, 351, 393).

(3) The Sprachgefühl is sound but the reasoning could be stronger. In particular the example of the adjectives is unconvincing, as the same string can qualify Zayd without coordination (*ja'a zaydun il-ᶜālimu ṣ-ṣāliḥu l-wariᶜu*). The answer lies in the difference of function between adjectives and corroboratives: each successive adjective is a further qualification of its noun, and all adjectives have equal status, while any additional corroboratives only reinforce the first corroborative, to which they are in apposition and without which they cannot appear (hence 'subsidiaries', 13.45, and cf. 13.31 n 3 for *nafs ᶜayn*).

(4) See 11.6 on *qaṭᶜ* 'suspension of concordance'; corroboratives are in this respect closer to substitutes (*badal*), q.v. ch. 14.

13.9 (1) These are all agent pronouns (q.v. ch. 7 passim); dep. and obl. bound pronouns are discussed at the end of the paragraph.

(2) The other corroboratives are not affected by this condition because, in the Arab view, they retain their literal meanings even in corroboration (cf. n 8 below). An alternative explanation might be that *nafs* only developed its corroborative function as a reinforcement of the free pronoun that had already come to be used to repeat (for emphasis, 11.717 n 4) concealed agent pronouns and others.

(3) Random though this mixture of past tense and imperative examples may seem, it follows exactly the list in al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* II, 126, and seems to have been chosen so as to avoid 3rd person sing. verbs, whose 'concealed agent' (cf. 11.714 n 3) causes the problem about to be discussed. But the solution is the same, viz. *k̲arajat hiya ᶜaynuhā* 'she herself went out', with *hiya* 'she' externalizing the concealed agent.

(4) The text has *karāhata 'īhāmi l-fāᶜiliyyati ᶜinda stitāri ḍ-ḍamīri l-mu'annaṯi,* lit. 'out of reluctance for suggesting agency with concealment of the fem. pronoun', taking *istitār* 'concealment' from

اذ لو قيل خرجت عينها توهمت الباصرة ونفسها توهمت الحياة وحمل ما ليس له لبس على ما التبس بخلاف قام الزيدون انفسهم فيمتنع المنفصل لان الضمير لا يوكد الظاهر لكون الضمير اقوى من الظاهر بالاعرفية فيمتنع ان يكون تكملة لما هو دونه بخلاف ضربتهم انفسهم ومررت بهم انفسهم وقاموا كلهم فالتوكيد بالضمير المنفصل فيهن جائز لا واجب لان الضمير الموكد في الاولين غير مرفوع ولان الموكد في الثالث غير النفس والعين ولما فرغ المصنف من الثالث من التوابع شرع في رابعها وهو البدل وقال

باب البدل وهذه تسمية بصرية وعند اهل الكوفة يسمى بالترجمة والتبيين قاله الاخفش وقال ابن كيسان يسمونه التكرير وهو لغة العوض واصطلاحا هو التابع

went out' it might be supposed to mean 'her sight went out',[5] likewise *k̲arajat nafsuhā* 'her self went out' might be supposed to mean 'her life went out', thereby leading to a false correlation between the unambiguous and the ambiguous. Conversely, with *qāma z-zaydūna 'anfusuhum* 'the Zayds themselves stood' it is impossible to use the free pronoun, as pronouns cannot corroborate overt nouns because the pronoun is more strongly defined than the overt noun, hence it is not possible for them to be complementary to something less defined than they are.[6] This in turn is different from the case of *ḍarabtuhum 'anfusahum* 'I struck them themselves', *marartu bihim 'anfusihim* 'I passed by them themselves'[7] and *qāmū kulluhum* 'they stood, all of them',[8] for here is it allowed (but not compulsory) to corroborate them with a free pronoun, because the corroborated pronoun in the first two examples is not independent and because the corroborative in the third is neither *an-nafsu* 'the self' nor *al-ᶜaynu* 'the essence'.[9]

13.91 Having finished with the third of the concordants,[1] the author now turns to the fourth of them, namely substitution.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

14.0 <u>Chapter on substitution.</u>[1] This is a Baṣran term; among the Kūfans it is called 'interpretation' and 'clarification' according to al-Ak̲faš, though Ibn Kaysān said that they call it 'repetition'.[2] The lexical meaning of the term is 'replacement'; technically it is defined

al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* II, 126 in preference to both MSS *'isnād* 'predication'. It would also be possible to read *karāhata nbihāmi* 'out of reluctance for vagueness', following al-Azharī, ibid.

(5) More literally 'her eye went out', cf. 13.31 n 1.

(6) See 11.711, 11.761 on the hierarchy of defined elements. 'More strongly defined' is *'aqwā ... bi-l-'a^{c}rafiyya: 'aqwā* is comparative of *qawī* 'strong', cf. 11.711 n 2, and *'a^{c}rafiyya* is an abstract noun formed from *'a^{c}rafu* 'more defined', cf. 11.721 n 4 (as is *fā^{c}iliyya* 'quality of being an agent', a line or two higher, from *fā^{c}il* 'agent').

(7) Are concealed pronoun agents more frequent than visible pronoun agents? If so, this may explain why pronoun agents must always be corroborated with free pronouns, contrast dep. and obl. pronouns, which are always visible and can therefore be corroborated with *nafs* etc.

(8) Unlike *nafs*, *kull* is always literal, hence may stand as agent in its own right (*qāma kulluhum,* sing. verb, 7.22 n 1) or in apposition to a pronoun agent as here, cf. *yaqūmāni z-zaydāni,* 7.03 n 3.

(9) Observe the vowel harmony affecting suffixes *hu, humā, hum, hunna* after *i, ī* (=*iy*, 2.43 n 2) or *ay*, thus *minhu* 'from him' but *fīhi* 'in him'; Beeston 40; Yushmanov 28. Other types of vowel harmony: 5.2 n 3; 19.72 n 4; 22.43 n 1.

13.91 (1) A kind of hyperbolic corroboration occurs with *kull*, viz. *'anta r-rajulu kullu r-rajuli,* 'you are the man, all the man', i.e. 'you are all man!', cf. Nöldeke 47 (esp. Spitaler n 1), Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.* 153. We also find *'ayy* 'what' (5.86) in this construction, e.g. *wa-lākinnahu ṣa^{c}bun 'ayyu ṣa^{c}bin,* 'but it is difficult, what a difficult thing', i.e. 'it is very difficult' (Cantarino I, 156, where *ṣa^{c}ab* must be corrected to *ṣa^{c}b*). Contrast *'anta r-rajulu ^{c}ilman* 'you are the man for knowledge' in 20.6 n 2 and *jā'a r-rajulu waḥdahu* 'the man came by himself' (v. 19.51 n 5), neither of which are corroboration constructions.

14.0 (1) *Jum.* 35; *Muf.* #150; *Alf.* v 565; *Qaṭr* 358. Terminology: *badal* lit. 'act of substituting' (originally legal, e.g. exchange of good merchandise for bad); *mubdal minhu* 'thing for which another has been substituted', i.e. antecedent' *mubdal* 'thing substituted', i.e. the substitute itself (sometimes also called *badal*).

(2) See 9.4 n 3 on 'Baṣrans' and 'Kūfans', 26.01 n 3 on al-Akfaš,

المقصود بالحكم (49a) بلا واسطة بينه وبين متبوعه هذا حده واما حكمه فانه تابع
للمبدل منه في اعرابه من رفع ونصب وخفض وجزم وهذا معلوم من قوله اذا ابدل
اسم من اسم او فعل من فعل تبعه في جميع اعرابه من رفع ونصب وخفض وجزم
وهو اي بدل الاسم من الاسم والفعل من الفعل على اربعة اقسام بل ستة كما ستعرف
الاول بدل الشيء من الشيء وهو ان يكون الثاني نفس الاول نحو قوله تعالى ان
للمتقين مفازا حدائق واعنابا الاية تنبيه عبارة المصنف بما ذكر اولى من
تعبير غيره ببدل كل من كل لوقوعه في اسم الله تعالى نحو الى صراط العزيز الحميد
الله فمن قرأ بالجر فالله بدل من العزيز بدل شيء من شيء ولا يقال بدل كل من كل
لان لفظ الكل انما يطلق على ما يقبل التجزئة والله تعالى منزه عن ذلك ولا يحتاج

as 'the concordant which is intended to follow without intermediary *(49a)* the same grammatical rule as its antecedent'.[3] Thus defined, its grammatical rule is that it concords with its antecedent in all its inflections (i.e. independence, dependence, obliqueness and apocopation), as is obvious from the author's next words:

14.01 <u>If one noun is substituted for another or one verb for another, it concords with it in all its inflections,</u>[1] i.e. independence, dependence, obliqueness and apocopation, <u>and it</u> (i.e. the substitution of one noun or verb for another) <u>divides into four kinds:</u> (or rather, six,[2] as you will soon learn).

14.1 (1) <u>The substitution of a thing for an identical thing,</u>[1] i.e. where the second is the same as the first, as in the Qur'anic *'inna li-l-muttaqīna mafāzan ḥadā'iqa wa-'a^{c}nāban* 'verily for the pious there is a blissful place, gardens and vineyards'[2] (and so on to the end of the verse).

14.11 Note: The author's term for this kind of substitution is much more appropriate than that of others who call it 'substitution of a whole for a whole',[1] since it occurs with the name of Almighty God, e.g. *'ilā ṣirāṭi l-^{c}azīzi l-ḥamīdi llāhi* 'to the way of the Mighty, the Praiseworthy, God'.[2] those who read *allāhi* 'God' in the oblique form take it as a substitute for *al-^{c}azīzi* 'the Mighty' in substitution of a thing for an identical thing, which can hardly be called the 'substitution of a whole for a whole' here because the term 'whole' can only be applied to what is capable of division into parts, and Almighty God is entirely free from such considerations.[3]

12.6 n 3 on Ibn Kaysān. The 'Kūfan' terms are seldom seen outside this particular context: they are 'interpretation' *tarjuma*, lit. 'translation', 'clarification' *tabyīn*, lit. 'making clear', and 'repetition' *takrīr*.

(3) See 1.1 n 2 on *luǧatan* 'lexically' and *iṣṭilāḥan* 'technically'. 'Replacement' is *ᶜiwaḍ*, also a legal term with the narrower meaning of 'compensation', cf. 1.44. 'Intended to follow...the same grammatical rule' renders *al-maqṣūdu bi-l-ḥukmi*, lit. 'intended by the *ḥukm*', in which *ḥukm* could mean either 'logical predicament' (v. 12.1 n 3) or 'grammatical rule' (q.v. 24.1 n 2), the latter clearly being the sense intended by aš-Širbīnī, although other commentators (e.g. Ibn ᶜAqīl on *Alf.* v 565) paraphrase *ḥukm* by *nisba* (q.v. 20.02 n 1). We are guided by Ibn Yaᶜīš on *Muf.* #150: *al-badalu ṯānin yuqaddaru fī mawḍiᶜi l-'awwali* 'the substitute is a second (element) estimated to be in the place of the first' (cf. *taqdīr*, 2.101 n 1, *mawḍiᶜ*, 3.1 n 4).

14.01 (1) 'Inflections' is *'iᶜrāb*, cf. 11.02 n 1; substitutes do not necessarily concord in number, gender or definition, which makes them different from the other concordants (see 14.12 n 1).

(2) By subdividing the fourth kind into three, q.v. 14.4.

14.1 (1) Lit. 'substitution of the thing for the thing', *badal aš-šay' min aš-šay'*, see further 14.11.

(2) S. 78 vv 31, 32; Palmer's translation has been used. It will be observed that this is not the only occasion when the substitution straddles two consecutive verses of the Qur'ān (cf. 14.11 n 2, 14.34 n 3, 14.6 n 2), and the chapter as a whole savours more of rhetoric than syntax. Commentators do not always agree over this verse: it can be regarded as partial (14.2) or inclusive (14.3) substitution, or even explanatory apposition (14.51 n 1)! Note inversion with undefined subject *mafāzan* (9.73 n 1) but still operated on by *'inna* (10.41); *ḥadā'iqa* is a semi-declinable broken plur. (3.89 (1)).

14.11 (1) 'Substitution of a whole for a whole' is literal for *badal kull min kull*: see 14.52 n 2 on *kull* with and without the def. article.

(2) S. 14 vv 1, 2, *allāhi* being the first word of v 2. For this reason it is also explained by the commentators as having indep. form (*allāhu*) through suspension of concordance (*qaṭᶜ*, cf. 11.6 n 1) as predicate of an understood *huwa* 'he (is)', or even as the subject of the following predicative clause, scil. 'God is he to whom belongs that which is in the heavens etc.' (cf. aš-Širbīnī's Commentary, II, 160). The prepositional phrase *'ilā ṣirāṭi* etc. is in turn explained as a substitute for a previous prepositional phrase, *'ilā n-nūri* '(out of darkness) into the light'.

(3) Note the theological intrusion into grammar (cf. 5.751 n 1). In the present instance aš-Širbīnī is reproducing the orthodox doctrine of *tanzīh* 'stripping away', i.e. the belief that God has no physical human attributes (here quoting from al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* II, 156).

بدل الشيء الى ضمير يربطه بالمبدل منه لانه نفس المبدل منه في المعنى والثاني
بدل البعض من الكل وهو بدل الجزء من كله نحو قوله تعالى ولله على الناس حج
البيت من استطاع اليه سبيلا فمن استطاع بدل من الناس ولا فرق في ذلك البعض
بين ان يكون قليلا بالنسبة الى الباقي من المبدل منه او مساويا له او اكثر منه
نحو اكلت الرغيف ثلثه او نصفه او ثلثيه ولا بد في بدل البعض من اتصاله
بضمير يرجع الى المبدل منه ليربط البعض بكله سواء اكان مقدرا كما في الاية
فان الضمير العائد على المبدل منه مقدر اي منهم او مذكورا كالامثلة المذكورة
والثالث بدل الاشتمال نحو قوله تعالى يسألونك عن الشهر الحرام قتال فيه واختلف
(49b) في المشتمل ما هو فقيل هو الاول لان الثاني اما صفة له كاعجبتني الجارية
حسنها او مكتسب منه صفة نحو سلب زيد ماله فان الاول اكتسب من الثاني

14.12 The substitute of a thing needs no pronoun to link it with the antecedent because it is the same as the antecedent in meaning.[1]

14.2 (2) The substitution of some of a thing for the whole of it,[1] i.e. the part for the whole, as in the Qur'anic *wa-li-llāhi ᶜalā n-nāsi ḥajju l-bayti man istaṭāᶜa* 'and to God is owed by the people pilgrimage to the house (of God), whoever is able',[2] where *man istaṭāᶜa* 'whoever is able' is a substitute for *an-nāsi* 'the people'.

14.21 It makes no difference whether the part substituted is smaller, equal to or even greater than the remainder of the antecedent, e.g. *'akaltu r-raǧīfa ṯulṯahu* or *niṣfahu* or *ṯulṯayhi* 'I ate the loaf, a third of it' or 'a half of it' or 'two thirds of it'.[1] In substitution of the part for the whole the part must always be suffixed with a pronoun referring to the antecedent and linking the part with its whole, whether this pronoun be implicit (as in the above Qur'anic example, where the pronoun referring to the antecedent is implicit, viz. *minhum* 'of them'), or explicit, as in the other examples given.[2]

14.3 (3) Inclusive substitution,[1] as in the Qur'anic *yas'alūnaka ᶜan iš-šahri l-ḥarāmi qitālin fīhi* 'they will ask you about the sacred month, fighting in it'.[2]

14.31 There is some dispute *(49b)* as to what includes what.[1] One view is that the first includes the second, because the second is either a quality[2] of the first, as in *'aᶜjabatnī l-jāriyatu ḥusnuhā* 'the girl pleased me, her beauty', or something from which a quality is acquired, as in *suliba zaydun māluhu* 'Zayd was taken away, his wealth', where the

14.12 (1) The substitute here differs both formally and functionally from the corroboratives *nafs*, ^{c}*ayn* (13.31) and *kull* (13.4); *'ajma*^{c}, which corroborates without a pronoun suffix (13.6) is a special case. See further 14.21, 14.34 for the types of substitute which must carry a pronoun linking them to their antecedent. The demonstrative pronouns and their nouns stand in the relationship of identical substitution: *zaydun hāḏā* 'this Zayd' (lit. 'Zayd, this one'), *hāḏā r-rajulu* 'this man' (lit. 'this one, the man', cf. 11.735 n 2).

14.2 (1) Lit. 'substitution of the some for the all', *badal al-ba*^{c}*ḍ min al-kull*. See 17.65 on *ba*^{c}*ḍ* 'some', 13.4 on *kull* 'all'; note that *kull* and *ba*^{c}*ḍ* are here prefixed with the def. article (contrast 14.11), a practice which is disapproved of in 14.52. In fact it is not at all uncommon for *kull* to occur without article, even in places where it functions as subject of a sentence, e.g. S. 8 v 54, *kullun kānū ẓālimīna* 'all were wrongdoers' (in apposition to 'Pharaoh's people'), a usage which is still current (Cantarino, loc. cit. 14.52 n 2).

(2) S. 3 v 97. Points to note: *li* 'for' (1.709) and ^{c}*alā* 'on, against' (1.704) are used antithetically in the idiomatic sense of 'to be in credit' and 'to be in debt', e.g. *lī* ^{c}*alayka dirhamun* 'you owe me a dirham', *laka* ^{c}*alayya dirhamun* 'I owe you a dirham' (note inversion with undefined subjects, 9.73 n 1); that *man istaṭā*^{c}*a* is a noun phrase (cf. 11.754) is neatly demonstrated here by its substitution for the noun *an-nāsi*.

14.21 (1) Except for *niṣfun* 'half', fractions have the pattern *fu*^{c}*l* (cf. 10.37 n 1), e.g. *ṯulṯun* 'a third', *rub*^{c}*un* 'a quarter', up to ^{c}*ušrun* 'a tenth'. In *ṯulṯayhi* (=*ṯulṯayni* + *hu*) observe loss of *ni* in annexation (26.93 n 1) and vowel harmony with *hi* (13.9 n 9).

(2) A referential pronoun (^{c}*ā'id*, 11.752 n 1) is needed because the partial substitute is not identical with its antecedent (contrast 14.12): in *ṯulṯahu* etc. the visible pronoun *hu* does the job, but in *man istaṭā*^{c}*a* 'whoever is able' (14.2) the reference is vague and *minhum* has to be assumed. Note that 'linking' is expressed by *yarbuṭa*, a verb cognate with *rābiṭ* 'link', cf. 5.86 n 3, 14.34.

14.3 (1) 'Inclusive substitution' is *badal al-ištimāl*, lit. 'substitution of comprehensiveness or comprehending', cf. *šumūl* 'scope, extent' in 13.1, from the same root. See further 14.33 n 1.

(2) S. 2 v 194; note juncture features in def. article, q.v. 11.1 n 2, 11.41 n 2; vowel harmony in *fīhi* (**fī-hu*), 13.9 n 9.

14.31 (1) This is not a dispute which figures in the wrangles between 'Baṣrans' and 'Kūfans' collected in *Inṣāf*. It may have started in the time of al-Mubarrad (d. 898), who is among the first to deal in these subdivisions of the *badal* (cf. *Muqtaḍab* I, 27, IV, 297, and note that al-Astarābāḏī, op. cit. 1.23 n 1, I, 314, connects al-Mubarrad with this problem). See further 14.33 n 1.

(2) 'Quality' is *ṣifa*, elsewhere translated 'adjective' (cf. 11.0 n 1). While it is certain that this term was used by philosophers (especially

كونه مالكا ورد بانه يلزم منه ان يجوز ضربت زيدا عبده على الاشتمال وهو
ممنوع وقيل هو الثاني بدليل سرق زيد ثوبه ورد بسرق زيد فرسه وقيل وهو الاولى
لا اشتمال لاحدهما على الاخر بل هو بدل شيء من شيء يشتمل عامله على معناه
اشتمالا بطريق الاجمال نحو اعجبني زيد علمه او حسنه او كلامه الا ترى ان الاعجاب
يشتمل على زيد بطريق المجاز وعلى علمه وحسنه وكلامه بطريق الحقيقة وكذلك سرق
زيد ثوبه او فرسه فان زيدا مسروق مجازا والثوب والفرس مسروقان حقيقة ولا بد
في بدل الاشتمال من ضمير كما في بدل البعض من الكل اما مذكور كما في الاية
المتقدمة فقتال بدل اشتمال من الشهر والرابط بينهما الهاء المجرورة بفي واما مقدر
كما في قوله قتل اصحاب الاخدود النار والنار بدل من الاخدود والعائد محذوف اي

first acquired from the second the fact of its being an owner. One refutation of this is that the sentence *ḍarabtu zaydan ᶜabdahu* 'I struck Zayd his slave' would then have to be allowed as a case of inclusive substitution, which is impossible.[3]

14.32 The other view is that the second includes the first, the proof being *suriqa zaydun ṯawbuhu* 'Zayd was stolen, his garment', but this is refuted by *suriqa zaydun farasuhu* 'Zayd was stolen, his horse'.[1]

14.33 It is also said, and this is the most cogent opinion, that neither one includes the other, but that it is really substitution of a thing for an identical thing, in which the operator comprehensively includes the meaning of the substitute,[1] e.g. *'aᶜjabanī zaydun ᶜilmuhu* or *ḥusnuhu* or *kalāmuhu* 'Zayd pleased me, his knowledge' or 'his beauty' or 'his speech', for you can see that the act of pleasing includes Zayd figuratively and his knowledge, beauty and speech literally.[2] Similarly, in *suriqa zaydun ṯawbuhu* or *farasuhu* 'Zayd was stolen, his garment' or 'his horse', Zayd is only figuratively stolen, while his garment and horse are literally stolen.[3]

14.34 In inclusive substitution, as in substitution of the part for the whole, there must always be a pronoun,[1] either explicitly mentioned (as in the Qur'anic verse quoted above, where *qitālin* 'fighting' is an inclusive substitute of *aš-šahri* 'the month', with the *hi* 'it' made oblique by *fī* 'in' as the link[2] between them), or implicitly, as in the Qur'anic *qutila 'aṣḥābu l-'ukdūdi n-nāri* 'may there be killed the people of the pit, of the fire!',[3] where *an-nāri* 'the fire' is a substitute of *al-'ukdūdi* 'the pit', and the referential pronoun has been elided, scil. *an-nāri fīhi* 'the fire in it'.

theologians, Versteegh 71 n 6, 74 n 22) for 'quality' = 'predicate', it does not follow that its occurrence in the earliest grammar is due to borrowing. Rundgren's unsubstantiated assertion (op. cit. 1.01 n 2, 143) 'the adjective is called *ṣifa* by Sībawayhi, a term which strikes one as somewhat philosophical', proves nothing.

(3) It would, of course, be allowable as a case of 'substitution of error' (14.4). 'Impossible' is weaker than the original Arabic, which has *mamnū*ᶜ 'prohibited': in aš-Širbīnī's source, al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* II, 157, it is clear that it is the grammarians, by this stage heavily normative, who 'forbid' such usages on logical grounds (cf. 12.91 n 8).

14.32 (1) The argument seems to be that Zayd is included in the second element by pronominalization; see further 14.33 n 3.

14.33 (1) With 'whose operator comprehensively includes the meaning of the substitute' we are in the world of semantics: the connection between the two elements is variously described as *iltibās, mulābasa* (both approx. synonymous, 'implication, involvement') *'iḥāṭa* 'encompassment', as well as *ištimāl* (cf. *Muqtaḍab,* loc. cit. 14.31 n 1). Compare the relationship between elements coordinated by *ḥattā* 'even' (12.91, 12.911) and the conditions for continuous exception, 21.2.

(2) See 13.3 n 1 on *majāz* 'metaphor', 12.91 n 6 on *ḥaqīqa* 'truth' (i.e. literal usage). The rhetorical aspects of this construction are well summarized by al-Astarābāḏī, loc. cit. 14.31 n 1: 'it is a condition of inclusive substitution that it should convey no specific information through the first element, but the mind, with the mention of the first element, should remain in anticipation of an explanation, because of the very comprehensiveness of the first element'.

(3) 'To steal', *saraqa,* is not commonly doubly transitive (Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.* 76; double transitivity 16.310 n 1), hence the example is somewhat tendentious. Even so, passivization normally only requires the transfer of one object into the agent function (8.2, and see 8.0 n 5), viz. *suriqa zaydun ṯawbahu* or *farasahu*, and the argument here seems specious. This is especially obvious if we compare the active equivalent *saraqtu zaydan ṯawbahu* 'I robbed Zayd of his garment', where there is scarcely any possibility of confusing the second direct object with any kind of substitution.

14.34 (1) 14.3. Contrast identical substitution, which requires no referential pronoun (14.12). 'Inclusive substitute' for *qitālin* is not meant to imply that it includes *aš-šahri,* but merely that the type of substitution is 'inclusive'.

(2) 'Link' is *rābiṭ,* cf. 5.86 n 3.

(3) S. 85 vv 4, 5. Since *'uḵdūd* is here used in a (hitherto) unexplained sense (v. *E.I.* (2), art. 'Aṣḥāb al-Uḵdūd'), it might seem that *an-nāri* is a case of explanatory coordination (*ᶜaṭf bayān,* q.v. 14.51 n 1), but the commentators all agree that it is inclusive substitution. The verb in this verse is formally past tense passive (ch. 8), but has optative value (*duᶜā'* 'call, prayer', cf. 5.55 n 3); other common

النار فيه والرابع بدل الاضراب والخامس بدل الغلط والسادس بدل النسيان ولفظ
هذه الثلاثة لا يختلف وانما يختلف بحسب قصد المتكلم نحو قولك تصدقت
بدرهم دينار فهذا صالح للاقسام الثلاثة بحسب قصد الاول وهو المبدل منه وقصد
الثاني وهو البدل بان يكون فصدت الاخبار بانك تصدقت بدرهم ثم عن لك ان تخبر
بانك تصدقت بدينار فكل منهما مقصود فهذا بدل اضراب ويسمى ايضا بدل (50a)
بداء بالدال المهملة والمد او قصدت الثاني فقط وسبق اللسان الى الاول فهو بدل
الغلط اي بدل من اللفظ الذي هو غلط لا ان البدل نفسه هو الغلط كما قد يتوهم من
ظاهر اللفظ او قصدت الاول وتبين الخطأ بان اردت الاخبار بالتصدق بالدرهم فلما
نطقت به ظهر لك فساد ذلك القصد بعد الثاني ويسمى بدل النسيان اي بدل شيء
ذكر نسيانا وقد علم مما تقرر ان الغلط متعلق باللسان والنسيان متعلق بالجنان
ثم مثل المصنف لامثلة البدل المذكورة في كلامه مبتدئا بالاول فقال نحو قولك
جاء زيد اخوك واعرابه جاء فعل ماض وزيد فاعل مرفوع واخوك بدل شيء من شيء

14.4 (4) The substitution of retraction. (5) The substitution of error. (6) The substitution of oversight.[1] There is no formal difference between these three, which differ only in respect of the speaker's purpose. The example *taṣaddaqtu bi-dirhamin dīnārin* 'I donated a dirham, a dinar' is appropriate for all three kinds, according to what motivated the first element (the thing substituted for) and the second (the substitute), viz. (a) it may be that you intended to state that you had donated a dirham and then it sprang to mind to state that you had donated a dinar; both words were thus spoken intentionally, and so this is 'substitution of retraction' (which is also called 'substitution *(50a)* of second thoughts',[2] spelt *badā'*, with undotted *d* and the lengthened *ā'*), or (b) you intended only the second but your tongue was too quick with the first, so this is 'substitution of error' (i.e. a substitution for the erroneous expression, not that the substitute itself is an error, as might easily be supposed from the formal terminology);[3] or (c) you intended the first, and then it became clear that you had made a mistake[4] in wanting to state that you had donated a dirham, and the moment you uttered it the falseness of that intention[5] became apparent to you after you had thought of the second. This is, therefore, 'substitution of oversight', i.e. substitution for something that was only mentioned in oversight. From what has been set out here it will be realized that 'error' is connected with the tongue and 'oversight' with the mind.[6]

14.51 The author now illustrates the kinds of substitution mentioned above,[1] starting with the first: e.g. *jā'a zaydun 'aḵūka* 'Zayd, your brother, came', parsed as follows: *jā'a* 'came' is a past tense verb, *zaydun* 'Zayd' is an agent made independent, and *'aḵūka* 'your brother'

examples are *raḥimahu llāhu* 'may God have mercy on him', *'aṭāla llāhu baqā'ahu* 'may God prolong his life' (cf. also 7.02, 17.7 n 4). It is negated by *lā*, e.g. *lā kāna* 'may it never be' (cf. 10.18 n 5). *Muf.* ##478, 547; Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.* 11, 43.

14.4 (1) These are respectively *'iḍrāb* lit. 'turning away' (cf. 12.52 n 3), *ḡalaṭ* 'mistake' and *nisyān* 'forgetting'. Sībawayhi was not so hairsplitting, recognizing basically two kinds of substitution, one of which corresponds to types 1-3, and the other to types 4-6, called simply *badal al-ḡalaṭ* (cf. *Kitāb* I, 218). This is in keeping with Sībawayhi's descriptive approach and shows that, for him at least, the language was still spoken (v. 5.432 n 1), while for al-Mubarrad (d. 898, 22.3 n 1) it was necessary to point out that these substitutes never occur in the Qur'ān, poetry and all right speech' (*Muqtaḍab* IV, 297, see 1.13 n 1 on 'right'). See further n 6 below.

(2) 'Substitution of second thoughts' is *badal badā'*, lit. 'of a new idea which presents itself to the mind' (*badā'* is cognate with *ibtidā'* 'making a start', i.e. of an equational sentence, 9.12 n 2).

(3) This helpful comment is taken from Ibn Hišām via al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* II, 159 (it is also in *Āj.* 78): what he means is that substitution here takes place in reverse, and the first element is the *mubdal* (normally second) and the second is the *mubdal minhu* (normally first), see further 14.54 n 2. It hardly seems likely that this was Sībawayhi's original intention!

(4) The error is of some consequence, as a dinar is worth about twenty times as much as a dirham (cf. Jeffrey, op. cit. 3.89 n 5, 129, 133 on the foreign origin of these words, also *E.I.* (2), s.v.).

(5) 'Intention, purpose' etc. are variously denoted by the roots *qaṣada* 'to aim for' (cf. *maqṣūd*, 14.0 n 3, 23.42 n 1), *nawā* 'to intend' (cf. *niyya*, 5.44 n 3) and *'arāda* 'to will'. It is clear that here, and in some other homologous constructions (notably the suspension of adjectival concordance for reasons of praise or blame, 11.6), only the motive of the speaker can distinguish them.

(6) This explanation is from *Qaṭr* 351, and was prompted by Ibn Hišām's concern that the pupil would have difficulty with the three types of substitution of error! It would be better, too, if they were not paraded in Western grammars of Arabic, e.g. Wright II, 286, Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.* 65 n 2. Al-Astarābāḏī, loc. cit. 14.31 n 1, mentions that poets may deliberately use this construction for effect, rather as in *hindun najmun badrun šamsun* 'Hind is a star, moon, sun'.

14.51 (1) This adds nothing to what has been said already, so here is an outline of a construction not dealt with by aš-Širbīnī, namely explanatory coordination (*ᶜaṭf bayān*, cf. 12.0): it is formally identical with substitution of a thing for an identical thing (14.1), and only differs (a) in its purpose (cf. 14.4 n 5), and (b) in that the second element must always be more specific than the first, e.g. *jā'a 'aḵūka zaydun* 'your brother Zayd came', (there is only one Zayd but

ويسميه ابن مالك بالبدل المطابق ثم مثل للثاني بقوله اكلت الرغيف ثلثه واعرابه
اكلت فعل وفاعل والرغيف مفعول به وثلثه بدل من الرغيف بدل بعض من كل
فائدة منع المحققون دخول ال على كل وبعض ثم مثل للثالث بقوله نفعني زيد
علمه واعرابه نفعني فعل ومفعول وزيد فاعل وعلمه بدل من زيد بدل اشتمال ثم
مثل للرابع بقوله رأيت زيدا الفرس واعرابه رأيت فعل وفاعل وزيدا مفعول به
والفرس بدل من زيد بدل غلط وذلك لانك اردت ان تقول رأيت الفرس ابتداء
فغلطت في لفظك بالفرس فابدلت زيدا منه اي عوضت زيدا من لفظ الفرس هذه
اقسام البدل في الاسم واما في الفعل فقال الشاطبي يجري فيه ذلك مثال بدل الشيء
من الشيء في الفعل ومن يفعل ذلك يلق اثاما يضاعف فان معنى مضاعفة العذاب هو
لقاء الاثام ومثال بدل البعض من الكل (50b) ان تصل تسجد لله يرحمك ومثال

is the substitute of a thing by an identical thing, which is also called by Ibn Mālik the 'matching substitute'.[2]

14.52 Next the author illustrates the second kind: *'akaltu r-raġīfa ṯulṯahu* 'I ate the loaf, a third of it', parsed[1] as follows: *'akaltu* 'I ate' is a verb and agent, *ar-raġīfa* 'the loaf' is its direct object, and *ṯulṯahu* 'a third of it' is a substitute of *ar-raġīfa* 'the loaf' in substitution of the part for the whole. (N.B. The experts do not allow *al* 'the' to be prefixed to *kullun* 'all' and *ba*ᶜ*ḍun* 'some').[2]

14.53 He next illustrates the third kind: *nafa*ᶜ*anī zaydun* ᶜ*ilmuhu* 'Zayd benefitted me, his knowledge', parsed as follows: *nafa*ᶜ*anī* 'benefitted me' is a verb and direct object, *zaydun* 'Zayd' is an agent, and ᶜ*ilmuhu* 'his knowledge' is a substitute of *zaydun* 'Zayd' by inclusive substitution.

14.54 The author then illustrates the fourth kind: *ra'aytu zaydan il-farasa* 'I saw Zayd—the horse', parsed as follows: *ra'aytu* 'I saw' is a verb and agent, *zaydan* 'Zayd' is a direct object, and *al-farasa* 'the horse' is a substitute of *zaydan* 'Zayd' in substitution of error.[1] This is because you wanted to say 'I saw the horse' in the first place, but you made a mistake when you were about to utter the word 'horse' and substituted 'Zayd' for it. That is, you replaced 'the horse' by 'Zayd'.[2]

14.6 So much for the substitution of nouns. As far as verbs are concerned aš-Šāṭibī[1] said that the same occurs with them: an example of substitution of a thing by an identical thing in verbs is the Qur'anic *man yaf*ᶜ*al ḏālika yalqa 'aṯāman yuḍā*ᶜ*af* 'whoever does that will meet with recompense, will be doubled (his punishment)',[2] since the meaning of 'doubling the punishment' is the same as 'meeting the recompense'.

14.61 An example of substitution of the part for the whole is *(50b) 'in tuṣalli tasjud li-llāhi yarḥamka* 'if you pray—bow down—to God, he will have mercy on you'.[1]

there may be more than one brother: contrast *jā'a zaydun 'akūka* 'Zayd, your brother, came', where 'your brother' does not make Zayd any more specific). *Muf.* ##155-6; *Alf.* v 534; *Qaṭr* 342; Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.* 65.

(2) *Alf.* v 566; *al-badal al-muṭābiq,* lit. 'which fits exactly over'.

14.52 (1) See 8.21 n 1 on *'i^{c}rāb,* here 'parsing'.

(2) Cf. 14.11 n 1. Whether there is a difference between collective *al-kull* and distributive *kull* (so Cantarino, II, 124) is arguable, especially in regard to *kullun kānū ẓālimīna,* q.v. 14.2 n 1. Cf. also 1.441 n 3; Reckendorf, *Synt. Verh.* 140.

14.53 (1) This segmentation is adequate for the present purpose, but for practice consider the possible further levels: *nafa^{c}anī* comprises the discontinuous morphemes *n-f-^{c}*, root meaning 'benefit' and *a-a* for the past tense active (cf. 5.1 n 2); after the third radical is the purely lexical item *a,* associated with the 3rd sing. past tense, with which a concealed agent pronoun also has to be assumed (7.58 n 1); *nī* is the direct object suffix *ī* with the 'preserving *n*' (16.301); *zaydun* and *^{c}ilmuhu* likewise consist of the discontinuous morphemes *z-y-d* and *^{c}-l-m,* and *a-Ø, i-Ø* for noun pattern respectively (10.37 n 1), both with independence marker *u* (3.21), *zaydun* with nominal marker *n* (not necessarily indefinition marker, cf. 1.41, 11.8), *^{c}ilmuhu* with 3rd sing. possessive pronoun suffix *hu* (4.72 n 2).

14.54 (1) See 11.1 n 2 on the juncture feature of the def. article *al,* which appears as *l* in context (but see 11.41 n 2) and *al* in isolation.

(2) Surface structure and deep structure are here in open conflict: in terms of the former there can be no doubt that *al-farasa* is substituted for *zaydan,* and this is certainly how Sībawayhi understood the process. On the other hand, from the point of view of deep structure, *zaydun* has intruded into the intended statement *ra'aytu l-farasa,* hence it can be said, as here (reproducing Ibn Hišām, see 14.4 n 3), that *zaydan* has been substituted for *al-farasa.*

14.6 (1) There are several candidates for this name, but the most likely is Abū-l-Qāsim aš-Šāṭibī, best known as an authority upon the Qur'ān, and reputedly one of the masters of Ibn al-Ḥājib (12.912 n 3). Aš-Šāṭibī died in 1194; *G.A.L.* I, 409 and Suppl. (note that his name is given as al-Qāsim only, not Abū l-Qāsim, by as-Suyūṭī, *Buġyat al-wu^{c}āh,* ed. Cairo 1965, II, 260). See also 14.63 n 2.

(2) S. 25 vv 68, 69; if *yuḍā^{c}af* had had indep. form (*yuḍā^{c}afu*) this would have made a new or relative clause, 'its/whose punishment will be doubled on Judgement Day' (**yuḍā^{c}afu lahu l-^{c}aḏābu yawma l-qiyāmati*), but the apocopated 'Reading' (21.21 n 2) *yuḍā^{c}af* precludes this.

14.61 (1) This is neither from the Qur'ān nor the 'Traditions' (1.01 n 4), and falls under the same suspicion as other specimens produced by aš-Šāṭibī (see 14.63 n 1). For the apoc. forms here see 3.92 for *tuṣalli* (weak 3rd radical), 4.82 n 2 for *tasjud* and *yarḥam.*

بدل الاشتمال قوله
ان على الله ان تبايعا تؤخذ كرها او تجىء طائعا
لان الاخذ كرها والمجيء طوعا من صفات المبايعة ومثال بدل الغلط ان تأتنا تسألنا نعطك هذا ملخص كلامه قال الشيخ خالد والدرك عليه تتمة اوجه بدل الاسم من الاسم على ما يقتضيه الضرب من جهة الحساب اربعة وستون حاصلة من ضرب اربعة في ستة عشر وذلك لانهما اما معرفتان او نكرتان او الاول معرفة والثاني نكرة او بالعكس فهذه اربعة وكل منها اما مضمر واما مظهر او مختلفاهما فهذه ستة عشر وكل منها اما بدل شيء من شيء او بدل بعض من كل او بدل اشتمال او بدل غلط فهده اربعة وستون وتفصيلها من الجواز والامتناع يعرف اكثره مما مر ولما فرغ المصنف من مرفوعات الاسماء شرع في منصوباتها فقال

14.62 An example of inclusive substitution is the verse
'inna ᶜalayya llāha 'an tubāyiᶜa
tu'kaḏa karhan 'aw tajī'a ṭā'iᶜan
'it is my duty, by God, that you should swear allegiance—that you be taken against your will or come obediently',[1] because being taken against one's will and coming obediently are both qualities of the act of swearing allegiance.

14.63 An example of substitution of error is *'in ta'tinā tas'alnā nuᶜṭika* 'if you come to us—ask us—we shall give you something'.[1] This is an abridgement of what aš-Šāṭibī[2] has to say: aš-Šayḵ Ḵālid[3] adds, 'that is his own responsibility'.

14.7 Supplementary note: The number of different ways of substituting one noun for another, calculated by multiplication, is sixty-four, the product of four times sixteen.[1] This is because both nouns may be either defined or undefined, or the first defined and the second undefined and vice versa,[2] which makes four possibilities. Then they may either be both pronouns or both overt nouns, or both different, which yields sixteen combinations. Finally there may be substitution of a thing for an identical thing, substitution of the part for the whole, inclusive substitution, or substitution of error, and this makes sixty-four all together. The details of what is allowed and what is impossible can mostly be learnt from the above.[3]

14.8 Having finished with the independent forms of the noun,[1] the author now turns to their dependent forms.

14.62 (1) *Schaw. Ind.* 147; for metrical reasons (cf. 5.88 n 4) the final *a* of *tubāyi*^{c}*a* is written and pronounced long, but has been left short in transcription so as not to obscure its function as marker of dependence after *'an* (5.41). Other grammatical points to note: *'inna* (10.41) has the verb phrases *'an tubāyi*^{c}*a* etc. (cf. 9.02 n 2) as its inverted subject and ^{c}*alayya* (see 14.2 n 2) as its inverted predicate; on *allāha* as a free-standing oath see Fischer, *Islam* 28, 9; for the verbal noun *karhan* as circumstantial qualifier see 19.33 n 1.

14.63 (1) The examples here and in 14.61 hardly ring true, and there can be little doubt that they are pedagogical inventions, hence the reservations expressed by aš-Šayḵ Ḵālid (q.v. n 3).

(2) This whole extract from aš-Šāṭibī has been taken from al-Azharī, *Āj.* 79, rather than from *Taṣr.* II, 161, which lacks the final remark.

(3) Here (and once more in 21.35) aš-Širbīnī reveals the name of his principal source, aš-Šayḵ Ḵālid al-Azharī, died 1499 (*G.A.L.* II, 278 and Suppl.). His *Taṣrīḫ* was written after a conversation in a dream with Ibn Hišām (I, 3), while his *Ājurrūmiyya* commentary was composed especially for 'young people and children' (6). He was also a great source for aṣ-Ṣabbān.

14.7 (1) Cf. 9.3 n 1 on the practice of computing total combinations. Even Western scholars seem unable to avoid the temptation now and then, cf. Yushmanov 33, and 4.82 n 2. The particular calculation (from al-Azharī, *Āj.* 79) is of little practical value, and even slightly misleading in the matter of substitution of pronouns: while there are apparently no restrictions on substituting pronoun for pronoun (e.g. *ra'aytuka 'iyyāka* 'I saw you, you'), the 1st and 2nd sing. pronouns are not found as antecedents of an overt noun substitute (contrast *ra'aytuhu zaydan* 'I saw him, Zayd', *'antum hā'ulā'i* 'you, these ones'). The occurrence of pronouns as substitutes for overt nouns seems even more restricted, with only 3rd sing. examples being offered (*ra'aytu zaydan 'iyyāhu* 'I saw Zayd, him', see *Muf.* #154, Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.* 70). This is all distinct from corroboration, 13.14 n 4.

(2) Unlike adjectives (ch. 11) and corroboratives (ch. 13).

(3) The grounds of permissibility (*jawāz*) and impossibility (*imtinā*^{c}) are no longer based on descriptive criteria, cf. 14.31 n 3.

14.8 (1) Some items apparently having the indep. morpheme *u* are dealt with elsewhere, e.g. indeclinable elements (18.41), vocatives (23.41, 23.42), and cf. 22.2 for problems with nouns negated by *lā* 'no'.

باب منصوبات الاسماء وتقدمت منصوبات الافعال المنصوبات من الاسماء خمسة
عشر منصوبا على سبيل الاجمال والتعداد ويذكر لكل منها بابا على سبيل التفصيل
وهي اي منصوبات الاسماء اولها المفعول به نحو ضربت زيدا فزيدا مفعول به
منصوب بضرب وعلامة نصبه الفتحة وثانيها المصدر نحو ضربا في قولك ضربت
ضربا فضربا منصوب بضرب على انه مفعول مطلق وثالثها ظرف الزمان نحو
صمت اليوم فاليوم ظرف زمان منصوب بصام على انه مفعول فيه ورابعها ظرف
المكان نحو جلست (51a) امامك فامامك ظرف مكان منصوب بجلس على انه مفعول
فيه وخامسها الحال نحو جاء زيد راكبا فراكبا منصوب بجاء على انه حال
وسادسها التمييز نحو طاب محمد نفسا فنفسا منصوب بطاب على انه تمييز

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

15.0 Chapter on the dependent forms of nouns.[1] The dependent forms of verbs have already been dealt with. The dependent forms of nouns[2] are fifteen in number: i.e. fifteen dependent forms listed summarily, each to be dealt with in a separate chapter.[3] And they are (i.e. the dependent forms of nouns):

15.01 (1) the direct object,[1] e.g. *ḍarabtu zaydan* 'I struck Zayd', where *ḍaraba* 'to strike'[2] makes *zaydan* 'Zayd' dependent as a direct object, with *a* as its dependence marker;

15.02 (2) the verbal noun,[1] e.g. *ḍarban* 'act of striking' in *ḍarabtu ḍarban* 'I struck hard', where *ḍaraba* 'to strike' makes *ḍarban* 'act of striking' dependent as an absolute object;

15.03 (3) the time-qualifier,[1] e.g. *ṣumtu l-yawma* 'I fasted today', where *ṣāma* 'to fast' makes the time-qualifier *al-yawma* 'today' dependent as an object of location;[2]

15.04 (4) the space-qualifier,[1] e.g. *jalastu (51a) 'amāmaka* 'I sat in front of you', where *jalasa* 'to sit' makes the space-qualifier *'amāmaka* 'in front of you'[2] dependent as an object of location;

15.05 (5) the circumstantial qualifier,[1] e.g. *jā'a zaydun rākiban* 'Zayd came riding', where *jā'a* 'to come' makes *rākiban* 'riding' dependent as a circumstantial qualifier;

15.06 (6) the specifying element,[1] e.g. *ṭāba muḥammadun nafsan* 'Muḥammad was content of soul', where *ṭāba* 'to be content' makes *nafsan* 'soul' dependent as a specifying element;

15.0 (1) *al-manṣūbat,* lit. 'those things which have been made dependent', sound fem. plur. (cf. 3.231 n 2), and see 3.5 n 1 on *naṣb,* 'dependence'. In the Arab view, this dependence is caused by a verbal operator (cf. 2.1, 2.11) or an element with the status of a verb (cf. 10.401).

(2) See 5.4 et seq. for dependent verbs and their operators.

(3) Items 15.12-15 have been treated in chs. 10-14; summarized 25.61.

15.01 (1) *al-maf^{c}ūl bih,* lit. 'that which it is done to', see ch. 16, esp. 16.1.

(2) See 3.52 n 3 on convention of quoting verbs in their 3rd masc. sing. past tense forms: this is especially noticeable when 'hollow verbs' (10.23 n 2) are mentioned, as in several paragraphs below.

15.02 (1) *al-maṣdar,* lit. 'the source, origin', see ch. 17, esp. 17.1 n 2. The other name for this element is *al-maf^{c}ūl al-muṭlaq,* 'the absolute object', cf. 17.3. A literal translation ('I struck a striking') is hardly feasable, though English does have one or two expressions of this type, e.g. 'he did a deed, saw a sight' etc.

15.03 (1) *ẓarf az-zamān,* lit. 'container of time' (cf. 1.705 n 2), see ch. 18, esp. 18.0-113. Though functionally equivalent to adverbs and prepositions, these are nouns, like all the items in this chapter.

(2) *al-maf^{c}ūl fīh,* lit. 'that in which it is done': most modifiers of verbs are, in the Arab theory, objects of one kind or another of the verb, cf. 15.10, 15.11.

15.04 (1) *ẓarf al-makān,* lit. 'container of place', structurally identical with the time-qualifier in the previous paragraph. See ch. 18, esp. 18.0, 18.2-214.

(2) The borderline between noun and 'preposition' is often vague: the word *'amāma* which is here seen in its prepositional function reverts easily to noun status, e.g. *'ilā l-'amāmi* 'to the front' (now with noun markers *al,* 1.5, oblique form, 1.31, and oblique operator, 1.7). See further notes to 18.201-214.

15.05 (1) *al-ḥāl*, lit. 'circumstance, situation', see ch. 19, esp. 19.0, 19.1. If *rākiban* here were translated 'as a riding person' it might emphasize that it is not an integral part of the sentence, a feature which is shared by most of the dependent elements (cf. 19.1).

15.06 (1) *at-tamyīz,* lit. 'act of distinguishing, discrimination', see ch. 20. By now the cumulative effect of the examples should be to

وسابعها المستثنى نحو قام القوم الا زيدا فزيدا منصوب على الاستثناء بالا
وثامنها اسم لا نحو لا غلام سفر حاضر فغلام اسم لا منصوب بها وتاسعها المنادى
نحو يا عبد الله فعبد الله منصوب على انه منادى وعاشرها المفعول من اجله
نحو قام زيد اجلالا لبكر فاجلالا منصوب بقام على انه مفعول من اجله وحادي
عشرها المفعول معه نحو سرت والنيل فالنيل منصوب بسار على انه مفعول معه
وثاني عشرها خبر كان واخواتها نحو كان زيد قائما فقائما خبر لكان منصوب
بها وثالث عشرها اسم ان واخواتها نحو ان زيدا قائم فزيدا اسم ان منصوب
بها ورابع عشرها مفعولا ظننت واخواتها وهذا ساقط في غالب نسخ المتن

15.07 (7) the excepted element,[1] e.g. *qāma l-qawmu 'illā zaydan* 'the people stood except Zayd', where *'illā* 'except' makes *zaydan* 'Zayd' dependent by exception;

15.08 (8) the noun negated by *lā* 'no',[1] e.g. *lā ġulāma safarin ḥāḍirun* 'no boy for the journey is present', where *ġulāma* 'boy' is negated by *lā* 'no' and made dependent by it;

15.09 (9) the vocative,[1] e.g. *yā ᶜabda llāhi* 'O ᶜAbdullāh!', where *ᶜabda llāhi* 'ᶜAbdullāh' is made dependent by being called;

15.10 (10) the object of reason,[1] e.g. *qāma zaydun 'ijlālan li-bakrin* 'Zayd stood in honour of Bakr', where *qāma* 'to stand' makes *'ijlālan* 'act of honouring'[2] dependent as an object of reason;

15.11 (11) the object of accompaniment,[1] e.g. *sirtu wa-n-nīla* 'I travelled with the Nile', where *an-nīla* 'the Nile' is made dependent as an object of accompaniment;

15.12 (12) the predicate of *kāna* 'to be' and its related verbs,[1] e.g. *kāna zaydun qā'iman* 'Zayd was standing', where *qā'iman* 'standing' is a predicate of *kāna* 'to be' and made dependent by it.

15.13 (13) the subject-noun of *'inna* 'verily'[1] and its related particles, e.g. *'inna zaydan qā'imun* 'verily Zayd is standing', where *zaydan* 'Zayd' is the subject-noun of *'inna* 'verily' and made dependent by it;

15.14 (14) the two objects of *ẓanantu* 'I thought'[1] and its related verbs, (this is omitted from most manuscripts of the basic text, but is

reinforce the impression of a favourite sentence pattern, viz. Verb — Agent (independent, indispensable) — Qualifier (dependent, dispensable). Structural confirmation is that the verb and pronoun agent are morphologically a single word (7.5 et seq.), and so *ṣumtu*, for example, is already a complete utterance, 'I fasted', whether qualified (e.g. by *al-yawma* 'today') or not. See further 19.1 n 1, 19.25 n 1.

15.07 (1) *al-mustaṯnā*, see ch. 21, esp. 21.0. Since not every noun becomes dependent in the exceptive construction (cf. 21.2, 21.3) this must be taken as a pedagogical generalization.

15.08 (1) *ism lā*, lit. 'the noun of *lā*' (note how *lā* here, and the items in 15.12-14, become nouns in the metalanguage, cf. 1.6 n 5), see ch. 22. Because of disagreement about the status of the *a* ending on single nouns negated by *lā* (22.12), and because there are other possible endings with the single noun (22.3 et seq.), the example chosen here is an annexation unit, which always has dependent form after *lā* (22.11). See 26.71 on this kind of annexation unit.

15.09 (1) *al-munādā*, lit. 'the person called', see ch. 23, esp. 23.0. The annexed unit is here chosen as the example because it always has dependent form in the vocative construction, whereas single nouns end normally in *u*, variously interpreted as an implicit dependent form or not an inflection at all (even though it is formally identical with the independent ending!), cf. 23.41.

15.10 (1) *al-maf*ᶜ*ūl min 'ajlih*, lit. 'that for the sake of which it is done', also called *al-maf*ᶜ*ūl lah*, 'that for which it is done', see ch. 24, esp. 24.0, 24.1.

(2) Note that the verbal noun *'ijlālan*, lit. 'out of honouring' cannot form an objective annexation with Bakr (see 24.31 n 1), hence the paraphrase with *li*, scil. 'out of honouring for Bakr'.

15.11 (1) *al-maf*ᶜ*ūl ma*ᶜ*ah*, lit. 'that with which it is done', see ch. 25, esp. 25.0, 25.1.

15.12 (1) *ḵabar kāna wa-'aḵawātihā*, lit. 'the information of *kāna* and its sisters' (cf. 6.4 n 2 on the anthropomorphism 'sisters' here and in the next two paragraphs). See 10.1 (summary presentation 25.61). In the light of 15.05 n 1 the example here could well be translated 'Zayd existed, as a standing person', since *kāna zaydun* 'Zayd existed' is a possible (though not common) complete sentence, cf. 10.11 n 3.

15.13 (1) *ism 'inna wa-'aḵawātihā*, lit. 'the noun of *'inna* and its sisters', q.v. in 10.4-55 (summary presentation 25.61). The operation of *'inna* is ascribed to its resemblance to a verb (see 10.401), which is certainly compatible with the probable origins of this particle, the demonstrative base *n* (cf. Fleisch 145, 168), giving a meaning roughly equivalent to 'lo!', i.e. 'look!'.

15.14 (1) *maf*ᶜ*ulā ẓanantu wa-'aḵawātihā*, lit. 'the two objects of *ẓanantu* and its sisters', already dealt with in 10.6-8 (summarized in 25.61). Perhaps because the 'objects' of this verb are a statement

وثابت في بعضها نحو ظننت زيدا قائما فزيدا وقائما منصوبان على انهما مفعولا ظننت وخامس عشرها التابع للمنصوب وهو اربعة اشياء : كما مر في المرفوعات النعت نحو رأيت زيدا العاقل والعطف نحو رأيت زيدا وعمرا والتوكيد نحو رأيت القوم كلهم والبدل نحو رأيت زيدا اخاك فهذه التوابع الاربعة منصوبات على انها تابعة لما قبلها في اعرابه ولما فرغ من ذكرها على سبيل الاجمال شرع(51b) في ذكرها على سبيل التفصيل فذكر لكل منها بابا على الترتيب المتقدم وبدأ منها ببيان المفعول به فقال

باب المفعول به وقدمه على غيره لان غير البصريين لا يسمي مفعولا الا المفعول به خاصة ويقول في غيره مشبه بالمفعول قاله ابن هشام في حواشيه المفعول به هو الاسم المنصوب الذي يقع به اي عليه الفعل الصادر من الفاعل نحو ضربت زيدا

preserved in some),[2] e.g. *ẓanantu zaydan qā'iman* 'I thought Zayd was standing', where *zaydan* 'Zayd' and *qā'iman* 'standing' are both made dependent as the two objects of *ẓanantu* 'I thought';

15.15 (15) and the concordant of a dependent element, which comprises four things: (which have already been dealt with above under the independent forms of nouns), viz. the adjective,[1] e.g. *ra'aytu zaydan il-ᶜāqila* 'I saw Zayd the intelligent', the coordinated element,[2] e.g. *ra'aytu zaydan wa-ᶜamran* 'I saw Zayd and ᶜAmr', the corroborative,[3] e.g. *ra'aytu l-qawma kullahum* 'I saw the people, all of them', and the substitute,[4] e.g. *ra'aytu zaydan 'akāka* 'I saw Zayd your brother'. All four of these are made dependent by being concordant with the inflection of their antecedent.[5] After this summary presentation, the author now turns *(51b)* to them in detail, dealing with each one in a separate chapter in the same order as above, beginning with an explanation of the direct object.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

16.0 Chapter on the direct object.[1] This is given first place by the author because (except by the Baṣrans) the term 'object' is specifically applied to the direct object alone, the others being spoken of as 'quasi-objects', according to Ibn Hišām in his marginal commentaries.[2]

16.1 The direct object is the dependent noun to which (i.e. upon which) the action of the verb happens,[1] (i.e. the action originating from the agent),[2] e.g. *ḍarabtu zaydan* 'I struck Zayd', where *zaydan* 'Zayd' is a

the operating verb (*ẓanantu*, cf. 10.61 n 1) is often quoted in its 1st sing. past tense form (see 10.61 n 1).

(2) Only by including *ẓanantu* and by counting all four concordants as one (15.15) can we arrive at the total of fifteen dependent elements which Ibn Ājurrūm himself has promised in 15.0. Nevertheless *ẓanantu* is missing from the version commented on by al-Azharī (*Āj*. 80, whence aš-Širbīnī has it), who also adds the 'Ḥijāzī *mā*' (q.v. 5.84 n 3).

15.15 (1) See ch. 11 on adjectives and concordance; on the juncture feature in *zaydan il-*^{c}*āqila* see 11.1 n 2. Summary presentation 25.61.

(2) See ch. 12 on coordination. Summary 25.61.

(3) See ch. 13 on corroboration. Summary 25.61.

(4) See ch. 14 on substitution, summary 25.61. On *a* as dependence marker see 3.61.

(5) This is disputed: an element is either made dependent by a formal operator, which in these cases must be the operator which makes their antecedent dependent, or by an abstract operator (which is what our author implies here), namely concordance itself, see further 1.31 n 4.

16.0 (1) *Jum*. 23, 39, 44; *Muf*. #44; *Alf*. v 267; *Qaṭr* 218; Beeston 87; Fleisch 178; Bateson 45; Yushmanov 64. Terminology: *fi*^{c}*l* 'verb, act' (see 16.1 n 1); *fā*^{c}*il* 'agent, doer' (7.01 n 1); *maf*^{c}*ūl bih* 'direct object', lit. 'that which it is done to', generally abbreviated to *maf*^{c}*ūl*; *mušabbah bi-l-maf*^{c}*ūl* 'object-like, quasi-object', see n 2.

(2) By 'quasi-object' is meant the predicate of *kāna* etc., see 10.1, and 16.309 n 1 on transitivity in general. For 'Baṣrans' see 9.4 n 3, and 1.02 n 1 on Ibn Hišām. The reference to his 'marginal commentaries' is based on al-Azharī, *Taṣr*. I, 183 (and cf. I, 308).

16.1 (1) The Arabic reads *yaqa*^{c}*u bihi l-fi*^{c}*lu*, lit. 'the act falls upon him, befalls him', and 'action of the verb' is merely an attempt to combine in translation the two distinct meanings of *fi*^{c}*l*: it may denote a grammatical category or a real action (cf. Versteegh 70; both Greek and Indian origins have been suggested for the terminology, v. Versteegh 72 n 10, but no proofs are offered). Cf. *E.I.* (2), 'Fi^{c}l'.

(2) 'Originating from the agent' is lit. for *ṣādir min al-fā*^{c}*il* (cf. *maṣdar*, 24.21, cognate with *ṣādir*), and *fi*^{c}*l* in this context can hardly mean anything but 'action'.

فزيدا مفعول به لانه وقع عليه الضرب الصادر من الفاعل وركبت الفرس فالفرس
مفعول به لانه وقع عليه الفعل وهو الركوب والمراد بوقوع الفعل تعلقه به من غير
واسطة بحيث لا يعقل الا به فيشمل ما ضربت زيدا ولا تضرب عمرا وخرج بما
وقع عليه بقية المفاعيل لان المفعول معه وقع معه لا عليه والمفعول فيه وقع فيه
لا عليه والمفعول المطلق هو نفس فعل الفاعل والمفعول له وقع لاجله وهذا التعريف
بالرسم تقريبا على المبتدئ وهو اي المفعول به قسمان قسم ظاهر وقسم مضمر
فالظاهر ما تقدم ذكره اي هو زيد والفرس وتقدم اعرابهما والمضمر قسمان متصل
ومنفصل فالمتصل هو الذي لا يتقدم على عامله ولا يفصل بينه وبين عامله بالا
وهو اثنا عشر ضميرا الاول ضمير المتكلم وحده وهو الياء نحو ضربني زيد فضرب
فعل ماض والنون للوقاية تقي الفعل من الكسرة والياء مفعول به في محل نصب
بضرب وزيد فاعل مرفوع بضرب وعلامة رفعه الضمة والثاني ضمير المتكلم

direct object because the blow originating from the agent falls upon him, and similarly *rakibtu l-farasa* 'I rode the horse'. Here *al-farasa* 'the horse' is a direct object because the action of the verb, i.e. riding, happens to it.[3]

16.11 By the happening of the action of the verb is meant that it is semantically connected to the object without intermediary, in such a way that it alone can be conceived of as the object.[1] This comprises, for example, *mā ḍarabtu zaydan* 'I did not strike Zayd' and *lā taḍrib ᶜamran* 'do not strike ᶜAmr!'. But 'that to which the action of the verb happens' excludes all other objects:[2] in the object of accompaniment the action happens with it, not to it; in the object of location the action happens in it, not to it; the absolute object is itself the same as the action of the verb, while in the object of reason the action happens for that reason. The definition given above is purely formal, to make it easier for the beginner.[3]

16.2 It (i.e. the direct object) is of two kinds:[1] one overt and one pronominal. The overt kind is the one already illustrated (viz. *zaydan* 'Zayd' and *al-farasa* 'the horse', whose parsing has been given above),[2] and the pronominal is of two kinds, bound and free.[3]

16.3 The bound kind (i.e. the one which never precedes its operator, nor can it ever be separated from its operator by *'illā* 'except')[1] comprises twelve pronouns:

16.301 (1) the pronoun of the first person singular, namely *ī* 'me',[1] as in, for example, *ḍarabanī zaydun* 'Zayd struck me', where *ḍaraba* 'struck' is a past tense verb, the *n* is preservative (i.e. to protect the verb from ending in *i*), *ī* 'me' is a direct object with dependent status through *ḍaraba* 'struck', and *zaydun* 'Zayd' is an agent made independent by *ḍaraba*, with *u* as its independence marker.

(3) The 'Kūfans' (9.4 n 3) argue (*Inṣāf,* prob. 11) that both verb and agent together make the direct object dependent, because neither can exist without the other. Against this the 'Baṣrans' claim that a noun cannot have a physical effect (*ta'ṯīr fī-l-*^{c}*amal*) on a thing, and so only the verb is the operator (exploiting ambiguity of *fi*^{c}*l*!).

16.11 (1) See 5.82 n 6 on *muta*^{c}*alliq* 'semantically connected', and cf. 16.309 n 1 on transitivity. The inclusion of direct objects where no event occurs, because negated or prohibited, is a refinement which Ibn Hišām attributes to Ibn al-Ḥājib (*Qaṭr* 219, and cf. also *Qaṭr* 181 for the agent with no 'act').

(2) On similar grounds Köbert, *Orientalia* NS 29, 328, makes the very reasonable observation that 'object' is thoroughly unsuitable as a translation of *maf*^{c}*ūl* except in the specific case of the *maf*^{c}*ūl bih*, but his alternative, 'Akkusativ' seems equally arbitrary (cf. 3.5 n 1). We retain 'object' for reasons of symmetry, v. 17.53 n 1.

(3) 'Formal' here is unusually expressed by *bi-r-rasmi*, elsewhere used specifically for 'written form' (viz. 1.4, end), and the comment is taken from al-Azharī, *Āj.* 80. It must refer to the fact that the direct object is the noun *spelt* with dep. form etc. (contrast 17.1, definition of verbal noun in mnemonic terms).

16.2 (1) Direct objects are subdivided by dichotomous classification (1.2 n 2) into the same formal classes as the agent, cf. 7.2.

(2) See 16.1; for completeness, aš-Širbīnī could have added 'with *a* as their dependence marker', cf. 3.51, 4.11.

(3) See 11.715 on bound pronouns. With one exception (16.301) the bound object pronouns are identical with the bound possessive pronouns, paradigm 4.72 n 2 and see further 16.308.

16.3 (1) This is the same definition as has previously been given for the bound agent pronoun, q.v. 7.5; for 'operator' ^{c}*āmil* see 2.11 n 1. Note that, being a suffix, the direct object pronoun precedes any overt agent (and cf. 7.9 n 1).

16.301 (1) As presented here, in the form *ī*, the 1st sing. object suffix is identical with the corresponding possessive suffix *ī* 'my' (q.v. 3.421 n 3), and the *n* is not regarded as part of the pronoun. Instead it has (so the Arabs claim) the function of preserving the final short vowel of the verb, thus retaining the contrast between *ḍarabanī* here and *ḍarabī* 'my wild honey', for example. The argument is not entirely satisfactory, particularly because the alternation *ī/nī* is present in all Semitic languages with or without inflections to preserve (see 3.96 n 1 on possible origins of *nūn al-wiqāya* 'the *n* of preservation'). The Arab case might have been stronger if they had argued that *n* was necessary to preserve the mood inflections of the imperfect tense verb. Conversely *nī* remains even when there are no vowels to preserve (e.g. apoc. *yarḥamnī* 'he might have mercy on me'), though this could be naturally generalized from *ḍarabanī*.

ومعه غيره او المعظم نفسه وهو النون في نحو ضربنا عمرو فضرب بفتح الضاد فعل
ماض والنون مفعول(52a)به في محل نصب بضرب وعمرو فاعل مرفوع بضرب وعلامة
رفعه الضمة والثالث ضمير المخاطب وهو الكاف في نحو ضربك بكر فضرب بفتح الضاد
فعل ماض والكاف مفعول به في محل نصب بضرب وبكر فاعل مرفوع بضرب وعلامة
رفعه الضمة والرابع ضمير المخاطبة المؤنثة وهو الكاف في نحو ضربك محمد فضرب
بفتح الضاد فعل ماض والكاف مفعول به في محل نصب بضرب ومحمد فاعل مرفوع
بضرب وعلامة رفعه الضمة والخامس ضمير المخاطبين والمخاطبتين وهو الكاف في نحو
ضربكما خالد فضرب بفتح الضاد فعل ماض والكاف المضمومة مفعول به في محل نصب
بضرب والميم والالف علامة التثنية وخالد فاعل مرفوع بضرب وعلامة رفعه الضمة
والسادس الضمير لجمع المخاطبين المذكرين وهو الكاف في نحو ضربكم سالم فضرب بفتح
الضاد فعل ماض والكاف مفعول به في محل نصب بضرب والميم علامة لجمع المذكر

16.302 (2) the pronoun of the first person plural and plural of self-magnification,[1] namely *nā* 'us', as in *ḍarabanā ᶜamrun* 'ᶜAmr struck us', where *ḍaraba* 'struck' (with *a* after the *ḍ*)[2] is a past tense verb, *nā* 'us' is a direct object *(52a)* with dependent status through *ḍaraba* 'struck',[3] and *ᶜamrun* 'ᶜAmr' is an agent made independent by *ḍaraba* with *u* as its independence marker;

16.303 (3) the pronoun of the second person masculine singular, namely *ka* 'you', as in *ḍarabaka bakrun* 'Bakr struck you',[1] where *ḍaraba* 'struck' (with *a* after the *ḍ*) is a past tense verb, *ka* 'you' is a direct object with dependent status through *ḍaraba* 'struck', and *bakrun* 'Bakr' is an agent made independent by *ḍaraba* with *u* as its independence marker;[2]

16.304 (4) the pronoun of the second person feminine singular, namely *ki* 'you', as in *ḍarabaki muḥammadun* 'Muḥammad struck you', where *ḍaraba* 'struck' (with *a* after the *ḍ*) is a past tense verb,[1] *ki* 'you' (with *i* after the *k*) is a direct object with dependent status through *ḍaraba* 'struck', and *muḥammadun* 'Muḥammad' is an agent made independent by *ḍaraba* with *u* as its independence marker;

16.305 (5) the pronoun of the second person dual, whether masculine or feminine, namely *kumā* 'you two',[1] as in *ḍarabakumā ḵālidun* 'Ḵālid struck you two', where *ḍaraba* 'struck' (with *a* after the *ḍ*) is a past tense verb, *ku* '*you' (with *u* after the *k*) is a direct object with dependent status through *ḍaraba* 'struck', *mā* is the marker of the dual, and *ḵālidun* 'Ḵālid' is an agent made independent by *ḍaraba* with *u* as its independence marker;

16.306 (6) the pronoun of the second person masculine plural, namely *kum* 'you', as in *ḍarabakum sālimun* 'Sālim struck you', where *ḍaraba* 'struck' (with *a* after the *ḍ*) is a past tense verb,[1] *ku* '*you' is a direct object with dependent status through *ḍaraba* 'struck', *m* is the marker of the masculine plural, and *sālimun* 'Sālim' is an agent made independent by *ḍaraba* with *u* as its independence marker;

16.302 (1) See 7.52 n 1 on *al-mu*^{c}*aẓẓim li-nafsih* 'he who exalts himself'.

(2) The spelling instruction (3.44 n 2) distinguishes the active from the passive: with *u* in the first syllable *ḍ-r-b-n-ā* would be read automatically as *ḍuribnā* 'we were struck' (8.62).

(3) For the same reasons as in 7.51 n 1, the verb will be translated as if it were a past stem but transliterated in the form in which it is quoted in the text (on which see 3.52 n 3).

16.303 (1) As if to demonstrate his independence from al-Azharī, *Āj.* 80-81, from which almost the entire contents of this chapter have been copied, aš-Širbīnī provides almost every verb with a different proper name as agent, while al-Azharī makes do with our old friends Zayd (7 times) and ^{c}Amr (5 times)!

(2) It will be observed that suffixation of an object pronoun appears to disturb the sequence Verb-Agent-Complement (cf. 7.9 n 1), but it can be argued that *ḍarabaka* 'he struck you', with concealed agent pronoun (7.58 n 1) already fulfils the conditions, and that *bakrun* etc. simply restate the agent more specifically.

16.304 (1) All the examples are of the 3rd sing. masc. past tense: see 16.505 n 1 for other combinations. Only 3rd weak radical verbs present any problems, and then only in the 3rd sing. masc., where the long vowel is retained but respelt with *'alif* (2.43 n 2), thus *ra'ā* 'he saw' (spelt *ra'ay*, same orthography as *yaḵšā* = *yaḵšay*, 3.92 n 2) with object suffixes becomes *ra'ānī* 'he saw me', *ra'āhu* 'he saw him' etc. (the difference is not apparent in transliteration!). Verbs whose 3rd weak rad. is already spelt with *'alif*, e.g. *da*^{c}*ā* (10.14 n 2) do not change, thus *da*^{c}*āhu* 'he called him' etc., and verbs of the type *laqiya* (ibid.) are in this respect quite regular: *laqiyahu* 'he met him' etc. See 16.308 n 1 for suffixation to imperfect tenses.

16.305 (1) The segmentation problems here are the same as for the agent pronoun suffixes, q.v. 7.53-57, except that the 2nd person morpheme is here called *al-kāf* 'the *k*', and further differentiated by naming its accompanying vowel. For the sing. *ka* and *ki* a translation 'you' is accurate enough, but *ku* can only be labelled temporarily as '*you'; in 16.503-507 a different solution is found: because the Arabs do not regard the suffixes there as pronouns, no translation is offered at all.

16.306 (1) Since aš-Širbīnī does not give us examples of object pronouns suffixed to imperfect tense verbs, here is a typical paradigm, using *ḍaraba* 'to strike' with the 3rd masc. sing. suffix *hu* 'him':

	sing.	dual	plur.
1st	*'aḍribuhu*		*naḍribuhu*
2nd masc.	*taḍribuhu*	*taḍribānihi*	*taḍribūnahu*
fem.	*taḍribīnahu*		*taḍribnahu*
3rd masc.	*yaḍribuhu*	*yaḍribānihi*	*yaḍribūnahu*
fem.	*taḍribuhu*	*taḍribānihi*	*yaḍribnahu*

وسالم فاعل مرفوع بضرب وعلامة رفعه الضمة والسابع الضمير لجمع المخاطبات
المؤنثات وهو الكاف المضمومة في نحو ضربكن زيد فضرب بفتح الضاد فعل ماض
والكاف مفعول به في محل نصب بضرب والنون علامة لجمع النسوة وزيد فاعل مرفوع
بضرب وعلامة رفعه الضمة والثامن الضمير للواحد المذكر الغائب وهو الهاء في نحو
ضربه بكر فضرب بفتح الضاد فعل ماض والهاء مفعول به في محل نصب بضرب وبكر
فاعل مرفوع بضرب وعلامة رفعه الضمة والتاسع الضمير للواحدة المؤنثة الغائبة وهو
الهاء في نحو ضربها خالد فضرب بفتح الضاد فعل ماض والهاء مفعول به في محل
نصب بضرب وخالد فاعل مرفوع بضرب وعلامة رفعه الضمة والعاشر الضمير للمثنى
الغائب والغائبة وهو الهاء في نحو ضربهما قاسم فضرب بفتح الضاد فعل ماض
والهاء مفعول به في محل نصب بضرب والميم والالف علامة التثنية وقاسم فاعل

16.307 (7) the pronoun of the second person feminine plural, namely *kunna* 'you' (with *u* after the *k*),[1] as in *ḍarabakunna zaydun* 'Zayd struck you', where *ḍaraba* 'struck' (with *a* after the *ḍ*) is a past tense verb,[2] *ku* '*you' is a direct object with dependent status through *ḍaraba* 'struck', *nna* is the marker of the feminine plural, and *zaydun* 'Zayd' is an agent made independent by *ḍaraba* with *u* as its independence marker;

16.308 (8) the pronoun of the third person masculine singular, namely *hu* 'him', as in *ḍarabahu bakrun* 'Bakr struck him', where *ḍaraba* 'struck' (with *a* after the *ḍ*) is a past tense verb,[1] *hu* 'him' is a direct object with dependent status through *ḍaraba* 'struck', and *bakrun* 'Bakr' is an agent made independent by *ḍaraba* with *u* as its independence marker;

16.309 (9) the pronoun of the third person feminine singular, namely *hā* 'her', as in *ḍarabahā k̲ālidun* 'K̲ālid struck her', where *ḍaraba* 'struck' (with *a* after the *ḍ*) is a past tense verb, *hā* 'her' is a direct object[1] with dependent status through *ḍaraba* 'struck', and *k̲ālidun* 'K̲ālid' is an agent made independent by *ḍaraba* with *u* as its independence marker;

16.310 (10) the pronoun of the third person masculine and feminine dual, namely *humā* 'them both', as in *ḍarabahumā qāsimun* 'Qāsim struck them both', where *ḍaraba* 'struck' (with *a* after the *ḍ*) is a past tense verb, *hu* '*them' is a direct object[1] with dependent status through *ḍaraba* 'struck', *mā* is the marker of the dual, and *qāsimun* 'Qāsim' is an agent made independent by *ḍaraba* with *u* as its independence marker. *(52b)*

Suffix *hu* was chosen because, like *humā*, *hum* and *hunna*, it shows vowel harmony when preceded by *i* or *y* (13.9 n 9), contrast *taḍribānikum* etc. See 16.307 n 2 for dep. and apoc. verbs with suffixes, 16.308 n 1 for suffixes on 3rd weak rad. verbs, imperfect tense.

16.307 (1) There is no justification for this spelling instruction (which is not in al-Azharī, *Āj.* 80), as the *u* is non-phonemic (like that of *tum* etc., it is arbitrary, 7.56 n 2), nor is there any alternation *kunna/kinna* as in the 3rd person (13.9 n 9).

(2) Further to 16.306 n 1, here the paradigm of the dep. form of the verb *ḍaraba* 'to strike', with the object suffix *hu* 'him':

	sing.	dual	plur.
1st	*'aḍribahu*		*naḍribahu*
2nd masc.	*taḍribahu*	*taḍribāhu*	*taḍribūhu*
fem.	*taḍribīhi*		*taḍribnahu*
3rd masc.	*yaḍribahu*	*yaḍribāhu*	*yaḍribūhu*
fem.	*taḍribahu*	*taḍribāhu*	*yaḍribnahu*

Observe that this time only the 2nd fem. sing. shows vowel harmony. Apoc. forms *'aḍribhu, taḍribhu taḍribīhi* etc. 3rd weak rad. verbs at 16.308 n 1.

16.308 (1) 3rd weak rad. verbs, imperfect tense with suffixes: (a) if the final vowel is *ī* (*yarmī*, 4.81 n 2) or *i* (*yarmi*, 3.92 n 1) complete vowel harmony prevails: *yarmīhi, yarmihi;* (b) final vowel *ā* (*yaḵšā*, for *yaḵšay*, 3.92 n 2) is respelt *ā* (as with *ra'ā*, 16.304 n 1), e.g. *yaḵšānī, yaḵšāhu,* otherwise regular, e.g. *taḵšayānihi* etc., but note dep./apoc. 2nd fem. sing. *taḵšayhi* with vowel harmony (other dep./apoc. forms regular, e.g. *yaḵšāhu, yaḵšawhu,* and note feminine plurals *ta/yaḵšaynahu*); (c) final *ū* (*yaġzū*, 4.81 n 2) or *u* (cf. 3.92 n 1) are regular, e.g. *yaġzūhu, yaġzuhu, yaġzuwānihi*, but note 2nd. fem. sing. dep./apoc. *taġzīhi;* (d) dep. forms in *iya* or *uwa* (4.82 n 1) are regular, e.g. *yarmiyahu, yaġzuwahu.*

16.309 (1) Transitivity: verbs are (a) intransitive, *lāzim,* lit. 'adhering' to their agent (a logical borrowing absent from the earliest grammar, denoting that the action inheres in the agent), or (b) transitive, *mutaᶜaddī*, lit. 'going across'. A link with *metabasis* is not impossible (cf. Versteegh 82), but more clarity is needed over Sibawayhi's use of this concept (cf. Levin in *Studia Orientalia memoriae D. H. Baneth dedicata,* Jerusalem 1979, 193). Intransitive verbs include those operating via a preposition (the 'intermediary', *wāsiṭa,* of 16.11), but all verbs, including passives, operate on objects other than the direct object (cf. 17.53, 19.25, 24.4). *Jum.* 39, 44; *Muf.* #432; *Alf.* v 267; Beeston 87; cf. Yushmanov 50.

16.310 (1) Verbs may be doubly transitive (*mutaᶜaddī 'ilā mafᶜūlayn* 'going across to two objects'), in various ways: (a) by having as their objects a proposition (see 10.6), (b) as causatives, e.g. *ᶜallamtuhu n-naḥwa* 'I taught him grammar' (lit. 'made him know', causative of *ᶜalima* 'to know'), *'araytuhu l-kitāba* 'I showed him the book' ('made

مرفوع بضرب وعلامة رفعه الضمة (52b) والحادي عشر الضمير لجمع المذكرين وهو الهاء في نحو ضربهم عامر فضرب بفتح الضاد فعل ماض والهاء مفعول به في محل نصب بضرب وعامر فاعل مرفوع بضرب وعلامة رفعه الضمة والميم علامة لجمع الذكور والثاني عشر الضمير لجمع المؤنثات الغائبات وهو الهاء في نحو ضربهن صالح فضرب بفتح الضاد فعل ماض والهاء مفعول به في محل نصب بضرب والنون علامة لجمع النسوة وصالح فاعل مرفوع بضرب وعلامة رفعه الضمة فهذه الاثنا عشر ضميرا كلها في محل نصب لا يظهر فيها ٢اعراب كما تقرر لانها مبنية وانما كررت اعرابها ليتمرن المبتدئ على ذلك والامور بمقاصدها فربما يطلع على ذلك بعض المتعنتين فيقول ما هذا الغث السمين ولما فرغ من المفعول الضمير المتصل بعامله شرع في الضمير المنفصل عن عامله وهو الذي يتقدم على عامله ويقع بعد الا او ما في معناها فقال والمنفصل اثنا عشر ضميرا الاول ضمير المتكلم وحده نحو قولك اياي اكرمت فايا مفعول به مقدم منفصل عن الفعل في محل نصب باكرم

16.311 (11) the pronoun of the third person masculine plural, namely *hum* 'them', as in *ḍarabahum* *ᶜāmirun* 'ᶜĀmir struck them', where *ḍaraba* 'struck' (with *a* after the *ḍ*) is a past tense verb, *hu* '*them' is a direct object[1] with dependent status through *ḍaraba* 'struck', *ᶜāmirun* 'ᶜĀmir' is an agent made independent by *ḍaraba* 'struck' with *u* as its independence marker, and *m* is the marker of the masculine plural;

16.312 (12) the pronoun of the third person feminine plural, namely *hunna* 'them', as in *ḍarabahunna* *ṣāliḥun* 'Ṣāliḥ struck them', where *ḍaraba* 'struck' (with *a* after the *ḍ*) is a past tense verb, *hu* '*them' is a direct object[1] with dependent status through *ḍaraba* 'struck', *nna* is the marker of the feminine plural,[2] and *ṣāliḥun* 'Ṣāliḥ' is an agent made independent by *ḍaraba* with *u* as its independence marker.

16.4 These twelve pronouns all have dependent status without exhibiting inflection (as already established) because they are invariable.[1] I have repeated their parsing simply to exercise the beginner in it: things must be judged by their purposes, but probably some carping critic will come across this and exclaim, 'What is this hotchpotch!?'.[2]

16.5 Having finished with the direct object pronoun which is bound to its operator, the author now turns to the pronoun which is free from its operator, i.e. the one which may precede its operator or occur after *'illā* 'except' or its synonyms;[1] and the free pronoun comprises twelve also:[2]

16.501 (1) the pronoun of the first person singular, e.g. when you say *'iyyāya* *'akramtu* 'me I have honoured', where *'iyyā* is a preposed direct object,[1] free from the verb, and with dependent status through *'akrama*

him see'), (c) by not distinguishing direct and indirect objects, e.g. *saraqtuhu l-farasa* 'I stole the horse from him'. Types (a) and (b) can combine to form trebly transitive structures, e.g. *'a^c lamtuhu zaydan nā'iman* 'I informed him that Zayd was sleeping' (cf. 10.66).

16.311 (1) The occurrence of dependent forms in isolation (a modern survival is *'ahlan wa-sahlan* 'welcome') led naturally to the assumption that they were operated upon by elided verbs. Many cases were treated not as direct objects but as other dependent qualifiers, e.g. the absolute object (v. 17.7) and the circumstantial qualifier (v. 19.8), while for the space/time qualifier in non-verbal sentences a verbal operator is assumed in the underlying form (9.74). Two prominent examples of direct objects with implicit operators are the vocative (ch. 23, and cf. 16.6 n 2), and dep. adjectives in suspended concord (11.6). Generally the analysis revolves around two problems: what is the class of object (direct, absolute etc.) and is the elision of the verb compulsory or optional. See *Jum.* 295; *Muf.* #60; 16.503 n 1.

16.312 (1) Direct objects may also be operated upon by the verbal noun (*maṣdar*, 17.0) and agent noun (*ism al-fā^c il*, cf. 10.34 n 1), e.g. *lawlā daf^c u llāhi n-nāsa* 'were it not for God's holding back the people' (v. 7.11), with *an-nāsa* as direct object of the verbal noun *daf^c u* 'holding back', *ḏikrī 'iyyāki* 'my thinking of you' (24.54, with free object pronoun, 16.504), *yā ṭāli^c an jabalan* 'O climber of a mountain' (23.45). Cf. 24.31 n 1 on paraphrases by means of subjective or objective genitive. The dep. form with agent nouns is held to imply the same meaning as the imperfect tense (thus *'anā qātilun ġulāmaka* means 'I am going to kill your slave-boy', *'aqtulu ġulāmaka*), while annexation gives the noun adjectival meaning (*'anā qātilu ġulāmika* 'I am the one who killed your slave-boy'). *Jum.* 95; *Muf.* #345; Nöldeke 75; 16.512 n 1.

(2) The text has *an-nūn...li-jam^c an-niswa* 'the *n* is for the fem. plur.' (also in 7.57, 7.62, 16.307), and in view of the historical difficulties (7.57 n 1) it is transcribed exactly as realized, either *nna* or *na* as required. Cf. also 3.241 n 1.

16.4 (1) See 5.81 n 3 on 'status', *maḥall*, and observe that here, too the notion of status is closely tied to the fact of invariability, *binā'*, q.v. 1.41 n 4.

(2) 'Hotchpotch' renders the oxymoron *al-ġaṯṯu s-samīnu*, lit. 'thin meat, fat meat', an echo of the cliché *fī-l-kalāmi l-ġaṯṯu wa-s-samīnu* 'speech can be thin or meaty' (Lane, s.v. *ġaṯṯ*, and cf. Ibn Ḵaldūn, *Muqaddima*, ed. Beirut 1967, I, 786).

16.5 (1) Here are some genuine examples to make up for the wholly artificial series to follow: S. 1 v 5, *'iyyāka na^c budu wa''iyyāka nasta^c īnu* 'Thee we worship and Thee we call upon for help'; S. 17 v 67, *man tad^c ūna 'illā 'iyyāhu* 'those whom you call upon except him'.

(2) See 11.716, 717, 719 also. Origins of *'iyyā* 16.508 n 1.

16.501 (1) It is tempting to expect the object suffix of the 1st person sing. to be *nī* (16.301), but instead we find *ya*, evidently the

لا يظهر فيه اعراب لانه ضمير والياء حرف تكلم واكرمت فعل وفاعل والثاني
ضمير المتكلم ومعه غيره او المعظم نفسه وهو ايا في نحو ايانا اكرمت فايا
مفعول به مقدم منفصل عن الفعل في محل نصب باكرم لا يظهر فيه اعراب لانه
ضمير والنون المتصلة بها علامة لجمع المتكلم مع المشاركة او التعظيم واكرمت اعرابه
ما مر والثالث ضمير المفرد المذكر المخاطب وهو ايا في نحو اياك اكرمت فايا
مفعول به مقدم منفصل عن الفعل في محل نصب باكرم والكاف (53a) المتصلة به حرف
خطاب واكرمت اعرابه ما مر والرابع ضمير المؤنثة المخاطبة وهو ايا في نحو
اياك اكرمت فايا مفعول به مقدم منفصل عن الفعل في محل نصب باكرمت والكاف
المكسورة المتصلة حرف خطاب واعراب اكرمت ما مر والخامس ضمير مثنى المخاطب
مذكرا كان او مؤنثا وهو ايا في نحو اياكما اكرمت واعراب ايا ما مر والكاف

'to honour', not exhibiting inflection because it is a pronoun. The *ya* is a particle denoting the first person singular,[2] and *'akramtu* 'I honoured' is a verb and agent;

16.502 (2) the pronoun of the first person plural or plural of self-magnification, namely *'iyyā*, as in *'iyyānā* *'akramtu* 'us I have honoured', where *'iyyā* is a preposed direct object,[1] free from the verb, and with dependent status through *'akrama* 'to honour', not exhibiting inflection because it is a pronoun. The suffixed *nā* is a marker of the first person plural or plural of self-magnification,[2] and *'akramtu* 'I honoured' is parsed as before;

16.503 (3) the pronoun of the second person masculine singular, namely *'iyyā*, as in *'iyyāka* *'akramtu* 'you I have honoured', where *'iyyā* is a preposed direct object, free from the verb, and with dependent status through *'akrama* 'to honour'. The suffixed *(53a)* *ka* is a particle denoting the second person,[1] and *'akramtu* 'I honoured' is parsed as before;

16.504 (4) the pronoun of the second person feminine singular,[1] namely *'iyyā*, as in *'iyyāki* *'akramtu* 'you I have honoured', where *'iyyā* is a preposed direct object, free from the verb, and with dependent status through *'akrama* 'to honour'. The *ki* (with *i* after the *k*) suffixed to *'iyyā* is a particle of the second person,[2] and *'akramtu* 'I honoured' is parsed as before;

16.505 (5) the pronoun of the second person dual, whether masculine or feminine, namely *'iyyā*, as in *'iyyākumā* *'akramtu* 'you two I have honoured', where the parsing of *'iyyā* is as before. The *ku*[1] denotes the

same as the possessive suffix allomorph *ya* (see next note). This is consistent, however, with the Arab view that the *n* of *nī* is not part of the pronoun (cf. 16/301 n 1), as well as with their (intuitive?) realization that *'iyyā* is certainly not a verb (see 16.504 n 2). For Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.* 281, *Synt. Verh.* 394, there is no question that the elements suffixed to *'iyyā* are possessive ('genitive') pronouns.

(2) After long vowels and diphthongs the possessive suffix *ī* 'my' is realized as *ya*, see examples in 23.62.

16.502 (1) It is so here, but *'iyyā* and suffix occur in contexts where it is apparent that they have independent function, e.g. *'aqūlu hiya 'iyyāhā* 'I say that she is' (lit. 'that she is she'), *'anta l-ma*ᶜ*niyyu wa-'iyyāka turādu* 'you are the one meant and you are intended', and cf. the interesting variant of the Qur'anic verse quoted in 16.5 n 1: *'iyyāka tu*ᶜ*badu* 'Thou art worshipped', with passive verb *tu*ᶜ*badu* (these and other examples collected and discussed by Fischer, *Islamica* 5, 211).

(2) See 7.52 n 1 on the pluralis majestatis, here expressed as *ta*ᶜ*ẓīm* '(self-)magnification' to contrast with *mušāraka* 'association with others', i.e. the normal plural.

16.503 (1) In 26.96 aš-Širbīnī says *'iyyāka 'an taẓunna...* 'beware of thinking...', using *'iyyāka* as a warning (*taḥḏīr*). Here it is followed by a subordinate clause (but with noun status: 5.41), but a common pattern is to follow it with a dependent noun prefixed with *wa* 'and', e.g. *'iyyāka wa-l-'asada* 'watch out for the lion!' (a variety perhaps of the 'object of accompaniment', but cf. 25.6 n 1). These dependent forms are always explained by the Arabs as due to an elided verbal operator, compulsorily elided in the case of *'iyyāka* (which is another way of saying that the construction has acquired proverbial status and is no longer productive). Other expressions of warning with dep. nouns are frequent (e.g. *'aḵāka 'aḵāka* 'your brother! your brother!, in 13.11), and the main problem is to decide whether *'iyyāka* is, in fact, a dependent form or an old exclamatory form (cf. 25.1 n 2) which fell together with the dependent forms: see Fischer, *Islamica* 5, 225; cf. 16.311 n 1.

16.504 (1) Another example of *'iyyāki* in 24.54, *ḏikrī 'iyyāki* 'my thinking of you', this time direct object of a verbal noun (16.312 n 1).

(2) Seven different explanations of the status of *'iyyā* and its suffixes are offered in *Inṣāf*, prob. 98. Those who make *'iyyā* the pronoun itself are rebutted on two grounds: first it is annexed to its suffixes (proved by the nominal suffix form of the 1st person *ya*, q.v. 16.501), and pronouns cannot be annexed to other elements; second if *'iyyā* is a pronoun why does it need to be specified by suffixes? This is incompatible with the function of pronouns (11.718 n 2). Those who treat the whole compound as the pronoun are avoiding the issue, while those who take the second element to be the pronoun leave *'iyyā* thereby unexplained, nor can they thus account for *'iyyāyā*!

16.505 (1) See 16.305 n 1 on transliteration and translation problems.

للخطاب والميم والالف علامة التثنية واعراب اكرمت ما مر والسادس ضمير جمع
المذكر المخاطبين وهو ايا في نحو اياكم اكرمت واعراب ايا واكرمت ما مر
والكاف حرف خطاب والميم علامة الجمع والسابع ضمير جمع المؤنثات المخاطبات وهو
ايا في نحو اياكن اكرمت واعراب ايا واكرمت ما مر والكاف المتصلة بايا
حرف خطاب والنون المشددة علامة لجمع النسوة والثامن ضمير المفرد المذكر الغائب
وهو ايا في نحو اياه اكرمت واعراب ايا واكرمت ما مر والهاء المتصلة بايا
علامة الغيبة في المذكر والتاسع ضمير المفردة الغائبة وهو ايا في نحو اياها
اكرمت واعراب ايا واكرمت ما مر والهاء المتصلة بايا والالف علامة التأنيث
والغيبة والعاشر ضمير المثنى الغائب مذكرا كان او مؤنثا وهو ايا في نحو اياهما
اكرمت واعراب ايا واكرمت ما مر والهاء علامة الغيبة والميم والالف علامة التثنية

second person, *mā* is the marker of the dual, and the parsing of *'akramtu* 'I honoured' is as before;[2]

16.506 (6) the pronoun of the second person masculine plural,[1] namely *'iyyā*, as in *'iyyākum 'akramtu* 'you I have honoured', where the parsing of *'iyyā* and *'akramtu* 'I honoured' is as before. The *ku* is a particle denoting the second person, and the *m* is the marker of the masculine plural;[2]

16.507 (7) the pronoun of the second person feminine plural, namely *'iyyā*, as in *'iyyākunna 'akramtu* 'you I have honoured', where the parsing of *'iyyā* and *'akramtu* 'I honoured' is as before. The *ku* suffixed to *'iyyā* is a particle denoting the second person, and the *nna*[1] is a marker of the feminine plural;[2]

16.508 (8) the pronoun of the third person masculine singular, namely *'iyyā*, as in *'iyyāhu 'akramtu* 'him I have honoured', where the parsing of *'iyyā* and *'akramtu* 'I honoured' is as before. The *hu* suffixed to *'iyyā* is the marker of the third person masculine singular;[1]

16.509 (9) the pronoun of the third person feminine singular, namely *'iyyā*, as in *'iyyāhā 'akramtu* 'her I have honoured', where the parsing of *'iyyā* and *'akramtu* 'I honoured' is as before. The *hā*[1] suffixed to *'iyyā* is the marker of the third person feminine singular;[2]

16.510 (10) the pronoun of the third person dual, whether masculine or feminine, namely *'iyyā*, as in *'iyyāhumā 'akramtu* 'them both I have honoured', where the parsing of *'iyyā* and *'akramtu* 'I honoured' is as before. The *hu* is the marker of the third person, and the *mā* is the marker of the dual;[1]

(2) Note that there is no general restriction on suffixation in terms of person: 1st person verb with 1st person suffix is possible, e.g. *ḵiltunī liya smun* 'I imagined myself to have a name' (10.63), *'ajidunī fī ḥayratin* 'I find myself at a loss' etc. A famous Qur'anic example, S. 12 v 36: *'innī 'arānī...* 'verily I see myself...' (describing the contents of a dream).

16.506 (1) Another example is in 12.41: *'innā 'aw 'iyyākum* 'verily we, or you...', avoiding the repetition of *'inna* 'verily' (because it does not sound natural in the interior of a clause?).

(2) Two minor aspects of pronoun suffixation can be pointed out here: (a) after 2nd plur. masc. past tense *ū* is inserted between agent and object suffix, e.g. *katabtumūhu* 'you wrote it' (cf. 10.66 n 2), and (b) after 2nd sing. fem. past tense the *i* which marks the fem. agent is occasionally lengthened, e.g. *katabtīhi* 'you wrote it' (note also vowel harmony, 13.6 n 9); this lengthening is doubtless a survival of the Proto-Semitic original (Moscati ##137, 141).

16.507 (1) Instead of 'fem. *n*' (16.312 n 2), the text has here *an-nūn al-mušaddada*, lit. 'the tied *n*', referring to the convention by which doubled consonants are indicated diacritically, see 24.23 n 2.

(2) Doubly transitive verbs (16.310 n 1) may take double object pronoun suffixes, e.g. *'aᶜṭānīhi* 'he gave me it', under the general rule that 1st precedes 2nd precedes 3rd person (so 'he gave me to him' should be *'aᶜṭāhu 'iyyāya*); other examples, *'anšadanīhimā* 'he recited them both to me' (*Kitāb* I, 437), *yuᶜlimukahu* 'he informs you of it' (id. 248).

16.508 (1) Bravmann's theory for the origin of *'iyyā* (*J.S.S.* 16, 50): it has detached itself from the double object suffix, thus *'aᶜṭāniyahu* (with archaic *niya* for *nī*) 'he gave me it' split into *'aᶜṭānī - yāhu*, and the second element became free-standing as *'iyyāhu*.

16.509 (1) Here *hā* is spelt out in full: normally only *h* is named as the pronoun (e.g. 16.309, though transcribed as *hā* for convenience, and cf. 9.42 n 1 on segmentation of *huwa* 'he', *hiya* 'she').

(2) One type of apparent direct object occurs through 'latitude of speech' (*saᶜat al-kalām*, 18.1 n 4), and involves space/time qualifiers, e.g. *allaḏī sirtuhu yawmu l-jumᶜati* 'what I travelled was Friday' for *sirtu fīhi* 'travelled on (it)', and, with agent noun, *yā sāriqa l-laylati* 'O thief of the night', i.e. 'in the night'; through the same 'latitude' these objects may become agents of passive verbs, v. 8.0 n 4. *Muf.* #66.

16.510 (1) Inversion (*taqdīm wa-ta'ḵīr*, 'advancing and retarding', cf. 2.13 n 1) is possible in two ways: (a) simple inversion, e.g. *zaydan ḍarabtu* 'Zayd I struck' (especially common in questions, e.g. *'a-zaydan ḍarabta* 'Zayd did you strike!?') (b) inversion with pronoun on the verb, e.g. *zaydan ḍarabtuhu* 'Zayd I struck': this is a variety of the nominal sentence with complex predicate (9.75) where the dep. form of *zaydan* is allowed *ᶜalā šarīṭat at-tafsīr* 'on condition of explanation', i.e. that the object pronoun suffix should explain the function of the

والحادي عشر ضمير جمع الذكور الغائبين وهو ايا في نحو اياهم اكرمت واعراب ايا واكرمت ما مر والهاء للغيبة والميم علامة لجمع الذكور والثاني عشر ضمير جمع المؤنث الغائب وهو ايا في نحو (53b) اياهن اكرمت واعراب ايا واكرمت ما مر والهاء علامة الغيبة والنون المشددة علامة لجمع النسوة الغائبات والفاعل في هذه الامثلة كلها في محل رفع باكرم ولما فرغ المصنف من المفعول به الذي هو اول المنصوبات شرع في الثاني منها وهو المفعول المطلق فقال

باب المصدر وحده المصنف على سبيل التقريب على المبتدئ فقال المصدر هو الاسم المنصوب الذي يجيء ثالثا في تصريف الفعل فاذا قيل لك صرف ضرب قلت

16.511 (11) the pronoun of the third person masculine plural, namely *'iyyā*, as in *'iyyāhum 'akramtu* 'them I have honoured', where the parsing of *'iyyā* and *'akramtu* 'I honoured' is as before. The *hu* is the marker of the third person, and the *m* is the marker of the masculine plural;[1]

16.512 (12) the pronoun of the third person feminine plural, namely *'iyyā*, as in *(53b) 'iyyāhunna 'akramtu* 'them I have honoured', where the parsing of *'iyyā* and *'akramtu* 'I honoured' is as before. The *hu* is the marker of the third person, and the *nna* is the marker of the feminine plural.[1]

16.6 In all the above examples the agent has independent status through *'akrama* 'to honour'. Having finished with the direct object,[1] which is the first[2] of the dependent elements, the author now turns to the second of them, to wit the absolute object.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

17.0 Chapter on the verbal noun.[1] The author defines it is a way which makes it easier for the beginner by saying:

17.1 The verbal noun is the dependent element which comes third in conjugating the parts of the verb.[1] Thus, if someone says to you, 'Conjugate the parts of the verb *ḍaraba* "to strike"', you would reply,

preposed dep. form, v. *Muf.* #62.

16.511 (1) Attraction may occur when a noun occurs after a direct object, e.g. *ḍarabtu zaydan wa-^{c}amran marartu bihi* 'I struck Zayd and ^{c}Amr I passed by', where *^{c}amran*, though not a direct object (*marra* operates through *bi*), has dep. form by attraction; the phenomenon has acquired the name *ištiġāl* 'preoccupation'. A related type of attraction occurs when a noun is both object of one verb and agent of another in the same sentence, e.g. *ḍarabanī wa-ḍarabtu zaydan* of which the English passive gives the best reproduction: 'I was struck by, and struck Zayd'. The term *tanāzu^{c}* 'mutual struggle, competition' is used for this circumstance. *Alf.* v 278; *Qaṭr* 200, 210.

16.512 (1) Object pronouns may also be suffixed to agent nouns and verbal nouns (16.312 n 1), though out of context *qatluhu* 'his killing' is ambiguous, as the agent may also be suffixed. Where both agent and object are present only the former is usually suffixed, the object being expressed either as a free object pronoun (*qatluhu 'iyyāhu*) or by the paraphrase with *li* (*qatluhu lahu*, cf. 24.31 n 1). It is seldom that more than one pronoun is suffixed to the verbal noun (see examples in Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.* 284), though an anonymous and late grammar does offer the ludicrous *min 'i^{c}ṭā'ihi hāhu* 'at his giving him it', with three suffixes, two written separately! (Carter, *Arabica* 26, 271).

16.6 (1) Patient noun, *ism al-maf^{c}ūl*, as a form class: 10.34 n 1.

(2) Not universally: the order varies according to the ideas of the grammarian. For az-Zamak̲šarī the absolute object (ch. 17) has first place; the vocative (ch. 23) is treated by Ibn Hišām as a subdivision of the direct object.

17.0 (1) *Jum.* 44; *Muf.* #39; *Alf.* v 286; *Qaṭr* 240; Beeston 89; Fleisch 177; Nöldeke 35. On *maṣdar* 'verbal noun' see 24.21 n 1.

17.1 (1) 'Conjugating the parts' reproduces the schoolbook flavour of the term *taṣrīf*: its broader meaning is the derivation of all possible forms, nominal and verbal, from a given root (cf. 10.3; *Muf.* ##368, 482; Fleisch, *Tr.* #145p n 1), hence *ṣarf* for 'morphology' in general (cf. 1.01 n 2). Versteegh 64 suggests Greek origins (*klisis* or *ptosis*) but without proof (though it is true that *ṣarf* and its derivatives are part of the earliest grammatical vocabulary, v. Troupeau, *Lex.-Index* root *ṣ-r-f*). There are two sets of terminology, the morphological set *ṣarf-taṣrīf-taṣarruf* ('process of being conjugated'), and the cognate

ضرب يضرب ضربا فضربا مصدر لانه جاء ثالثا في تصريف الفعل فان ضرب هو
الاول ويضرب هو الثاني وضربا هو الثالث واعلم ان المصدر ثلاثة انواع الاول ان
يكون مرفوعا نحو اعجبني ضربك فاعجب فعل ماض والنون للوقاية والياء مفعول
به في محل نصب باعجب وضربك فاعل مرفوع باعجب والكاف مضاف اليه والثاني
ان يكون مجرورا نحو عجبت من ضربك والثالث ان يكون منصوبا وهو المبوب له
في هذا الباب تنبيه كان من حق المصنف ان يقول بدل قوله باب المصدر باب
المفعول المطلق لان المصدر قد يكون مرفوعا وقد يكون مجرورا كما مر التمثيل لهما
ويكون منصوبا على انه مفعول مطلق وهو مراد المصنف بقوله المصدر وهو اي
المصدر الذي ينصب على انه مفعول مطلق هو الاسم الجاري على الفعل بخلاف اغتسل
غسلا وتوضأ وضوءا واعطي عطاء فان هذه اسماء مصادر وليست مصادر لعدم جريانها
على (54a) افعالها لان الاول قياس مصدره الاغتسال والثاني التوضؤ والثالث الاعطاء ثم
ان المصدر قسمان قسم لفظي وهو الذي يوافق لفظه لفظ فعله في الحروف والمعنى وقسم

'*ḍaraba, yaḍribu, ḍarban*' ('he struck, he strikes, a striking'), hence *ḍarban* 'act of striking' is a verbal noun because it comes third[2] in conjugating the parts of the verb (*ḍaraba* 'he struck' being the first, *yaḍribu* 'he strikes' being the second and *ḍarban* 'act of striking' the third).

17.2 You should know that the verbal noun occurs in three ways:[1] (a) independent, as in *'a*ᶜ*jabanī ḍarbuka* 'your striking amazed me', where *'a*ᶜ*jaba* 'amazed' is a past tense verb, *n* is the 'preserving *n*',[2] *ī* 'me' is a direct object with dependent status through *'a*ᶜ*jaba* 'amazed', and *ḍarbuka* 'your striking' is an agent made independent by *'a*ᶜ*jaba*, with the *ka* 'your' (masc. sing.) being what it is annexed to; (b) oblique, as in ᶜ*ajibtu min ḍarbika* 'I was amazed at your striking', and (c) dependent, which is the topic of this chapter.[3]

17.3 Note: The author could just as easily have said 'Chapter on the absolute object'[1] instead of 'Chapter on the verbal noun', since the verbal noun is not infrequently independent and oblique (as illustrated above), in addition to being dependent as an absolute object, which is what the author really means by 'verbal noun' here.

17.4 It (i.e. the verbal noun which is dependent as an absolute object) is the noun which is congruent with the verb,[1] not as in *iġtasala ġuslan* 'he bathed himself with a wash', *tawaḍḍa'a wuḍū'an* 'he made ablution with a ritual washing', or *'u*ᶜ*ṭiya* ᶜ*aṭā'an* 'he was given a gift': these are synonyms of verbal nouns, not true verbal nouns,[2] because they are not congruent *(54a)* with their verbs (the first has as its regularly[3] derived verbal noun *al-iġtisālu* 'the act of washing', the second has *at-tawaḍḍu'u* 'the act of ritual ablution' and the third has *al-'i*ᶜ*ṭā'u* 'the act of giving').

17.5 Now the verbal noun is of two kinds, (a) formal, i.e. the kind whose constituent letters agree both in form and meaning with those of the verb, and (b) abstract.[1]

series *ṣarf-mutaṣarrif-munṣarif*, denoting the syntactic freedom of the fully inflected noun (see 18.4), the bifurcation as yet unexplained.

(2) Though third in sequence, the verbal noun is held by the 'Başrans' (9.4 n 3) to be the origin of all verbs (it is logically prior because it denotes an event without time). The 'Kūfans' base their expected counterview on the fact that phonological weaknesses in the verb are reproduced in the *maṣdar* (*Inṣāf*, prob. 28).

17.2 (1) 'Ways' here is *'anwā*^{c}, lit. 'sorts', but used evidently as an arbitrary synonym of *wajh* 'mode' (22.4 n 1) or *ḥāla* 'state' (11.2 n 1).

(2) See 16.301 on the 'preserving *n*', and note that here the verb must be translated as a past stem rather than infinitive (see 7.51 n 1). The verbal noun here has independent function as agent (cf. noun phrase with *'anna*, 7.02), but can also function as subject of an equational sentence, e.g. *ḍarbuka muntaẓarun* 'your blow is expected' (cf. 9.02). The translation 'your striking' assumes the subjective genitive, but the objective genitive 'the striking of you' is also possible (16.512 n 1). Verbal noun as inverted subject, 12.51.

(3) Dependent verbal nouns may occur in other functions than absolute object, of course: as direct object (*qaṣadtu ḍarbaka* 'I intended your striking'), circumstantial qualifier (*karhan* 'unwillingly', 19.33 n 1), object of reason (*'ijlālan* 'out of respect, but see 24.22) and object of accompaniment (*wa-'ityānahu* 'while doing it', 25.33).

17.3 (1) 'Absolute object', *maf*^{c}*ūl muṭlaq*, is indeed the most common name for this function of the verbal noun; see 16.1 on *maf*^{c}*ūl*, and cf. 11.717, 12.1 for *muṭlaq* in other contexts. Köbert, op. cit. 16.11 n 2, 330, plausibly suggests that *muṭlaq* here is not '(logically) absolute' but literally 'free to be object of any verb', transitive or not (17.53).

17.4 (1) 'congruent with the verb' renders *al-jārī* ^{c}*alā l-fi*^{c}*l*, lit. 'which runs according to the verb'; the verb *jarā* and its derivatives have been used from the first to describe linguistic processes both in themselves and as actions performed by the speaker, cf. Troupeau, *Lexique-Index*, root *j-r-y*. See also 17.51 n 1.

(2) 'Synonyms of verbal nouns not true verbal nouns' is rather free for *'asmā'u maṣādira wa-laysat maṣādira*, lit. 'nouns of verbal nouns, not verbal nouns themselves'. The problem is that *wuḍū'* and *ḡusl* are, in fact, Stem I verbal nouns (17.52 n 1), not 'absolute objects', because their verbs are Stems VIII and V respectively (see next note); ^{c}*aṭā'*, however, is a pure noun, a straightforward direct object.

(3) See 8.3 n 2 for *qiyās* 'analogy', here translated 'regularly derived (form)'. The verbal nouns here are respectively Stems VIII, V and IV, q.v. 10.34 n 1.

17.5 (1) Note the dichotomous classification (cf. 1.2 n 2), and see 2.1 n 2 on the opposition between 'formal' (*lafẓī*) and 'abstract' (*ma*^{c}*nawī*). 'Constituent letters' translates *ḥurūf*, plur. of *ḥarf*,

معنوي فان وافق لفظه لفظ فعله فهو لفظي نحو قتلته قتلا فقتلا مصدر لفظي
لمشاركته قتل في الحروف والمعنى وهو منصوب بقتل على انه مفعول مطلق وان وافق
معنى فعله دون لفظه فهو معنوي نحو جلست قعودا وقمت وقوفا فقعودا ووقوفا
مصدران منصوبان معنويان لموافقتهما جلس وقام في المعنى دون الحروف وهما
منصوبان بجلس وقام على انهما مفعولان مطلقان تنبيه تمثيل المصنف للفظي
بالمتعدي والمعنوي باللازم للايضاح لا للتخصيص اذ كل منهما ينصبه القاصر والمتعدي
فتقول في اللفظي ضربته ضربا وفرحت فرحا فتقول في المعنوي قعدت جلوسا
واحببته مقة وتقسيم المصدر الى لفظي ومعنوي هو مذهب المازني القائل بان المصدر
المعنوي منصوب بالفعل المذكرو معه ومذهب غيره انه منصوب بفعل مقدر من

17.51 If its form agrees[1] with that of its verb it is the formal kind, e.g. *qataltuhu qatlan* 'I killed him with a killing'.[2] Here *qatlan* 'act of killing' is a formal verbal noun because it shares the same constituent letters and meaning as *qatala* 'to kill', and is made dependent by *qatala* as an absolute object.

17.52 If it agrees with its verb in meaning but not in form it is the abstract kind, e.g. *jalastu quᶜūdan* 'I sat down with a squatting action', *qumtu wuqūfan* 'I rose with a standing action'. Here *quᶜūdan* 'act of squatting' and *wuqūfan* 'act of standing' are dependent verbal nouns[1] of the abstract type because they agree in meaning but not in form with *jalasa* 'to sit' and *qāma* to stand', and both are made dependent by *jalasa* and *qāma* respectively as absolute objects.

17.53 Note: The author's illustration of the formal type with a transitive verb and the abstract type with an intransitive verb[1] is simply for the sake of clarity, not to imply any special peculiarity: both types are made dependent both by transitive and intransitive verbs,[2] so that you may say, with the formal kind, *ḍarabtuhu ḍarban* 'I struck him with a striking action' and *fariḥtu faraḥan* 'I rejoiced with a rejoicing action', and with the abstract kind, *qaᶜadtu julūsan* 'I squatted with a sitting action' and *'aḥbabtuhu miqatan* 'I loved him with a fondness'.[3]

17.54 The division of the verbal noun into formal and abstract follows al-Māzinī,[1] who asserts that the abstract verbal noun is made dependent by the accompanying verb. But others maintain that the abstract verbal noun is made dependent by an implicit verb of the same form, so that in

'particle, element, letter', q.v. 1.25 n 2; 'consonantal phonemes' could perhaps have been used for 'letters', or even 'radicals' (cf. 5.1 n 2), but it is not certain how far below the surface structure the Arab analysis intends to delve.

17.51 (1) While in 17.4 a morphological criterion is applied, the distinction here is purely lexical: both the verb and the absolute object have the same *lafẓ* 'form' (i.e. stem, cf. 3.65 n 9), contrast the next paragraph.

(2) Perhaps 'I killed him dead' would sound more natural, but would not then reproduce the Arabic structure: rather 'dead' would correspond to a circumstantial qualifier (cf. *qatalahu ṣabran* 'he killed him in bonds', 24.52).

17.52 (1) Unlike Stems IV-X (q.v. 10.34 n 1), the verbal noun patterns of Stems I-III are not wholly predictable. Stem I verbal nouns range over a very large number of patterns (44 in Wright I, 110, cf. also *Muf.* #331; Fleisch 109), but only five are common: *fa^{c}l* (*qatlun* 'killing'), *fa^{c}al* (*qasamun* 'swearing', 1.71 n 2), *fa^{c}āla* (*malāḥatun* 'being pretty'), *fu^{c}ūl* (*wuqūfun* 'standing') and *fu^{c}ūla* (*ṣu^{c}ūbatun* 'being difficult'). Stem II has mostly *taf^{c}īl* (*tankīrun* 'making undefined'), but 3rd weak rad. roots and a few odd cases have *taf^{c}ila* (*tarbiyatun* 'bringing up', *tajribatun* 'experiment'. Stem III has mostly *mufā^{c}ala* (*muqātalatun* 'combat'), less often *fi^{c}āl* (*qitālun* 'combat').

17.53 (1) On *muta^{c}addī* 'transitive' and *lāzim* 'intransitive' see 16.309 n 1, and note that in the present passage *qāṣir* 'falling short' occurs as a synonym of *lāzim*. Only the direct object, *maf^{c}ūl bih*, in fact requires a transitive verb as operator, and since *maf^{c}ūl* is used for various other verbal complements, 'object' is retained in the translation in spite of Köbert's reservations, q.v. 16.11 n 2.

(2) It goes without saying that passive verbs may operate upon anything except a direct object (8.0): here with absolute objects, *futila fatlan* 'it was twisted with a twisting', i.e. firmly, *tubbirū tatbīran* 'they were crumbled with a crumbling' (examples after Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.* 82). The Qur'anic example in 13.14, *dukkat il-'arḍu dakkan dakkan* 'the earth was crushed with a crushing' also shows a passive verb operating on an absolute object.

(3) On the medial vowel alternation between *ḍarabtu* and *fariḥtu* see 10.22 n 2; *'aḥbabtu* 'I loved' is a Stem IV (8.63 n 1) derivative of a 'doubled verb' (10.61 n 1), whose 2nd and 3rd radicals assimilate when the latter is followed by a vowel (*'aḥabba* 'he loved') but otherwise remain dissimilated, as here; *miqatun* is from a 1st rad. *w* root *w-m-q*, and the *w* is regularly lost in certain nominal forms (see 3.412 n 9) and the imperfect tense and imperative verbs of Stem I (10.67 n 1).

17.54 (1) Abū ^{C}Uṯmān al-Māzinī, d. 863, is an important, but shadowy transitional figure between the earliest grammarians and such better known grammarians as his own pupil, al-Mubarrad (22.3 n 1). Almost nothing survives of his works outside some substantial contributions in

لفظه فيقدر في جلست قعودا جلست وقعدت قعودا فالمصدر على هذا المذهب كله
لفظي والاول اظهر وقد ينوب عن المصدر في الانتصاب على المفعولية المطلقة غيره
مما يدل على المصدر من صفة له كسرت احسن السير فحذف الموصوف لدلالة اضافة
صفته الى مثله عليه ونابت منابه وانتصبت انتصابه او من لفظ دل على عدد
المصدر كضربته عشر ضربات فعشر ناب عن المصدر (54b) ومثله قوله تعالى فاجلدوهم
ثمانين جلدة والاصل فاجلدوهم جلدا ثمانين فحذف المصدر وانيب عنه ثمانين
وجلدة تمييز او من لفظ دل على آلته كضربته سوطا او عصى او نحو ذلك مما عهد
الضرب به او من كل او ما في معناها مضافة الى المصدر كقوله تعالى فلا تميلوا

jalastu qu^{c}ūdan 'I sat down with a squatting action' there is an implicit **jalastu wa-qa^{c}adtu qu^{c}ūdan* 'I sat down and squatted with a squatting action'. According to this view the verbal noun is always of the formal type, but the former opinion is more self-evident.[2]

17.6 Other elements indicating the verbal noun may replace it and take dependent form themselves as absolute objects:[1]

17.61 (1) an adjective, as in *sirtu 'aḥsana s-sayri* 'I travelled with the best of travelling',[1] where the antecedent of the adjective has been elided because it is sufficiently indicated by having the adjective annexed to that same word, and the adjective then replaces the verbal noun and takes its dependent form;[2]

17.62 (2) an expression indicating the number of the verbal noun, as in *ḍarabtuhu ^{c}ašara ḍarbātin* 'I struck him with ten strikings',[1] where *^{c}ašara* 'ten' replaces the verbal noun. *(54b)* Likewise the Qur'anic *fa-jlidūhum ṯamanīna jaldatan* 'scourge them with eighty scourgings',[2] whose original form[3] is **fa-jlidūhum jaldan ṯamanīna* 'scourge them with a scourging, eighty': the verbal noun has then been elided and replaced by *ṯamanīna* 'eighty', with *jaldatan* 'scourging' being a 'specifying element'.[4]

17.63 (3) an expression indicating the instrument, e.g. *ḍarabtuhu sawṭan* 'I struck him with a whip'[1] or *^{c}aṣan* 'with a stick', or any like things with which blows are commonly known to be struck.

17.64 (4) *kullun* 'all' or its synonyms,[1] annexed to the verbal noun, as in the Qur'anic *fa-lā tamīlū kulla l-mayli* 'so do not incline with a

phonology and morphology (largely preserved by Ibn Jinnī), yet he has been called the greatest grammarian since Sībawayhi (*G.A.L.* I, 168 and Suppl., and cf. R.A.R. al-^{c}Ubaydī, *Abū ^{c}Uṯmān al-Māzinī wa-maḏhabuh fī-ṣ-ṣarf wa-n-naḥw*, Baghdad 1969).

(2) The former opinion being that attributed above to al-Māzinī, though this whole paragraph is, as might be expected, taken from al-Azharī, this time *Āj.* 82. The reference cannot be traced directly to al-Māzinī, and suspicion is in any case aroused by the fact that al-Mubarrad is silent both about al-Māzinī and this theory in the relevant parts of the *Muqtaḍab* (esp. I, 73).

17.6 (1) Except for the type set out in 17.63, these elements are all annexed to the verbal noun: the resulting compound functions as a single element, cf. 26.91 n 1. On 'replace' see 17.61 n 2, and cf. 18.34 for the same phenomenon with space/time qualifiers.

17.61 (1) See 20.42 n 3 on the syntax of the superlative.

(2) The analysis assumes an underlying **sirtu sayran 'aḥsana sayrin* '*I travelled a travelling, the best of travelling'. 'Replacing' here is *nāba*, lit. 'to stand in place of, deputize', used for allomorphs in 3.0, and for the agent of the passive verb in 8.0.

17.62 (1) Note that *ḍarbātin* is sound fem. plur. (3.23): the fem. form of the verbal noun denotes individual (countable) actions, whence it is termed *ism al-marra* 'the noun of time' ('nomen vicis' makes clear which sense of the word 'time' is involved!). The distinction between the class of action (masc.) and the number of times (fem.) could hardly be better observed than in the treatment of the Qur'anic verse next quoted (but see below, n 4 on the reason for the fem. sing.). See 17.7 n 3.

(2) S. 24 v 4. Note the juncture feature in the imperative verb (q.v. 5.2 n 3, 13.12 n 1). See further n 4.

(3) 'Original form' is *'aṣl*, q.v. 8.2 n 3.

(4) After the numbers from 11 to 99 the counted noun has undefined dep. sing. form (contrast the undefined. obl. sound fem. plur. after '10' above, and see further 20.21-22), and is analysed as a structurally redundant 'specifying element' (20.0), hence *jaldatan* does not appear in the reconstructed underlying form. Decades are used in this example to point up the functional difference between the two dependent forms, verbal noun and specifying element (cf. 18.31).

17.63 (1) Here the replacement element does not have the form of an annexation unit, but one still must be assumed, scil. **ḍarabtuhu ḍarba sawṭin* '*I struck him the striking of a whip'. Cf. 2.5 on ^{c}*aṣan*, which follows the behaviour of *fatan* (though its 3rd rad. is *w*). 'Instrument' is *'āla*: there is a morphological category *ism al-'āla* 'the noun of instrument', with the patterns *mif^{c}al, mif^{c}āl*, e.g. *miṭbaḵ* 'oven', *miftāḥ* 'key', Fleisch 85; Yushmanov 36.

17.64 (1) See 13.4 on *kull* and its synonyms; the other corroboratives *nafs* and ^{c}*ayn* (13.31) behave similarly. Cf. also 18.32.

كل الميل فكل مفعول مطلق نائب عن مصدر محذوف والاصل فلا تميلوا ميلا كل
الميل او من بعض وما في معناها مضافة الى المصدر كقوله تعالى ولو تقول علينا
بعض الاقاويل فبعض مفعول مطلق نائب عن مصدر محذوف والاصل لو تقول علينا
قولا بعض الاقاويل وقد اكثرت من مثل ذلك في شرح القطر مما لا يحتمله هذا
المختصر تتمة اتفق النحاة على حذف عامل المصدر غير الموكد لدليل مقالي كان يقال
ما جلست فيقال بلى جلوسا طويلا او بلى جلستين او حالي كقولك لمن قدم من سفره
قدوما مباركا واما المصدر الموكد فقال ابن مالك في شرح كافيته انه لا يحذف
عامله لانه انما جيء به لتقويته ولتقرير معناه والحذف مناف لهما ونازعه
ابنه في ذلك ولما فرغ المصنف من الثاني من المنصوبات شرع في الثالث والرابع

total inclining',[2] where *kulla* 'all' is an absolute object replacing an elided verbal noun, the original form being ***fa-lā tamīlū maylan kulla** *l-mayli* 'so do not incline with an inclining, with all inclining'.

17.65 (5) *ba^cḍun* 'some' or its synonyms,[1] annexed to the verbal noun, as in the Qur'anic *wa-law taqawwala ^calaynā ba^cḍa l-'aqāwīli* 'and if he were to speak against us with some sayings',[2] where *ba^cḍa* 'some' is an absolute object replacing an elided verbal noun, the original form being **wa-law taqawwala ^calaynā qawlan ba^cḍa l-'aqāwīli* 'and if he were to speak against us with a saying, some sayings'. I have dealt with this topic at length in my *Commentary on Qaṭr an-nadā*[3] in more detail than a short work such as this will bear.

17.7 Supplementary Note: The grammarians[1] agree that the operator of a non-corroborative verbal noun may be elided if sufficiently indicated by the context of discourse,[2] for example, when someone says *mā jalasta* 'you have not sat down', and this is answered by *balā julūsan ṭawīlan* 'on the contrary, a lengthy sitting down' or *balā jalsatayni* 'on the contrary, two sittings down'.[3] It may also be elided if sufficiently indicated by the context of situation, for example, when you say to someone who is arriving from a journey, *qudūman mubārakan* 'a blessed arrival'.[4]

17.71 As for the corroborative verbal noun,[1] Ibn Mālik said in his *Commentary on the Kāfiya*[2] that its operator may not be elided because the verbal noun here only occurs for the purpose of reinforcing the operator and affirming its meaning, both of which are incompatible with elision. In this he was opposed by his son.[3]

17.8 Having finished with the second of the dependent elements,[1] the author next turns to the third and fourth of them, namely the object of

(2) S. 4 v 129; see 5.76 on apocopated verbs after *la* of prohibition, 10.23 n 2 on hollow verbs (*tamīlū/mayl* have root *m-y-l*, unrelated to root *m-w-l*, denominative from *māl* 'wealth').

17.65 (1) Synonyms of *ba^{c}ḍ* are fractions, cf. 18.32. From its use in *qāla ba^{c}ḍuhum* 'some (or one) of them said' etc., *ba^{c}ḍ* has developed a reciprocal function, e.g. *qāla ba^{c}ḍuhum li-ba^{c}ḍin* 'some said to others' i.e. 'they said to each other'. Cf. Yushmanov 33, Fleisch, *Tr.* #118j.

(2) S. 69 v 44; see next note for comments.

(3) The work is lost, but al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* I, 328, may be consulted instead. In his own Qur'ān Commentary (IV, 323), aš-Širbīnī says nothing about the grammar of this verse, except to remark that *'aqāwīl* is a double plural (cf. 3.221 n 2): it is the plur. of *'aqwāl*, itself the plur. of *qawl* 'a saying', and belongs to the semi-declinable class of 'extreme plural patterns' (3.89 (1)). On *taqawwala*, Stem V of a hollow verb, cf. 8.73 n 1.

17.7 (1) 'Grammarians' is *naḥwiyyūn* (also *nuḥāh*), plur. of *naḥwī*, in the earliest stages simply 'one who concerned himself with the way people speak' (*naḥw*, 1.02 n 1), finally 'grammarian' as grammar evolved into a self-conscious discipline under the influence of other sciences and cultures (cf. Carter, *R.E.I.* 40, 76).

(2) 'Sufficiently indicated by the context of discourse' translates *li-dalīl maqālī*, lit. 'because of a pointer related to the discourse' (*maqāla* 'a saying' with gentilic suffix *ī*, 11.721 n 4). Cf. 19.8 n 1.

(3) The 'noun of time' (*ism al-marra*, 17.62 n 1) usually has the pattern *fa^{c}la*, hence *jalsatayni* 'two acts of sitting', even though the verbal noun itself may have a different pattern, here *fu^{c}ūl* (cf. 17.52 n 1). *Balā* 'on the contrary' is related to *bal* 'nay', q.v. 12.7.

(4) Reconstructed as **qadimta qudūman mubārakan* '*may you arrive with a blessed arriving' (see 14.34 n 3 on optative verb). Many greetings fall into this category, cf. 16.311 n 1, also *Muf.* #41.

17.71 (1) An example is *dukkat il-'arḍu dakkan dakkan* 'the earth is crushed with a crushing, a crushing', quoted in 13.14, where both the verbal nouns are absolute objects.

(2) The *Kāfiya* in question is Ibn Mālik's own, on which he wrote a commentary entitled *al-Wāfiya* 'The Copious' (*G.A.L.* I, 300), and see 1.02 n 2 on Ibn Mālik. Neither is published, but the reference in any case is taken from al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* I, 329. Cf. *Alf.* v 291.

(3) Badr ad-Dīn Muḥammad, died 1287 (*G.A.L.* I, 300), wrote commentaries on several of his father's works, as well as on the more famous *Kāfiya* of Ibn al-Ḥājib (q.v. 12.912 n 3). The reference here is not traced, but see previous note for aš-Širbīnī's source. Such expressions as *'innamā 'anta sayran sayran* 'you are nothing but travel travel' strongly support Badr ad-Dīn (and cf. *Muqtaḍab* III, 228).

17.8 (1) Agent nouns and verbal nouns themselves may be qualified by an

منها وهما المفعول فيه المسمى بظرف الزمان وظرف المكان فقال

باب ظرف الزمان وظرف المكان وكل منهما يسمى بالمفعول فيه والكسائي واصحابه يسمون الظروف صفات ولا مشاحة في الاصطلاح وبدأ المصنف بظرف الزمان فقال ظرف الزمان هو اسم الزمان المنصوب بتقدير في الظرفية خرج بذلك بقية المفاعيل لان تسلط العامل ليس على معنى في ولا بد من زيادة باطراد ليخرج ما ضمن معنى في بغير اطراد وهو المنصوب على التوسع نحو دخلت الدار وسكنت البيت (55a) فانتصابهما انما هو على التوسع باسقاط الخافض لا الظرفية فانه لا يطرد تعدي سائر الافعال الى الدار والبيت بمعنى في لا تقول صليت الدار ولا نمت البيت ولما عرف المصنف ظرف الزمان ذكر منه اثنتي عشرة لفظة كلها صالحة

location, known as the 'time-qualifier' and 'space-qualifier'.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

18.0 Chapter on the time-qualifier and space-qualifier.[1] Both are termed the 'object of location', though al-Kisā'ī and his followers call these qualifiers 'adjectives'[2] (but let us not quarrel about that!).[3] The author begins with the time-qualifier.

18.1 The time-qualifier is the noun of time that is made dependent with the implicit meaning of *fī* 'in'[1] (the space/time qualifier *fī*), thus excluding the rest of the objects, because the power[2] exercised by their operators is not from the meaning of *fī* 'in'. 'Systematically'[3] must be added to the definition, to exclude cases irregularly containing the meaning of *fī* 'in', namely nouns made dependent by latitude of speech,[4] e.g. *dak̲altu d-dāra* 'I went in the house', *sakantu l-bayta* 'I lived in the home' *(55a)* for their dependence is due to the latitude of omitting the particle of obliqueness, not to their being space-qualifiers: note that other verbs do not regularly behave transitively towards *ad-dāru* 'the house' and *al-bayta* 'the home', and you do not say **ṣallaytu d-dāra* 'I prayed the house' or **nimtu l-bayta* 'I slept the home'.

18.101 Having introduced us to the time-qualifier[1] to us, the author now proceeds to mention twelve expressions of this category which it is

absolute object, e.g. *murtaqiyatun 'a^{c}lā l-irtiqā'i* lit. 'rising the highest rising', i.e. 'highly progressive' (the absolute object here is displaced by an annexed elative, exactly as in 17.61).

18.0 (1) *Jum.* 45; *Muf.* #64; *Alf.* v 303; *Qaṭr* 246; Beeston 88; Fleisch 179; Yushmanov 61; Nöldeke 35. Terminology: *al-maf^{c}ūl fīh* 'that in which the action is done' ('object of location' is intended to imply location in both space and time, cf. *Kitāb* I, 16, where *waqt* 'point' refers to both); *ẓarf zamān* lit. 'container of time', *ẓarf makān* lit. 'container of place', cf. 18.101 n 1.

(2) The reference is from al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* I, 337; al-Kisā'ī, died 805, was the master of al-Farrā' (1.21 n 2) and a legendary opponent of Sībawayhi (0.1 n 1), *G.A.L.* I, 115, *E.I.* (2), art. 'al-Kisā'ī. Cf. *Inṣāf,* prob. 6 for his and other 'Kūfan' terminology.

(3) Al-Azharī (loc. cit.) has made a pun here: *iṣṭilāḥ* can mean 'making peace' or 'agreeing on technical terms' (cf. 1.1 n 2).

18.1 (1) 'With the implicit meaning of *fī* "in"' renders *bi-taqdīri fī* (cf. 2.101 n 1 on *taqdīr*), i.e. *al-yawma* 'today' is to be understood as **fī l-yawmi* 'in this day' (asterisked because the prepositional paraphrase almost never occurs). On *fī* see further 1.705.

(2) 'Power exercised' is literal for *tasalluṭ* (denominative from *sulṭān* 'power, authority, Sultan'), an interesting, and coincidental parallel to the Western notion of grammatical 'governance', cf. 2.11 n 1.

(3) 'Systematically' renders *bi-ṭṭirād*, lit. 'uniformly, continuously', and commonly applied to generalizations and their applicability (cf. *qiyās muṭṭarid* 'a generally valid analogy').

(4) 'Latitude' is literal for *tawassu^{c}*, often termed *sa^{c}a* ('width', same root *w-s-^{c}* as *tawassu^{c}*), and undoubtedly an early borrowing from law (cf. Troupeau, *Lexique-Index* for many examples in Sībawayhi). The present case has similarities with such English compounds as 'sleep-walker', 'nightwatchman', 'shoplifter', where the initial element corresponds to a space/time qualifier, contrast 'dog-catcher' etc. (cf. also 26.9).

18.101 (1) The choice of *ẓarf* 'container' for 'space/time qualifier' has been confidently explained as due to Greek influence by A. Merx, *Historia artis grammaticae apud syros,* Leipzig 1889, 146 (v. 1.705 n 2) but the precise manner in which the idea could have been transmitted

للنصب على الظرفية الاولى نحو اليوم وهو من طلوع الفجر الى غروب الشمس ويكون
نكرة منونا نحو صمت يوما ومعرفة نحو صمت اليوم ومضافا نحو صمت يوم الخميس
فيوم ظرف زمان منصوب في الامثلة الثلاثة بالفعل الذي قبله على انه مفعول فيه
والثانية الليلة وهي من غروب الشمس الى طلوع الفجر وتكون نكرة منونة نحو
اعتكفت ليلة ومعرفة نحو اعتكفت الليلة ومضافة نحو اعتكفت ليلة الجمعة
فالليلة في الامثلة الثلاثة ظرف زمان منصوب بالفعل الذي قبله على انه مفعول
فيه والثالثة غدوة وهي من صلاة الصبح الى طلوع الشمس وتستعمل نكرة منونة نحو
ازورك غدوة ومعرفة غير منونة لمنعها عن الصرف بسبب العلمية والتأنيث نحو
جئتك غدوة بغير تنوين ومضافة نحو جئتك غدوة يوم الخميس فغدوة في الامثلة
الثلاثة ظرف زمان مفعول فيه منصوب بالفعل الذي قبله والرابعة بكرة وهي اول
النهار ويأتي فيها ما مر في غدوة من الاحوال الثلاثة والاعراب والخامسة سحرا
وهو اخر الليل ويأتي فيه ايضا ما مر في غدوة من الاحوال الثلاثة والاعراب لكنه

proper[2] to make dependent as time-qualifiers: for example, (1) *al-yawma* 'today', i.e. from sunrise to sunset. It occurs undefined with final *n*, as in *ṣumtu yawman* 'I fasted for a day', defined, as in *ṣumtu l-yawma* 'I fasted today', and in annexation, as in *ṣumtu yawma l-ḵamīsi* 'I fasted Thursday'. In all three examples *yawma* 'day'[3] is a time-qualifier made dependent by the preceding verb as an object of location.

18.102 (2) *al-laylata* 'tonight',[1] i.e. from sunset to dawn. It occurs undefined with final *n*, as in *iᶜtakaftu laylatan* 'I made my devotions for a night', defined, as in *iᶜtakaftu l-laylata* 'I made my devotions last night', and in annexation, as in *iᶜtakaftu laylata l-jumᶜati* 'I made my devotions Friday night'. In all three examples *laylata* 'night' is a time-qualifier made dependent by the preceding verb as an object of location.[2]

18.103 (3) *ḡudwatan* 'early',[1] i.e. between morning prayer and sunrise. It is used undefined with final *n*, as in *'azūruka ḡudwatan* 'I shall visit you early', defined (i.e. without final *n*, because it is prevented from full inflection by being a feminine proper name),[2] as in *ji'tuka ḡudwata* 'I came to you early' (without final *n*),[3] and in annexation, as in *ji'tuka ḡudwata yawmi l-ḵamīsi* 'I came to you early on Thursday'.[4] In all three examples *ḡudwata* 'early' is a time-qualifier made dependent by the preceding verb as an object of location.

18.104 (4) *bukratan* 'on the morrow', i.e. the first part of the day. It occurs in the same three states and with the same parsing[1] as *ḡudwatan* 'early'.

18.105 (5) *saḥaran* 'early in the morning', i.e. at the very end of the night. It also occurs in the same three states and with the same parsing[1] as *ḡudwatan* 'early', but is only defined if you mean by it the

remains a mystery. The borrowing, if genuine, is also inspired, as the Greek (and Syriac) grammarians certainly had nothing to offer with their *epirrhema* and *prothesis*.

(2) Cf. 11.82 n 2 on *ṣāliḥa* 'proper', from the verb *ṣaluḥa*.

(3) The transliteration *yawma* is a compromise: the text reads *yawm*, presumably inflected with the case required by its context (so here *yawmun*, as subject of the sentence, scil. 'the word for "day"'), but *yawma* is chosen to remind the reader that it always has dependent form when functioning as a time/qualifier, defined or undefined. Other examples: 11.742; *yawma* annexed to sentences 2.44 n 1.

18.102 (1) There is an interesting possibility with *layl* of using the undefined masc. to mean 'by night', e.g. *i^c takaftu laylan* 'I made my devotions by night', contrasting with the fem. sing. *laylatan* 'for one night' as in this paragraph. There is thus an exact parallel with the use of the masc. verbal noun to denote a class of action and the fem. to denote individual, countable acts (17.62 n 1, and cf. 11.44 n 2 on the fem. as an individualizing category). For *yawm* the procedure is different: *yawman* 'for a day' contrasts already with *al-yawma* 'today', and for the opposition 'by night/by day' another word has to be used, viz. *nahāran* (see also 18.41 n 2).

(2) The 'Kūfans' (9.4 n 3), of course, argue otherwise: they claim that space/time qualifiers are dependent through being 'different' from their antecedents (*ḵilāf* 'difference' or *ṣarf* 'divergence', cf. *Inṣāf*, prob. 29, Carter, *Arabica* 20, 292). The basis of this interpretation is that elements which are structurally redundant tend to have dep. form (19.6, 20.01), especially when they are not identical with their antecedents (concord implies identity, cf. 19.5 n 2).

18.103 (1) This item is cognate with *ḡadan* 'tomorrow', 18.106.

(2) That nouns of time can be regarded as proper names is justifiable on formal grounds (absence of *tanwīn*, cf. *makkatu* 'Mecca', and see 3.89 (4) on the semi-declinability of fem. proper names) as well as semantic grounds (*ḡudwata* must denote the morning of a specific day, cf. 11.72). But see 18.2 n 2.

(3) 'Final *n*' here and elsewhere in this chapter is preferred (in spite of the remarks in 1.4 n 1) for *tanwīn* because it makes the contrast between, say, *ḡudwatan* and *ḡudwata* more apparent.

(4) Note that *yawmi l-ḵamīsi* here is not a time/qualifier as it is in 18.101: the head word *yawmi* of the annexation construction has oblique form because *ḡudwata* is annexed to it (cf. 18.32).

18.104 (1) See 8.21 n 2 on *'i^c rāb* in the sense of 'parsing', and 11.2 n 1 on *'aḥwāl* 'states'. Throughout these paragraphs aš-Širbīnī is freely adapting al-Azharī, *Āj*. 82-3, often without bothering to reproduce the entire material.

18.105 (1) See the previous note for 'states', 'parsing' and the reason for the failure to provide examples. They are predictable enough and

انما يكون معرفة اذا اردت به سحر يوم بعينه والسادسة غدا وهو اليوم الذي
بعد يومك الذي انت فيه نحو اجيئك غدا فغدا ظرف زمان منصوب بالفعل الذي
قبله على انه مفعول فيه والسابعة عتمة وهي ثلث الليل الاول ويأتي فيها ما مر
في غدوة من الاحوال الثلاثة ولا اعراب (55b) والثامنة صباحا وهو اول النهار
ويستعمل نكرة نحو ايتوني صباحا ومضافا نحو ايتوني صباح يوم الجمعة فصباحا
ظرف زمان منصوب بالفعل الذي قبله على انه مفعول فيه والتاسعة مساء بالمد وهو
من الظهر الى غروب الشمس ويأتي فيه ما مر في صباحا والعاشرة ابدا وهو اسم
الزمان المستقبل الذي لا نهاية لمنتهاه نحو لا ادخل الدار ابدا وابد الابدين
ويستعمل نكرة منونة ومضافة كما مثلنا فابدا ظرف زمان منصوب بالفعل الذي
قبله على انه مفعول فيه * والحادية عشرة امدا وهو اسم لزمان مستقبل ويأتي فيه

early morning of a specific day.

18.106 (6) <u>*ġadan* 'tomorrow',</u>[1] i.e. the day after the one you are in, as in *'ajī'uka ġadan* 'I shall come to you tomorrow', where *ġadan* 'tomorrow' is a time-qualifier made dependent by the preceding verb as an object of location.[2]

18.107 (7) <u>*ᶜatmatan* 'at night',</u> i.e. the first third of the night.[1] It occurs with the same three states and parsing as *ġudwatan* 'early'. *(55b)*

18.108 (8) <u>*ṣabāḥan* 'in the morning',</u>[1] i.e. the first part of the day. It is used indefined, as in *'ītūnī ṣabāḥan* 'come to me in the morning',[2] and in annexation, as in *'ītūnī ṣabāḥa yawmi l-jumᶜati* 'come to me on Friday morning', where *ṣabāḥan* 'in the morning' is a time-qualifier made dependent by the preceding verb as an object of location.

18.109 (9) <u>*masā'an* 'in the evening',</u>[1](spelt with a 'lengthened *ā'*'), i.e. from noon to sunset. It occurs in the same way as *ṣabāḥan* 'in the morning'.

18.110 (10) <u>*'abadan* 'ever',</u>[1] which is a noun of infinite future time, as in *lā 'adḵulu d-dāra 'abadan* 'I shall not enter the house ever', and *'abada l-'abadīna* 'for ever and ever'. It is used both undefined with final *n* and in annexation,[2] as illustrated, where *'abadan* 'ever' is a time-qualifier made dependent by the preceding verb as an object of location. *

18.111 (11) <u>*'amadan* 'ever',</u>[1] which is a noun of future time occurring in the same way as *'abadan* 'ever', mentioned above.[2]

need not be supplied here: instead we should note that the time qualifier in general can also occur as a prepositional phrase, e.g. *bi-saḥarin* 'in the morning', *fī l-layli* 'at night' etc.

18.106 (1) This is reduced from *ğadwan*, and is cognate with *ğudwatan* in 18.103. It seldom occurs in any but the undefined form given here, though the phrase *fī l-ğadi* 'on (lit. 'in') the morrow' is found.

(2) Here might be mentioned the unique phrase *ladun ğudwatan* 'from early in the morning': the first element of this phrase is evidently cognate with *ladā* (18.214 n 1), and the dep. form of *ğudwatan* is due to assimilation to the structure of specifying elements, particularly of the numbers 11-99 (cf. 20.21 n 4), as if the *n* of *ladun* were a *tanwīn* (contrast the variant *ladun ğudwatin*, and cf. Nöldeke 58).

18.107 (1) Note that, in the absence of clocks, day and night are divided up into periods (and cf. the verbs in 10.11-16). By the time of aš-Širbīnī, however, these words had either lost their precision or become mere antiquarian items.

18.108 (1) Cf. *'aṣbaḥa* 'to do, or be, in the morning', 10.13.

(2) Verbs with 1st rad. *'*, such as *'ītūnī* here (masc. plur. imperative of *'atā* 'to come'), lose the *'* under certain conditions. The principle is that the syllable *'V'* reduces to *'V̄*: this occurs often when *'* is prefixed to the verb, e.g. Stem I, 1st sing. imperfect tense *'ātī* (**'a'tī*), imperatives *'īti* (**'i'ti*), *'ītū* (**'i'tū*) etc., Stem IV past tense *'ātaytu* (**'a'taytu*) etc., 1st sing. imperfect tense *'ūtī* (**'u'tī*), imperative *'āti* (**'a'ti*), *'ātū* (**'a'tū*) etc. (NB. *'atā* is further complicated by being a weak 3rd rad. verb: its imperfect ends as *yarmī*, 4.81 n 2 (2), and its past tense as *ra'ā*, 10.65 n 1). Note *'atā* with direct objects where English uses indirect objects: many verbs of motion are thus transitive in Arabic, e.g. *jā'anī* 'he came to me' (cf. also 5.82 n 5). Three verbs with 1st rad. *'* behave as 1st rad. *w* verbs in the imperative only (10.38 n 1), viz. *'akala* 'to eat' (*kul* 'eat!', etc.), *'amara* 'to order' (*mur* 'order!' etc.) and *'aḵaḏa* 'to take' (*ḵuḏ* 'take!' etc., see example in 23.31).

18.109 (1) Cf. *'amsā* 'to do, or be, in the evening', 10.12. Moscati #15.2 cites *ṣabāḥa masā'a* 'mornings and evenings', without *tanwīn*.

18.110 (1) Cf. 3.53, where az-Zamaḵšarī's claim that *lan* denotes perpetual negation is not strengthened by the presence of *'abadan* in the same sentence.

(2) A defined form, **al-'abada*, is impossible, cf. 18.112 n 1.

18.111 (1) This is presumably a variant of *'abadan* above: interchange of *m* and *b* in both directions is well attested (Brockelmann, *Grundr.* I, 232, Cantineau, *Études* 28, note especially *bakka* for 'Mecca'), but *'amadan/'abadan* is not mentioned. Cf. also Fleisch, *Tr.* #9c.

(2) There is evidently no *'amada l-'amadīna*, and our source, al-Azharī *Āj.* 83, can only cite *'amada d-dahri* and *'amada d-dāhirīna* (cf. *dahra d-dāhirīna*), *dahr* meaning 'age, era, time' (cf. 18.113 n 1).

ما مر في ابدا والثانية عشرة حينا وهو اسم لزمان مبهم ويستعمل نكرة منونة
نحو قرأت حينا ومضافا نحو قرأت حين طلعت الشمس فحينا ظرف زمان منصوب
بالفعل الذي قبله على انه مفعول فيه وقوله وما اشبه ذلك اشار به الى ان كل اسم
زمان اشبه ما تقدم من اسماء الزمان يصح نصبه على الظرفية سواء اكان مبهما
وهو ما لا يصلح وقوعه جوابا لمتى ولا لكم كالوقت والساعة او مختصا وهو الذي
يقع جوابا لكم كالاسبوع والشهر والحول كصمت اسبوعا او شهرا او حولا ولما فرغ
من ظرف الزمان شرع في ظرف المكان فقال وظرف المكان وعرفه بقوله هو اسم
المكان المنصوب بتقدير في اي اذا كان مبهما فالمبهم كله صالح للنصب على
الظرفية وذكر المصنف منه ثلاث عشرة لفظة الاولى نحو امام بمعنى قدام نحو
جلست امام الامير اي قدامه فامام ظرف مكان منصوب بالفعل الذي قبله على
انه مفعول فيه وثانيتها خلف وهو ضد قدام تقول جلست خلفك ويأتي فيه ما مر

18.112 (12) *ḥīnan* 'at a time', which is a noun of vague time.[1] It is used undefined with final *n*, as in *qara'tu ḥīnan* 'I read for a time', and in annexation, as in *qara'tu ḥīna ṭalaᶜat iš-šamsu* 'I read at the time the sun rose', where *ḥīnan* 'at a time' is a time-qualifier made dependent by the preceding verb as an object of location.

18.113 By and the like, the author indicates that all nouns of time similar to the above may properly take dependent form as time-qualifiers, whether they are (i) vague (i.e. those which it is improper for them to occur in answer to the questions 'when?' or 'how long?', for example *waqt* 'point of time', *sāᶜa* 'moment, instant'), or (ii) particular[1] (i.e. those which occur in answer to the question 'how long?', for example *'usbūᶜ* 'week', *šahr* 'month', *ḥawl* 'year', as in *ṣumtu 'usbūᶜan* 'I fasted for a week', or *šahran* 'for a month', or *ḥawlan* 'for a year').

18.2 Having finished with the time-qualifier, the author now turns to the space-qualifier:[1] and the space-qualifier (which he defines thus) is the noun of place that is made dependent with the implicit meaning of *fī* 'in', that is, when it is a vague noun, since every vague noun may properly take dependent form as a space-qualifier.[2]

18.201 The author now lists thirteen of them: for example (1) *'amāma* 'in front of', synonymous with *quddāma* 'in front of',[1] as in *jalastu 'amāma l-'amīri* 'I sat in front of the prince', i.e. *quddāmahu* 'in front of him', where *'amāma* 'in front of' is a space-qualifier made dependent by the preceding verb as an object of location.[2]

18.202 (2) *ḵalfa* 'behind', the antonym of *quddāma* 'in front of', as in *jalastu ḵalfaka* 'I sat behind you', parsed as above.[1]

18.112 (1) 'Noun of vague time' is *ism li-zamān mubham* (cf. 11.73 on *mubham* 'vague', also 18.113 n 1). Neither the generic article (11.741) nor the article of familiarity (11.742) can occur with this class of time qualifier: 'at the time' can only be expressed either by making *ḥīn* specific by means of a demonstrative (*fī ḏālika l-ḥīni* 'at that time') or by annexing it to a specific event, as in the example in the text (and cf. *ḥīna'iḏin* 'at that time', like *waqta'iḏin* etc., 5.43 n 1). Dep. plural *'aḥyānan* means 'sometimes', and there is a plur. of the plur. (3.221 n 2), *fī l-'aḥāyīni* 'at times'.

18.113 (1) Aš-Širbīnī has conflated here the three classes of time qualifier in his source, al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* I, 341. As listed there, we find (a) nouns of vague time (*mubham*, 18.112 n 1), the same as aš-Širbīnī (to whose examples we should add *mudda* 'period', *marra* 'time, occasion', several words meaning an indefinite period, such as *dahr, fatra, ᶜaṣr, 'awān, zamān* etc., two words which occur only in annexation, viz. *baᶜda* 'after', *qabla* 'before', cf. 18.41 n 2, and such pairs as *tāratan....tāratan* 'one time....another time', etc, not forgetting *fawran* 'immediately', *'ayḏan* 'also'); (b) nouns of specific time (*muḵtaṣṣ*), e.g. *yawma l-ḵamīsi* 'on Thursday', which answer the question 'when?' (this class may be closed: we can add only *al-bāriḥata* 'yesterday' and *al-'āna* 'now'); (c) nouns of countable time (*maᶜdūd*), e.g. *šahran* 'for a month', answering the question 'how long?' (this class is not quite closed: neologisms *daqīqa* 'minute' and *ṯāniya* 'second' have been added, and the 'vague' noun *sāᶜa* 'moment' has extended from class (a) to class (c) in the meaning of 'hour'). It will be seen that aš-Širbīnī's second class is a mixture of al-Azharī's (b) and (c). Note also that in the metalanguage all items bear the definite article, e.g. *al-waqtu* 'the word *waqt*', which does not mean that they may occur as time qualifiers with the article.

18.2 (1) 'Space qualifier' is *ẓarf makān*, lit. 'container of place', cf. 18.101 n 1, and see 18.4 n 2 on the difference between these nouns and pure prepositions.

(2) Cf. 11.82 n 2 on *ṣāliḥ* 'proper'. Unlike time nouns, only vague (*mubham*) place nouns may normally occur as space qualifiers (*ḏahabtu š-šāma* 'I went Damascus' is cited as an anomaly, *Kitāb* I, 15). In his discussion of this problem, Sībawayhi makes two important points: (a) time qualifiers are inherently appropriate for verbs because time is a formal component of the verb, and (b) places have a physical being (*juṯṯa* 'body'), while time is merely the alternation of night and day, i.e. is cyclic whereas places are unique.

18.201 (1) There is no attempt to escape the circularity of these paraphrases (cf. 18.203!), see 12.92 n 1.

(2) That *'amāma* still has an independent existence as a noun is seen in such phrases as *'ilā l-'amāmi* 'to the front', where is still has the nominal markers *al* (1.5) and the oblique case ending *i* (1.31).

18.202 (1) This, too, retains its nominal quality, cf. *'ilā l-ḵalfi* 'to the rear', and also occurs undefined, *ḵalfan* 'behind'. It is cognate

من الاعراب وثالثتها قدام بمعنى امام نحو جلست قدام الدار ويأتي فيه ما مر
من الاعراب ورابعتها وراء بالمد بمعنى خلف نحو جلست وراء المسجد ويأتي فيه
ما مر من الاعراب وقد يأتي وراء بمعنى قدام كما قيل في قوله تعالى وكان
وراءهم ملك انه بمعنى قدام وخامستها فوق لكل مكان عال وهو ضد تحت نحو
جلست فوق السطح وفيه ما مر من الاعراب والسادسة تحت وهو ضد فوق تقول
جلست تحت الشجرة والاعراب فيه على ما مر والسابعة عند وهو للكمان القريب
نحو جلست عند زيد اي قريبا منه فعند ظرف مكان منصوب بتقدير في وناصبه
الفعل الذي قبله على انه مفعول فيه والثامنة مع وهو اسم مكان الاجتماع نحو
جلست مع محمد اي مصاحبا له وفيه من الاعراب ما مر والتاسعة ازاء بالزاي

18.203 (3) *quddāma* 'in front of', synonymous with *'amāma* 'in front of', as in *jalastu quddāma d-dāri* 'I sat in front of the house', parsed as above.[1]

18.204 (4) *warā'a* 'behind',[1] synonymous with *kalfa* 'behind', as in *jalastu warā'a l-masjidi* 'I sat behind the mosque', parsed as above. It is also known for *warā'a* to occur in the meaning of *quddāma* 'in front of',[2] as is the opinion regarding the Qur'anic verse *wa-kāna warā'ahum malikun* 'and there was before them a king',[3] in which *warā'a* is said to have the meaning of *quddāma* 'in front of'.

18.205 (5) *fawqa* 'above',[1] for every high place; it is the antonym of *taḥta* 'beneath', as in *jalastu fawqa s-saṭḥi* 'I sat on top of the roof', parsed as above.

18.206 (6) *taḥta* 'beneath', the antonym of *fawqa* 'above', as in *jalastu taḥta š-šajarati* 'I sat beneath the tree', parsed as above.[1]

18.207 (7) *ᶜinda* 'at',[1] for every near place, as in *jalastu ᶜinda zaydin* 'I sat next to Zayd', i.e. near him, where *ᶜinda* 'at' is a space-qualifier made dependent with the implicit meaning of *fī* 'in', and the element which makes it dependent is the preceding verb, as an object of location.

18.208 (8) *maᶜa* 'with',[1] which is a noun denoting a place of meeting, as in *jalastu maᶜa muḥammadin* 'I sat with Muḥammad', i.e. in his company, parsed as above.

18.209 (9) *'izā'a* 'opposite', (spelt with z and 'lengthened ā''),[1] in

with *k̲alīfa* 'caliph', i.e. he who remains behind or follows on. For *'i^{c}rāb* 'parsing' see 8.21 n 2, and note that in these paragraphs aš-Širbīnī adapts very freely from al-Azharī, *Āj*. 84.

18.203 (1) Here one may register a very minor quibble against the use of the term 'preposition' by Brockelmann (*Grundr*. II, 420) in his discussion of this word. It was never anything but a noun, just as 'front' is a noun still; note, however, Brockelmann's comment that *quddāma* does not appear in this 'prepositional' function in the earliest Classical Arabic.

18.204 (1) The *'* in this word causes problems for lexicographers: in one dictionary it will be found under the root *w-r-'*, as if the *'* were the 3rd radical, in another under *w-r-y*, as if the *'* were the reflex of *y* after a long vowel (cf. *samā'un*<**samāwun*, 3.62 n 2).

(2) See 26.33 n 2 on the phenomenon of enantiosema.

(3) S. 18 v 79; in similar contexts English can also be illogical as, for example, when we speak of a popular movement having the 'backing' of its 'leaders'. Not the inverted sentence structure: even the subject noun and predicate of *kāna* (10.11) must obey the rules for equational sentence, cf. 9.73 n 1.

18.205 (1) We are still in the realm of pure nouns, though *fawqa* has some peculiarities of its own, q.v. 18.41 n 2. But its nominal status is assured by the existance of a diminutive (3.421 n 1), e.g. *fuwayqa s-saṭḥi* 'a little above the roof'.

18.206 (1) It may be worth pointing out that space qualifiers are not limited to their literal meaning, cf. *taḥta 'amrika* 'under your command' (and cf. also 1.704).

18.207 (1) Though a root ^{c}*-n-d* exists (with 'resist, oppose' among its meanings), Brockelmann, *Grundr*. II, 414, derives ^{c}*inda* from *^{c}*im* 'at' (cognate with *ma*^{c}*a* 'with', 18.208) and a deictic element *d* 'there'. Nevertheless it retains nominal inflections (cf. 18.41), which suggests that for the Arabs, at least, it has come to be regarded as a regular noun. Note that, in common with several time qualifiers, ^{c}*inda* combines with *mā* 'what' (q.v. 5.89 n 2) to form a conjunction 'when'. Beeston 57; Fleisch 208.

18.208 (1) This is the first in our list of nouns which has nearly lost its nominal quality and become, in effect, a preposition, though it retains one nominal feature, viz. that it may occur with *tanwīn*, e.g. *sirnā ma*^{c}*an* 'we travelled together'. See previous note for etymological connections, and 26.27 n 1 on *ma*^{c}*a* paraphrasing the verb 'to have'. Note also *ma*^{c}*iyya* 'withness', 25.0 n 1.

18.209 (1) This is a difficult word for scribes, hence the spelling instructions (3.44 n 2): long before aš-Širbīnī's time Classical Arabic *d̲* had fallen together with *z* in the pronounciation of learned or literary words, and a hypercorrect spelling *'id̲ā'a* would probably have resulted here, by confusion with *'id̲ā*.

والمد بمعنى المقابلة نحو جلست ازاء البيت (55c) اي مقابلته وفيه من الاعراب
ما مر والعاشرة حذاء بالذال المعجمة والمد بمعنى القريب نحو جلست حذاء عمرو
اي قريبا منه وفيه من الاعراب ما مر والحادية عشرة تلقاء بمعنى المقابلة كازاء
نحو جلست تلقاء بكر اي مقابله وفيه من الاعراب ما مر والثانية عشرة هنا
بضم الهاء وتخفيف النون وهو اسم اشارة للمكان القريب نحو جلست هنا اي في
هذا المكان القريب وفيه ما مر من الاعراب والثالثة عشرة ثم بالثاء المثلثة
المفتوحة وهو اسم اشارة للمكان البعيد نحو اجلس ثم اي في هذا المكان البعيد
وفيه ما مر من الاعراب وقوله وما اشبه ذلك اشار به الى ان كل اسم مكان
مبهم ينصب على الظرفية نحو * يمين وشمال وتقول جلست يمين عمرو وشمال زيد
فيمين وشمال منصوبان على الظرفية بتقدير في وناصبهما الفعل الذي قبلهما على
انهما مفعولان فيه تنبيه كاسم الزمان والمكان لاسم الذي عرضت دلالته على احدهما
وهو اربعة اولها اسماء العدد المميز بها كسرت عشرين يوما وثلاثين فرسخا

the meaning of being face to face, as in *jalastu 'izā'a l-bayti* 'I sat opposite the house' *(55c)*[2] i.e. *muqābalatahu* 'being face to face with it', parsed as above.

18.210 (10) *ḥiḏā'a* 'opposite', (spelt with dotted *ḏ* and 'lengthened *ā*''),[1] meaning 'near', as in *jalastu ḥiḏā'a ᶜamrin* 'I sat opposite ᶜAmr', i.e. near him, parsed as above.

18.211 (11) *tilqā'a* 'opposite',[1] in the meaning of being face to face, like *'izā'a* 'opposite', as in *jalastu tilqā'a bakrin* 'I sat opposite Bakr', i.e. *muqābilahu* 'facing him', parsed as above.

18.212 (12) *hunā* 'here', (spelt with *u* after the *h* and a single *n*), which is a demonstrative noun[1] of near place, as in *jalastu hunā* 'I sat here', i.e. in this near place,[2] parsed as above.

18.213 (13) *ṯamma* 'there', (spelt with a three-dotted *ṯ* and an *a* following),[1] which is a demonstrative noun of remote place, as in *ijlis ṯamma* 'sit over there', i.e. in that remote place, parsed as above.

18.214 Finally: and the like.[1] By this the author indicates that every vague noun of place may take dependent form as a space-qualifier, e.g. * *yamīnun* 'right' and *šimālun* 'left', as in *jalastu yamīna ᶜamrin wa-šimāla zaydin* 'I sat on the right of ᶜAmr and the left of Zayd', in which *yamīna* 'right' and *šimāla* 'left' are both made dependent as space-qualifiers[2] with the implicit meaning of *fī* 'in', and the element which makes them dependent is the preceding verb, as objects of location.[3]

18.3 Note: Like the nouns of time and place are the nouns which accidentally happen to denote[1] one of the two, of which there are four kinds:

18.31 (1) The nouns of number[1] which are followed by specifying elements, e.g. *sirtu ᶜišrīna yawman wa-ṯalāṯīna farsaḵan* 'I travelled twenty days

(2) From the beginning of 18.111 to *yamīnun* in 18.214 (marked * in the text and translation) is missing from MS C. and has been restored from MS D. To preserve the folio sequence of MS C. for purposes of cross-reference, however, a folio 55c has been arbitrarily created.

18.210 (1) Yet another difficult word (one marvels at the choice, seeing that such common space qualifiers as *bayna* 'between', *dūna* 'beyond, without' etc. are not mentioned, q.v. 18.214 n 1).

18.211 (1) The prefix of this word seems to show dissimilation of *ta* to *ti* (so Fleisch 83, *Tr.* #92d), though whether, as Fleisch suggests, this was helped by the existence of synonyms with identical vowels (in this case *liqā'a*), or whether there was pressure from functionally similar words such as *'izā'a*, *ḥiḏā'a* etc. is an open question. Note *tujāha* 'opposite', where the prefix *tu* appears to retain the quality of the **1st rad. *w* of this word (<**tawjāha*?).**

18.212 (1) *ism 'išāra*, cf. 11.73 n 1: it is a combination of deictic elements *h* and *n* (Fleisch 144); the final *ā* is a mystery (one might expect **hunan*), perhaps it is to be compared with *'iḏā*, 5.43 n 1.

(2) Parallel with the demonstratives (11.73) there is a series *hunā*, *hunāka*, *hunālika* for near, middle and remote distance respectively (Fleisch 144, where also other variants).

18.213 (1) The spelling instructions (3.44 n 2) serve to distinguish *ṯamma* from *ṯumma* 'then' (q.v. 12.3; evidently not etymologically related to *ṯamma*). Cf. Fleisch 146. On the imperative *ijlis* cf. 13.12 n 1.

18.214 (1) Several other space qualifiers can be added to the list, e.g. *bayna* 'between', *dūna* 'beyond, without', *ḥawla* 'around', *dāḵila* 'inside', *ḵārija* 'outside' (the last two being agent nouns, scil. 'in that which is inside/outside' or 'being inside/outside'), *ḵilāla* 'during, between' (lit. 'in the gaps of'), *qibala* 'opposite' (cf. 18.211 n 1), *ladā* 'at, with' (final *a* like *'ilā*, 1.702, so *ladayka* 'with you'), *ladun*, variant of *ladā* (18.106 n 2). Brockelmann, *Grundr.* I, 466, regards the future particle *sawfa* (1.82) as an old 'adverb'.

(2) Though defined by annexation (11.761) these may not occur with the def. article alone: 'I sat on the right' has to be personalized or otherwise made specific, viz. *jalastu yamīnahu* 'I sat on the right of him (or it)'. Contrast *jalastu yamīnan* (undef.) 'I sat right'.

(3) Even when space/time qualifiers occur in verbless sentences, e.g. ***baytuka yamīna baytī* 'your house is to the right of my house'**, an underlying verb or equivalent is assumed (9.74, but see 19.25 n 1).

18.3 (1) 'Accidentally happen to denote' renders *ᶜaraḍat dalālatuhu,* lit. 'its denotation occurred fortuitously'. Behind this expression lurks the philosophical antithesis between 'substance' (*jawhar*) and 'accident' (*ᶜaraḍ*). Cf. *ᶜāriḍa* 'accidental' in 5.1, also 5.88 n 4.

18.31 (1) Note first that the cardinal numbers are all nouns, which in part explains the peculiarities of their syntax (see further 20.21-22).

فعشرين مفعول فيه منصوب نصب ظرف الزمان وثلاثين مفعول فيه منصوب نصب ظرف المكان لانهما ميزا بذلك وثانيها ما قيدت به كلية احدهما او جزئيته كسرت جميع اليوم جميع الفرسخ او كل اليوم كل الفرسخ او بعض اليوم بعض الفرسخ او نصف اليوم نصف الفرسخ فجميع وكل وبعض ونصف منصوبات نصب ظرف الزمان والمكان ثالثها ما كان صفة لاحدهما كجلست طويلا من الدهر غربي الدار اذ الاصل زمانا طويلا ومكانا غربيا رابعها ما كان مخفوضا باضافة احدهما ثم حذف المضاف وانيب عنه المضاف اليه بعد حذفه وهو في ظرف الزمان كثير نحو جئتك صلاة العصر وقدوم الحاج والاصل وقت صلاة العصر (56a) ووقت قدوم الحاج فحذف المضاف وفي ظرف المكان قليل نحو جلست قرب زيد اي مكان قربه تتمة ما استعمل من اسماء الزمان والمكان غير ظرف كان يرى مبتدأ او خبرا او فاعلا او مفعولا او مضافا اليه نحو يوم وشهر يسمى في عرف النحويين واصطلاحهم متصرفا

and thirty parasangs', where *^{c}išrīna* 'twenty'[2] is an object of location with the dependent form of a time-qualifier, and *ṯalāṯīna* 'thirty' is an object of location with the dependent form of a space-qualifier, because both have time and space terms as their specifying elements.

18.32 (2) That which is used to characterize the totality or partiality of either,[1] e.g. *sirtu jamī^{c}a l-yawmi jamī^{c}a l-farasaḵi* 'I travelled the whole day the whole parasang', or *kulla l-yawmi kulla l-farsaḵi* 'all day all the parasang', or *ba^{c}ḍa l-yawmi ba^{c}ḍa l-farsaḵi* 'some of the day some of the parasang', or *niṣfa l-yawmi niṣfa l-farsaḵi* 'half the day half the parasang',[2] in which *jamī^{c}a* 'whole', *kulla* 'all', *ba^{c}ḍa* 'some' and *niṣfa* 'half' all have the dependent form of the time-qualifier and space-qualifier.[3]

18.33 (3) That which is an adjective to either, e.g. *jalastu ṭawīlan (min ad-dahri) ḡarbiyya d-dāri* 'I sat long (in time) west of the house', from an original *zamānan ṭawīlan* 'for a long time' and *makānan ḡarbiyyan* 'in a westerly place'.[1]

18.34 (4) That which was previously made oblique by having either of these two annexed to it, but then the annexing element has replaced the elided annexed element. This is very common with time-qualifiers, e.g. *ji'tuka ṣalāta l-^{c}aṣri wa-qudūma l-ḥājji* 'I came to you at the evening prayer and on the arrival of the pilgrim', from an original *waqta ṣalāti l-^{c}aṣri (56a) wa-waqta qudūmi l-ḥājji* 'at the time of evening prayer and at the time of the pilgrim's arrival'.[1] It is rather rare with space-qualifiers, e.g. *jalastu qurba zaydin* 'I sat near Zayd', i.e. *makāna qurbihi* 'in the place of his nearness'.[2]

18.4 Supplementary Note: In the accepted usage and technical vocabulary of the grammarians the term 'fully current'[1] is applied to those nouns of time and place which are used as other than space/time qualifiers, and which are seen to occur as subjects, predicates, agents, direct

The relationship between the numeral and the counted can best be seen in a literal translation: 'I travelled twenty (in units of a) day and thirty (in units of a) parasang', the actual units being expressed as 'specifying elements' (*mumayyiz*, q.v. 20.0). Cf. also 17.62.

(2) Only the numbers from 11 to 99 are followed by specifying elements, the remainder being annexed to the counted noun, e.g. *sirtu ṯalāṯata 'ayyāmin wa-ṯalāṯata farāsiḵa* 'I travelled three days and three parasangs'. It is not clear why aš-Širbīnī (following al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* I, 338) omits to mention the other numbers either here or in 18.32, where they could easily have been accommodated.

18.32 (1) Cf. 11.721 n 4 on the formation of abstract nouns with the *iyya* suffix (*kulliyya* 'totality' from *kull* 'all', likewise *juz'iyya* 'partiality' from *juz'* 'part'). See 13.4, 17.64 on *kull* etc.

(2) Here may be included fractions, e.g. *sirtu ṯulṯa l-yawmi* 'I travelled a third of the day' etc. Cf. also 12.41, 14.21 n 1, 17.65.

(3) The examples are all of defined nouns of specific time (18.113): undefined examples are *sirtu kulla yawmin* 'I travelled every day' (cf. 13.4 n 6), *baᶜḍa yawmin* 'for part of a day' (cf. 12.41), *niṣfa yawmin* 'for half a day'. Nouns of vague time (18.112) never have *kull* etc. annexed to them: for 'all the time' Classical Arabic uses various verbs, q.v. 10.19-22, while in modern Arabic an impersonal form of the circumstantial qualifier has evolved, viz. *dā'iman*, 'lastingly', agent noun of *dāma* 'to last, remain' (10.23), which remains masc. sing. regardless of the antecedent (contrast 19.21 n 1). 'All the time' as a conjunction is *kullamā*, i.e. *kull* 'all' with the indefinite relative suffix *mā* 'what, that' (cf. 5.89 n 2).

18.33 (1) Note that *ḡarbiyya* can be made specific by annexing it to *ad-dāri* (scil. 'at the western point of the house'), while *ṭawīlan* cannot be made specific, because it cannot be annexed to a noun of specific time (18.113: **ṭawīla s-sāᶜati* 'long of hour' does not occur). Instead it is explained by a partitive phrase, scil. 'something long, from time', the article of *ad-dahri* here being the generic article (11.741).

18.34 (1) See 3.0 n 2 on *'aṣl* 'original'; 26.7 on annexation. In *waqta ṣalāti l-ᶜaṣri, waqta* (marked as a time qualifier) is annexed to *ṣalāti*: when *waqta* is dropped *ṣalāti* (marked as annexing element) becomes *salāta*, now marked as time qualifier. Note that *waqta ṣ-ṣalāti* 'at the time of the prayer' and *ṣalāta l-ᶜaṣri* 'at evening prayer' are possible, but not *aṣ-ṣalāta* or *al-waqta* alone (18.112 n 1).

(2) Commoner is the periphrasis *bi-qurbi zaydin* lit. 'in the nearness of Zayd', or the adjectival *qarīban min zaydin* 'near to Zayd', with the same structure as 18.33, scil. an understood *makānan qarīban* 'in a near place'.

18.4 (1) 'Fully current' is *mutaṣarrif*, lit. 'circulating freely', synonym of *munṣarif* and *mutamakkin*, q.v. 1.41, 3.87 n 3. Here the emphasis is not so much on the morphology (viz. ability to bear the

وما لا يخرج عنهما نحو سحر من يوم بعينه وقط في استغراق الماضي وعوض في
استغراق المستقبل او لا يخرج عنهما الا الى شبههما وهو الجر بمن نحو عند فانه
لا يستعمل الا ظرفا نحو جلست عندك او مجرورا نحو خرجت من عندك يسمى في
عرفهم واصطلاحهم غير متصرف ولما فرغ المصنف من الرابع من المنصوبات وهو
احد نوعي المفعول فيه شرع في الخامس منها وهو الحال لما بينهما من المناسبة
في النصب على معنى في فقال

باب الحال والفها منقلبة عن واو لقولهم في جمعها احوال وفي تصغيرها حويلة

objects and with other elements annexed to them, such as *yawmun* 'a day' and *šahrun* 'a month'.[2]

18.41 In the accepted usage and technical vocabulary of the grammarians the term 'not freely current'[1] is applied to those nouns which never leave the category of space/time-qualifier,[2] such as *ṣahara* 'early' (referring to a specific day), *qaṭṭu* 'at all' (for bringing out the full meaning of the past tense) and *ᶜawḍu* 'ever' (for bringing out the full meaning of the future tense); likewise those which only leave the category to become part of an equivalent construction, namely to be made oblique by *min* 'from', as with *ᶜinda* 'at, with', which can be used either as a space-qualifier, e.g. *jalastu ᶜindaka* 'I sat with you', or made oblique by *min* 'from', e.g. *k̲arajtu min ᶜindika* 'I went out from with you'.[3]

18.5 Having finished with the fourth of the dependent elements (which is one of the two kinds of object of location),[1] the author now turns to the fifth of them, namely the circumstantial qualifier, because of the relationship between it and the object of location in being made dependent with the meaning of *fī* 'in'.

CHAPTER NINETEEN

19.0 Chapter on the circumstantial qualifier.[1] (The *ā* of *ḥālun* 'a circumstance, situation' is converted from *w*, as can be seen from the fact that people say *'aḥwālun* 'circumstances' in the plural and *ḥuwaylatun*

marker *tanwīn*), but on the syntactical freedom associated with *tanwīn* and inventoried in the ensuing lines. Note overlap of morphological and syntactic terminology (cf. 1.41 n 4, 17.1). See also Diem, *Oriens* 23/4 321.

(2) This flexibility is one of the features which distinguishes space/time qualifiers from prepositions. Theoretically the former are all nouns (*hunā*, 18.212 and *ṯamma*, 18.213 are problematical, but are at least morphologically similar to dep. nouns), while the latter are not only mostly biliterals (i.e. outside the root system, cf. 26.26 n 1), but also have only one function (scil. can only occur with a following oblique noun, cf. 1.7). Cf. Beeston 88; Bateson 44.

18.41 (1) 'Not freely current' is *ġayr mutaṣarrif* (*ġayr* 'not', 21.42, and see 18.4 n 1 on *mutaṣarrif*). As the examples show, these elements neither have *tanwīn* nor the syntactical freedom it implies.

(2) A class of nouns as yet unexplained is the seemingly fossilized locatives in *u*, e.g. *ba*^{c}*du* 'afterwards', *qablu* 'before', *fawqu* 'above', *ḥayṯu* 'where, when' (cf. Reckendorf, *Synt. Verh.* 14, Fleisch, *Tr.* #149b, Lekiashvili, *Arch. Or.* 39, 62). These have come to be known as *ġāyāt* 'limits, ends' because they cannot be followed by an annexing element (v. *Muf.* #201), but this is probably a misunderstanding of Sībawayhi (*Kitāb* II, 44), since it is clear that *ġāyāt* for him also applied to the rest of the space/time qualifiers (id. I, 207). Note also invariable compounds *layla nahāra* 'night and day', *bayta bayta* 'house to house' etc., and numerals 13-19 (20.22 n 1(a)).

(3) Numerous examples in Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.* 221, Nöldeke 51; one in aš-Širbīnī, 5.41 end. Because only *min* is found in this position it is regarded as the archetype of all prepositions (26.21 n 1).

18.5 (1) The other is the time qualifier, already dealt with (18.1) as the third kind of dependent element. It is important to distinguish between functional category *ism zamān/ism makān* 'noun of time/noun of place' and formal category *ism al-marra/ism makān* 'noun of time/noun of place: see 17.62 n 1, 17.7 n 3 on *ism al-marra*. The 'noun of place' mostly has the pattern *maf*^{c}*al*, e.g. *mašrab* 'drinking place', Fleisch 85; Yushmanov 36; Bateson 18; *Muf.* #361.

19.0 (1) *Jum.* 47; *Muf.* #74; *Alf.* v 332; *Qaṭr* 257; Beeston 89, 95; Fleisch 181; Bateson 47; Yushmanov 75. Terminology 19.21 n 2. Note that this chapter deals only with nouns as circumstantial qualifiers: see 19.9 n 1 for sentences as circumstantial qualifiers.

ويجوز فيها التذكير والتأنيث لفظا ومعنى يقال حال حسن وحسنة والأنيث افصح
وحدها المصنف بقوله هو الاسم الفضلة المنصوب بالفعل وشبهه المفسر لما انبهم
من الهيئات فعلم من قوله الاسم ان الحال لا تكون الا اسما لا فعلا ولا حرفا ومن
قوله المنصوب انها لا تكون مرفوعة ولا مجرورة ومن قوله المفسر لما انبهم من
الهيئات ان الحال تفسر الهيئات المبهمة اللاحقة للذوات العاقلة وغيرها بخلاف
التمييز فانه مفسر لما انبهم من الذوات وتجيء الحال من الفاعل نصا نحو جاء
زيد راكبا فراكبا حال من الفاعل الذي هو زيد منصوبة بجاء الرافع للفاعل وزيد
الذي هو صاحب الحال قد انبهم حاله في مجيئه ففسر حاله بانه جاء راكبا وتجيء
من المفعول نصا نحو ركبت الفرس مسرجا فركبت (56b) فعل وفاعل مرفوع بالفعل
والفرس مفعول به منصوب بركب ومسرجا حال من المفعول به منصوبة بركب

'a small circumstance' in the diminutive.[2] The word may be masculine or feminine, either formally or abstractly, e.g. *ḥālun ḥasanun* or *ḥālun ḥasanatun* 'a good circumstance', the feminine being the purer usage).[3] The author defines it as follows:

19.1 This is the noun that is structurally redundant,[1] of dependent form (through the verb or its equivalent),[2] which explains what is otherwise vague in exterior aspects:[3] (from the term 'noun' it is understood that the circumstantial qualifier can only be a noun, not a verb or a particle; from 'dependent' that it is not independent or oblique, and from 'which explains what is vague in exterior aspects' that the circumstantial qualifier explains vague exterior aspects pertaining to both rational beings and others, unlike the 'specifying element', which explains what is vague in the beings themselves).

19.21 The circumstantial qualifier occurs (1) unambiguously qualifying the agent, e.g. *jā'a zaydun rākiban* 'Zayd came riding', where *rākiban* 'riding' is a circumstantial qualifier of the agent,[1] namely *zaydun* 'Zayd', and is made dependent by *jā'a* 'to come', which also makes the agent independent. As it was not clear in what circumstances Zayd (the antecedent of the circumstantial qualifier) actually came, the circumstances are explained by saying that he came *rākiban* 'riding'.[2]

19.22 (2) It occurs unambiguously qualifying[1] the direct object, e.g. *rakibtu l-farasa musrajan* 'I rode the horse saddled', where *rakibtu* 'I rode *(56b)* is a verb and its agent made independent by it, *al-farasa* 'the horse' is a direct object made dependent by *rakiba* 'to ride', and *musrajan* 'saddled'[2] is a circumstantial qualifier of the direct object also made dependent by *rakiba* 'to ride'.

(2) See 3.421 n 1 on the diminutive. The reduction of the sequence *awa* (and *aya*) to *ā* is a regular feature, most noticeable in the 'hollow verbs' (cf. 8.2 n 5). 'Converted' is literal for *munqalibatun*, cf. the cognate *taqlibu* 'converts', *qalbun* 'conversion' in 5.71, showing again how morphological and syntactical terms form a continuum (cf. 1.5 n 3).

(3) The examples show *ḥālun* as masculine or unmarked feminine (cf. 11.43 n 3): the marked fem. *ḥālatun* exists in free variation with *ḥālun* (cf. 11.2 n 1), but does not depart from its marked gender.

19.1 (1) 'Structurally redundant' is *faḍla*, lit. 'a surplus', i.e. outside the minimal sentence (q.v. 20.01 n 1); the equation dependence = structural redundancy was axiomatic for Sībawayhi (Carter, *B.S.O.A.S.* 35, 491), but *faḍla* does not appear to be in use before al-Mubarrad (d. 898), e.g. *Muqtaḍab* III, 116, 121). It must not be confused with *mulġā* 'neutralized', 5.431 n 3. See also 15.06 n 1; 19.6; 25.1.

(2) i.e. verbal nouns, agent nouns, patient nouns, see 19.25.

(3) 'Exterior aspects' renders *hay'āt*, lit. 'forms, states', in its sing. *hay'a* a term borrowed from philosophy (perhaps no earlier than az-Zamakšarī, e.g. *Muf.* #74). In some contexts it is virtually a synonym of *ḥāl* (cf. *E.I.* (2), art. 'Hay'a', esp. 301b infra), and our present translation reflects more the need to contrast the functions of *ḥāl* and *tamyīz* (q.v. 20.01) than to avoid the circularity of Ibn Ājurrūm's formulation.

19.21 (1) It is taken for granted by aš-Širbīnī that the reader will know the concordance rules for the circumstantial qualifier, viz. that it has the number and gender of its antecedent but is always undefined (19.5) and dependent. Apart from the obligatory dependent form, the circumstantial qualifier thus follows the same rules as the predicate of an equational sentence, see further 19.7.

(2) Terminology: 'antecedent' is *ṣāḥib al-ḥāl* or *ḏū l-ḥāl*, both lit. 'owner of the circumstance', and 'circumstantial qualifier' is simply *ḥāl*, lit. 'circumstance, situation' (it is a fair comment that *ḥāl* would be more accurately translated 'situational qualifier' here, but 'circumstantial' seems to be favoured, e.g. Wright, Cantarino, Bateson etc.). Against Merx's claim (loc. cit. 18.101 n 1) that *ḥāl* must be a borrowed term because Sībawayhi uses it without explanation (!), we should consider the likelihood that *ḥāl* was not a technical term at all for Sībawayhi, which is why al-Mubarrad (*Muqtaḍab* IV, 166) has to make a special point of ensuring that it is recognized as such.

19.22 (1) 'Unambiguously qualifying' here and in 19.21 renders *naṣṣan*, lit. 'as a clarification, proof-text', but explained by Abū n-Najā (fl. 1808) in his Commentary on al-Azharī, *Āj.* 84 (which aš-Širbīnī is now quoting) as intended to contrast these instances of the circumstantial qualifier with the ambiguous type in 19.23.

(2) This has been read as the Stem IV patient noun (q.v. 10.34 n 1) in preference to the synonymous Stem II *musarrajan* because the latter,

وتجيء من الفاعل والمفعول نحو لقيت عبدالله راكبا فراكبا حال محتملة لان تكون
من الفاعل وهو التاء في لقيت وان تكون من المفعول الذي هو عبدالله وهي منصوبة
بلقي مفسرة لصاحبها وتجيء منهما معا نحو لقيت زيدا راكبين فراكبين مبين
لهيئة الفاعل والمفعول وقوله وما اشبه ذلك اشار به الى الامثلة المتقدمة ولا تجيء
الحال من المبتدأ على الراجح وتجيء من المجرور بالحرف نحو مررت بهند جالسة او
من المجرور بالمضاف نحو قوله تعالى ايحب احدكم ان يأكل لحم ابيه ميتا فميتا
حال من اخيه والغالب في الاسم الواقع حالا ان يكون مشتقا مفارقا والمراد بالمشتق
ما دل على ذات باعتبار معنى فيها هو المقصود كاسم الفاعل واسم المفعول

19.23 (3) It occurs qualifying either the agent or the direct object, e.g. *laqītu ᶜabdallāhi rākiban* 'I met ᶜAbdullāh riding', where *rākiban* 'riding' is a circumstantial qualifier which is capable of qualifying either the agent (i.e. the *tu* 'I' of *laqītu* 'I met') or the direct object (i.e. *ᶜabdallāhi* 'ᶜAbdullāh');[1] in any case it is made dependent by *laqiya* 'to meet',[2] and is explanatory of its antecedent.

19.24 (4) It also occurs qualifying both together, e.g. *laqītu zaydan rākibayni* 'I met Zayd, both (of us) riding', where *rākibayni* 'both riding'[1] clarifies the exterior aspect of both the agent and the direct object.

19.25 By and the like, the author is referring to the examples already given above. On the whole the circumstantial qualifier does not occur with the subject of an equational sentence,[1] though it is found with nouns made oblique by particles, e.g. *marartu bi-hindin jālisatan* 'I passed by Hind sitting',[2] and by annexation, e.g. the Qur'anic *'a-yuḥibbu 'aḥadukum 'an ya'kula laḥma 'akīhi maytan* 'would any one of you like to eat the flesh of his brother, dead?',[3] where *maytan* 'dead' is a circumstantial qualifier of *'akīhi* 'his brother's'.

19.3 The predominant usage[1] is for the noun which occurs as a circumstantial qualifier to be both derived and transient.

19.31 By 'derived'[1] is meant the noun which denotes an entity in terms of some specifically intended semantic function, such as the agent noun, the patient noun, the quasi-participial adjective and the elative noun.[2]

though indistinguishable in a text without diacriticals, is evidently a post-classical form.

19.23 (1) There seems to be no convention which would make reference to one or the other of the antecedents more likely (cf. Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.* 98), but ambiguity can always be avoided by using the sentence type of circumstantial qualifier (q.v. 19.9 n 1), thus *laqītu ^{c}abdallāhi wa-'anā rākibun* 'I met ^{c}Abdullāh while I was riding' or *wa-huwa rākibun* 'while he was riding', alternatively *laqītu ^{c}abdallāhi 'arkabu* 'I met ^{c}Abdullāh, I riding' or *yarkabu* 'he riding'.

(2) See 10.14 n 2 on this type of weak 3rd rad. verb, and note the convention of referring to the verb in its 3rd masc. sing. past tense (3.52 n 3).

19.24 (1) Being dual, *rākibayni* can only refer to both individual antecedents together, the same as in the equational sentence *'anā wa-zaydun rākibāni* 'Zayd and I are (both) riding' (cf. 19.5). Note this example from Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.* 98: *'inna sawfa tudrikunā l-manāyā muqaddaratan lanā wa-muqaddarīna (lahā)* 'verily the fates will catch up with us, they predestined for us and we predestined (for them)', with two antecedents and two circumstantial qualifiers in parallel.

19.25 (1) Later grammarians (and those who relied on them, e.g. Jahn, n 8 to #110, = *Kitāb* I, 230) were reluctant to accept that dep. forms could occur without at least an implicit verb (cf. 16.311 n 1). But for Sībawayhi many dep. forms were the result of the operation of a previous complete utterance (Carter, *B.S.O.A.S.* 35, 491), requiring no assumed verb, e.g. *huwa nārun ḥumratan* 'he is a fire in redness', *hāḏā ba^{c}lī šayḵan* 'this is my husband, an old man' (S. 11 v 72; see also *Muf.* #79; Nöldeke 49).

(2) Intransitive verbs, as well as passive verbs (e.g. *qutila nā'iman* 'he was killed sleeping', cf. also 8.0) operate on all dependent noun classes except direct objects (16.309 n 1).

(3) S. 49 v 12.

19.3 (1) See 3.65 n 12 on *ġālib* 'predominant usage'; 19.31 n 1 on *muštaqq* 'derived'; 19.32 n 1 on *mufāriq* 'transient'. On the formal classes of nouns see also 20.7 n 1.

19.31 (1) 'Derived', *muštaqq*, contrasts with *jāmid* 'underived', q.v. 20.7 n 1, and refers to the insertion of radicals into one or another of the patterns in which nouns occur (see 10.37 n 1). Each pattern has its own 'meaning' (*ma^{c}nā*), translated here 'semantic function' in keeping with the use of *ma^{c}nā* to denote the 'meanings' of particles (cf. 1.701 n 2), of nominal and verbal inflections (2.2 nn 5, 6), and of the imperfect tense verb (5.02).

(2) See 10.34 n 1 on the formal categories of agent and patient noun, and contrast *fā^{c}il* 'agent' and *maf^{c}ūl* 'patient' as functional categories in chs. 7 and 16 respectively. On the 'quasi-participial

والصفة المشبهة باسم الفاعل وافعل التفضيل والمراد بالمفارق ما لم يكن ملازما
لصاحبه ومن غير الغالب في الاشتقاق ان تكون الحال جامدة مؤولة بمشتق تأويلا
لا كلفة فيه كان دلت على تشبيه نحو بدت الجارية قمرا اي مثل القمر او
ترتيب نحو ادخلوا رجلا رجلا اي مرتبين او سعر نحو بعته مدا بكذا اي مسعرا
او مفاعلة نحو بعته الثوب يدا بيد اي مقابضة بكذا ومن غير الغالب في اعتبار
المفارقة ان تكون الحال ملازمة لا مفارقة نحو دعوت الله سميعا فسميعا حال لازمة
لصاحبها ونحو خلق الله الزرافة يديها اطول من رجليها فالزرافة مفعول به منصوب
بخلق الرافع للجلالة التي هي الفاعل ويديها بدل من الزرافة بدل بعض من كل واطول
حال من الزرافة ومن رجليها متعلق باطول ثم الناصب للحال في جميع احوالها الفعل او

19.32 By 'transient'[1] is meant that which is not inherent in the antecedent.

19.33 With regard to derivation, in rare instances the circumstantial qualifier may be an underived noun,[1] as long as it can be paraphrased without difficulty by a derived noun, for example, when it denotes a comparison, e.g. *badat il-jāriyatu qamaran* 'the girl appeared as a moon', i.e. 'like a moon', or an ordering, e.g. *udḵulū rajulan rajulan* 'enter man by man',[2] i.e. 'thus ordered', or a price, e.g. *biᶜtuhu muddan bi-kaḏā* 'I sold it at so much a measure',[3] i.e. 'at that price', or mutual action, e.g. *biᶜtuhu ṯ-ṯawba yadan bi-yadin* 'I sold him the garment hand in hand', i.e. 'shaking hands on that amount'.

19.34 With regard to being transient, in rare instances the circumstantial qualifier may be inherent and not transient, for example *daᶜawtu llāha samīᶜan* 'I prayed to God all-hearing',[1] where *samīᶜan* '(all)-hearing' is a circumstantial qualifier which is also inherent in its antecedent. Similarly *ḵalaqa llāhu z-zarāfata yadayhā 'aṭwala min rijlayhā* 'God created the giraffe with its two front legs longer than its two back legs',[2] where *az-zarāfata* 'the giraffe' is a direct object made dependent by *ḵalaqa* 'to create', which also makes independent the name of the Almighty which is its agent, *yadayhā* 'its two front legs' is a substitute of *az-zarāfata* 'the giraffe' by substitution of the part for the whole,[3] *'aṭwala* 'longer' is a circumstantial qualifier of *az-zarāfata* 'the giraffe', and *min rijlayhā* 'than its two back legs' is semantically connected[4] with *'aṭwala* 'longer'.

19.4 Next, what makes the circumstantial qualifier dependent in all situations is a verb or its equivalent (e.g. the agent noun).[1]

adjective', *aṣ-ṣifa l-mušabbaha li-l-fi^{c}l* (lit. 'the adjective made to resemble the verb') see 26.92 n 2, and for the 'elative noun', *ism at-tafḍīl*, see 20.4 n 1. Cf. also 19.33 n 1.

19.32 (1) 'Transient', *mufāriq* (lit. 'going away') contrasts with *mulāzim* 'inherent' (lit. 'adhering', cognate with *lāzim* 'intransitive' 16.309 n 1), both introduced relatively late into definitions of the circumstantial qualifier (e.g. *Alf.* v 333, perhaps developing an idea of al-Astarābāḏī, op. cit. 1.23 n 1, I, 182, as both use *muntaqil* 'mobile' instead of *mufāriq*).

19.33 (1) See 20.7 n 1 on underived nouns. The 'verbal noun' (*maṣdar*) may also occur as a circumstantial qualifier, e.g. *qataltuhu ṣabran* 'I killed him in bondage' (*Muf.* #76, and see 24.52 n 2); perhaps it has been omitted from the list of 'derived nouns' in 19.31 because of its disputed status as the source of all verbal paradigms (17.1 n 2).

(2) Another example in 13.14, *^{c}allamtuhu n-naḥwa bāban bāban* 'I taught him grammar chapter by chapter'. Cf. 12.2 n 2 on *tartīb* 'ordering', and see 19.51 for ordered circumstantial qualifiers of defined form.

(3) Note the '*bi* of price' (*bā' aṯ-ṯaman*, a function of *bi* 'with, by', q.v. 1.707), and cf. 9.03 n 5.

19.34 (1) This is another theological intrusion into grammar (cf. 5.751 n 1): it is blasphemous to imply that a quality of God is not inherent in His nature. By the same token, an exception can be made in the case of S. 4 v 28, *ḵuliqa l-'insānu ḍa^{c}īfan* 'man was created weak' (quoted 11.741), with an inherent quality as a circumstantial qualifier because mankind is inherently weak (cf. al-Ušmūnī on *Alf.* v 333 who, however, attributes the dep. form to the repetitiousness of creation).

(2) This curious sentence is found in the earliest grammar, viz. *Kitāb* I, 77, where it is attributed to 'someone whose Arabic is trustworthy', i.e. a Beduin informant. Surprisingly, however, it did not attract the attention of Sībawayhi's most copious commentator (as-Sīrāfī, d. 978), nor of any of the relatively early grammarians: it seems to have been resurrected only about the time of Ibn Hišām (d. 1360, e.g. in al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* I, 368, on which aš-Širbīnī is clearly drawing). Be it noted, however, that for Sībawayhi this sentence did not exemplify an inherent type of circumstantial qualifier, but simply the attraction into dependent form of an entire clause in apposition to a dependent noun, perhaps influenced by the fact that *ḵalaqa* 'to create' may sometimes be doubly transitive (see 10.69, and cf. 16.310 n 1).

(3) See 14.2 on partial substitution, *badal al-ba^{c}ḍ min al-kull*.

(4) See 5.82 n 6 on *muta^{c}alliq* 'semantically connected'.

19.4 (1) See 19.31 for the equivalents. Note, however, that the operator of the so-called 'emphatic circumstantial qualifier', *al-ḥāl al-mu'akkida* is deemed to be the previous complete utterance, e.g. S. 2 v 91, *huwa l-ḥaqqu muṣaddiqan...* 'it is the truth, verifying...' (see also 19.25 n 1).

شبهه كاسم الفاعل ولا تكون الحال الا نكرة لان الغالب كونها مشتقة كما مر وصاحبها
(57a) معرفة فالتزم تنكيرها لئلا يتوهم كونها نعتا اذا كان صاحبها منصوبا وحمل
غيره عليه وان وردت بلفظ المعرفة اولت بالنكرة محافظة على ما استقر لها من
لزوم التنكير قالوا ادخلوا الاول فالاول اي مرتبين وقالوا رجع عوده على بدئه
فعود حال من فاعل رجع المستتر فيه فيؤول بنكرة من لفظه اي عائدا او من معناه
اي راجعا وقالوا جاء وحده فوحده حال من فاعل جاء المستتر فيه فيؤول بنكرة
من لفظه اي متوحدا او من معناه اي منفردا ولا تكون الا بعد تمام الكلام وهو
الغالب والمراد بتمام الكلام قبل الحال ان يأخذ الفعل فاعله ومفعوله كما مر في
الامثلة وليس المراد ان يكون الكلام مستغنيا عن الحال من جهة المعنى كما مر في

19.5 Moreover, the circumstantial qualifier is always undefined,[1] because, as already stated, it is predominantly a derived noun, while its antecedent *(57a)* is defined, hence the circumstantial qualifier must always be undefined lest it should be supposed to be an adjective when its antecedent also has dependent form (leading to a false correlation).[2]

19.51 Even if the circumstantial qualifier does occur in defined form it is still interpreted as undefined in compliance with the need for indefinition already laid down, e.g. *udkulū l-'awwala fa-l-'awwala* 'enter, first the one then the other',[1] i.e. 'thus ordered', or *rajaᶜa ᶜawdahu ᶜalā bad'ihi* 'he came back no better than he set out',[2] where *ᶜawda* 'return' is a circumstantial qualifier of the agent concealed in *rajaᶜa* 'he came back', but can be paraphrased as undefined either by means of a formal equivalent such as *ᶜā'idan* 'returning' or a semantic equivalent such as *rājiᶜan* 'coming back'.[3] Another example is *jā'a waḥdahu* 'he came by himself', where *waḥdahu* 'by himself' is a circumstantial qualifier of the agent concealed in *jā'a* 'he came',[4] but can be paraphrased as undefined either by means of a formal equivalent such as *mutawaḥḥidan* 'being by himself' or a semantic equivalent such as *munfaridan* 'being alone'.[5]

19.6 Furthermore the circumstantial qualifier occurs only after the completion of the utterance,[1] (in predominant usage). By 'the completion of the utterance' before the circumstantial qualifier is mean that the verb should already have its agent and direct object,[2] as in the examples above. It does not mean that the utterance should already be self-sufficient with regard to meaning[3] without the circumstantial qualifier (as is the case in the above examples), because it does happen

19.5 (1) As we shall see (19.6), circumstantial qualifiers are really predicates of their antecedents: normally only derived nouns (*muštaqq*, v. 19.31) may function as circumstantial qualifiers because derived nouns are by nature predicative, i.e. can always be paraphrased by a verb, e.g. *rākibun* 'riding' = *yarkubu* 'he rides', *musrajun* 'saddled' = *'usrija* 'he has been saddled' etc., see further 11.45 n 1. Herein lies the difference between 'nouns' and 'adjectives', cf. 11.61 n 1.

(2) 'Correlation' is expressed by *ḥamala*, lit. 'to carry', see further 23.411 n 2. Observe how discongruence in definition is a predicate marker (cf. 9.12 n 2), while congruence is an attribute marker, e.g. *rakibtu l-farasa l-musraja* 'I rode the saddled horse'. Cf. 18.102 n 2.

19.51 (1) Lit. 'enter, as the first and then the first'; in *'udkulū* 'enter' (masc. plur.) the first vowel is present to break up the initial consonant cluster of the imperative and harmonizes with the internal vowel of the stem (5.2 n 3, and cf. 22.1 n 1).

(2) Lit. 'he came back with his return on his beginning'; note the vowel harmony in the possessive suffix *hu/hi* 'his' (13.9 n 9). It is annexation to this suffix which causes definition, v. 11.76.

(3) See 17.51 n 1 on similar problems of derivation, here embodied in the familiar antithesis of *lafẓ* 'form' and *ma^{c}nā* 'meaning' (2.1 n 2).

(4) See 7.58 n 1 on concealed agent pronouns.

(5) There can be little doubt that *waḥdahu* is defined by its annexation to the possessive pronoun (11.76), but there is a type of annexation which does not confer definition (q.v. 26.92-93), and circumstantial qualifiers such as *waqafa 'amāmahu maktūfa l-yadayni* 'he stood before him, arms crossed', lit. 'crossed of arms', are clearly undefined (cf. Cantarino, II, 191). Corroboratives such as *'ajma^{c}īna* 'all together' in dependent form (Cantarino II, 189) might also belong here, in view of their intrinsic definition (13.6 n 1).

19.6 (1) Ibn Ājurrūm's formulation retains the term *kalām* 'utterance', the original descriptive title for the minimal meaningful unit of discourse (cf. 1.1 and 1.13 n 1). Later grammarians, however, (*Muf.* #74, *Qaṭr* 259) often prefer the term *jumla* 'sentence', lit. 'aggregate', first used, it appears, about the time of al-Mubarrad (d. 898, e.g. *Muqtaḍab* II, 12, 17, 61, 310, III, 34, 279 etc.). This term, along with such notions as 'informativeness' (*fā'ida*, cf. 1.13 n 1) and falsifiability (see 9.11 n 1), reveals the penetration of philosophical ideas into grammar: 'sentence' eventually becomes indistinguishable from 'proposition', cf. Elamrani-Jamal, *Arabica* 26, 76.

(2) Perhaps from an undue concern with 'informativeness' (see above), the direct object is here regarded as an indispensable element, even though, from a strictly structural point of view, verb and agent alone are sufficient (cf. 7.9 n 1). The examples referred to are in 19.21 etc.

(3) 'Self-sufficient with regard to meaning' is lit. for *mustağnin min*

الامثلة وقد يكون محتاجا الى الحال من جهة المعنى كما في قول الشاعر
انما الميت من يعيش كئيبا كاسفا باله قليل الرجاء
اذ لا يصح الاستغناء بما قبل الحال من جهة المعنى فتقول انما الميت من يعيش
فلم تذكر الحال الذي هو كئيبا وما بعده ولا يكون صاحبها الا معرفة لانه محكوم
عليه بالحال فهو كالمخبر عنه وحق المحكوم عليه ان يكون معرفة لان الحكم على
المجهول لا يفيد غالبا ويقع نكرة بمسوغ وهو اما التخصيص او التعميم او التأخير
فالاول وهو التخصيص سواء اكان باضافة نحو قوله تعالى وقدر فيها اقواتها في
اربعة ايام سواء للسائلين فسواء حال من اربعة وهي نكرة مختصة باضافتها الى
ايام او بوصف كقول الشاعر
نجيت يا رب نوحا واستجبت له في فلك ماخر في اليم مشحونا
فمشحونا (57b) حال من فلك لوصفه لماخر وهو بالخاء المعجمة الذي يشق الماء شقا
والثاني وهو التعميم سواء اكان بمنفي نحو قوله تعالى وما اهلكنا من قرية

that the utterance needs the circumstantial qualifier with regard to meaning. This is evident in the verse:

'innamā l-maytu man ya^c^īšu ka'iban
kāsifan bāluhu qalīla r-rajā'i

'the dead man is simply he who lives grieving, wretched his plight and small of hope',[4] since it would be incorrect for the utterance to be made self-sufficient with only the antecedent of the circumstantial qualifier (i.e. by saying *'innamā l-maytu man ya^c^īšu* 'the dead man is simply he who lives', without mentioning the circumstantial qualifiers *ka'iban* 'grieving' etc.).

19.7 Finally: and its antecedent is always defined. This is because the antecedent is judged[1] to be in the circumstance, and to that extent is like the subject of a predicate: it is only right that something so judged should be defined because, as a rule, a verdict on the unknown conveys no information.[2]

19.71 An undefined antecedent may occur when justified by specialization, generalization, or inversion. (1) Specialization[1] may be effected either by annexation (as in the Qur'anic *wa-qaddara fīhā 'aqwātahā fī 'arba^c^ati 'ayyāmin sawā'an li-s-sā'ilīna* 'and he apportioned therein its foods in four days together,[2] for those who ask', where *sawā'an* 'together' is a circumstantial qualifier of *'arba^c^ati* 'four', an undefined expression made specific by being annexed to *'ayyāmin* 'days'), or by adjectival qualification, as in the verse:

najjayta yā rabbi nūḥan wa-stajabta lahu
*fi fulukin mā*k*irin fi l-yammi mašḥūnan*

'you rescued, O Lord, Noah and answered his prayers with an ark cleaving the deeps, laden',[3] where *mašḥūnan* 'laden' *(57b)* is a circumstantial qualifier of *fulukin* 'an ark', because the latter is qualified by the adjective *mākirin* 'cleaving' (spelt with *k*, dotted above, and meaning 'splitting the water').[4]

19.72 (2) Generalization[1] may be effected by negation (as in the

jihati l-ma^{c}nā, the semantic correlative of structural correctness (*ḥusn* 'goodness', see 12.91 n 8): an utterance which both contains the minimal number of elements (two) and satisfies the listener's need for information (cf. 1.13 n 3) is 'good for silence' *yaḥsunu s-sukūtu ^{c}alayhi* (1.13), unless, as here, semantic restraints are in force.

(4) *Schaw. Ind.* 5, add al-Ušmūnī on *Alf.* v 332. Three kinds of circumstantial qualifier appear in this verse: (a) the quasi-participial adjective *ka'ība* (19.31), (b) the agent noun *kāsifan*, here not only predicative of its antecedent (19.7 n 2) but also, because it is a 'semantically linked' adjective (11.5, 11.51), qualifying *bāluhu* 'his plight', (c) the undefined annexation unit *qalīla r-rajā'i*, like *maktūfa l-yadayni* in 19.51 n 5.

19.7 (1) Note 'judged', lit. for *maḥkūm* (and cf. *ḥukm*, 24.1 n 2), a legal/philosophical borrowing (the boundaries are not as clear as Versteegh, 74 n 22 implies: *qaḍiyya* 'judicial verdict' is also a regular term for 'proposition', al-Ḵwārizmī, *Mafātīḥ al-^{c}ulūm*, 146).

(2) The predicative nature of the circumstantial qualifier has been recognized from the first: Sībawayhi termed it *ḵabar li-l-ma^{c}rifa* 'a predicate of the defined' (e.g. *Kitāb* I, 221, 233 etc.), evidently as part of a general scheme opposing attributives (*ṣifa* 'adjective') to predicatives (*ḵabar*) on the basis of concord (11.02) and discord (19.5 n 2) respectively (the whole topic needs further study, cf. Carter, *B.S.O.A.S.* 35, 488). Note how Sībawayhi's original definition of a 'right' utterance reappears here in terms of 'informativeness' (1.13).

19.71 (1) 'Specialization', *taḵṣīṣ*, is an intermediate level between absolute indefinition and pure definition as set out in 11.7 et seq., and cf. Gätje, *Arabica* 17, 235f. In 9.81 it is seen that 'specialized' elements (i.e. qualified by adjectives, like *fulukin māḵirin* below) are sufficiently defined to function as subjects on nominal sentences (see further 26.91 for specialization by annexation, and contrast 19.51 n 5, where the very same 'specialization' is not enough, however, to make the circumstantial qualifier defined!).

(2) S. 41 v 10. Annexation of numerals does not confer definition (cf. 26.72 n 1); *sawā'an* could also be translated literally as 'straight', i.e. one after the other.

(3) *Schaw. Ind.* 279 (where wrongly *mašjūnan*; the verse invokes S. 37 v 140, 'When he (Jonah) ran away to the laden ship'): the dependent form *mašḥūnan* is assured by the rhyme (5.88 n 4). Other points worth noting: *najjayta*, Stem II (8.61 n 1) of weak 3rd rad. *n-j-w* with regular change of *w* to *y* in augmented Stems; see 23.61 (a) on vocative *yā rabbi*; *wa-stajabta* shows juncture feature (11.1 n 2), viz. reduction of **wa-istajabta* (Stem X, 8.72 n 1 of 'hollow' stem *j-w-b*, 8.73 n 1); in *al-yamm* is seen an arbitrary doubling of the second radical to create a triliteral root from an original biliteral, cf. 4.71 n 1.

(4) See 3.44 n 2 on spelling instructions, and cf. 13.45 n 3.

19.72 (1) 'Generalization' is *ta^{c}mīm*, cognate with *^{c}āmma* in 13.4. The

الا لها منذرون فجملة لها منذرون حال من قرية وهي نكرة عامة لوقوعها في سياق النفي او النهي نحو قولهم لا يبغ امرؤ على امرئ مستسهلا فهو حال من امرئ الاول والثالث وهو التأخير نحو في الدار جالسا رجل فجالسا حال من رجل وقد يقع صاحب الحال نكرة بلا مسوغ روي مالك في الموطأ صلى رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم قاعدا وصلى وراءه رجال قياما فقياما حال من رجال وهو نكرة بلا مسوغ تتمة قد يحذف عامل الحال جوازا اذا دل عليه دليل لفظي كقولك راكبا لمن قال لك كيف جئت او حالي كقولك للقادم من سفر مبرورا مأجورا ووجوبا اذا ضرب

Qur'anic *wa-mā 'ahlaknā min qaryatin 'illā lahā mundirūna* 'and we have destroyed no town without its having warners',[2] where the sentence *lahā mundirūna* 'it has warners' is a circumstantial qualifier of *qaryatin* 'a town', which is a generalized undefined element because it occurs in the context of negation), or by prohibition,[3] as in the saying *lā yabġi mru'un ᶜalā mri'in mustashilan* 'let one man not oppress another man thinking it easy',[4] in which *mustashilan* 'thinking it easy' is a circumstantial qualifier of the first *imru'un* 'man'.

19.73 (3) Inversion[1] occurs, for example, in *fī d-dāri jālisan rajulun* 'in the house, sitting, is a man', where *jālisan* 'sitting' is a circumstantial qualifier of *rajulun* 'a man'.

19.74 Sometimes the antecedent of a circumstantial qualifier is undefined without any particular justification:[1] Mālik relates in the *Muwaṭṭa'* the following Tradition,[2] *ṣallā rasūlu llāhi ṣallā llāhu ᶜalayhi wa-sallama qāᶜidan wa-ṣallā warā'ahu rijālun qiyāman* 'The Apostle of God (may God bless him and give him peace) used to pray sitting down, and men would pray behind him standing up', where *qiyāman* 'standing up' is a circumstantial qualifier of *rijālun* 'some men', with no particular justification.

19.8 Supplementary Note: The operator of the circumstantial qualifier is sometimes elided when sufficiently indicated by the context of discourse,[1] e.g. when you answer *rākiban* 'riding' to someone who has asked you 'how did you come?', or by the context of situation,[2] e.g. when you say to someone arriving after a journey, *mabrūran ma'jūran* 'accepted, rewarded'.

condition of general negation is, not surprisingly, also applicable to equational sentences with undefined subjects (though not mentioned in 9.81) e.g. *lā ṣāḥiba ᶜilmin mamqūtun* 'no possessor of knowledge is despised' (22.11 n 1).

(2) S. 26 v 208; note the partitive *min* after the negative (cf. 7.11 n 2). The circumstantial qualifier in this verse is a nominal sentence (see further 19.9 n 1), showing inversion of subject and predicate because the former is undefined (9.73 n 1) and probably influenced by the need to maintain the rhyme *ūna/īna* of the verses in this passage.

(3) See 5.76 on *nahy* 'prohibition' and negation in general.

(4) This forms part of *Alf.* v 339, and it is not clear whether it is a 'saying' proper or whether aš-Širbīnī's *qawluhum* simply means 'what they (i.e. grammarians) say'. Its most interesting feature is without doubt the word *imru'un* 'man': this displays a rare regressive vowel harmony with repetition of the inflectional vowel in the interior of the word, thus *imra'an, imri'in* (cf. Fleisch, *Tr.* #77a n 2, and see 5.2 n 3, 13.9 n 6 on regular vowel harmony). Moreover *imru'un* (with normal juncture feature of initial vowel, q.v. 13.12 n 1) alternates with a dissimilated form *mar'un* which, however, has no vowel harmony.

19.73 (1) 'Inversion' is here *ta'k̲īr* 'retarding', more comprehensively styled *taqdīm wa-ta'k̲īr* 'advancing and retarding', q.v. 2.13 n 1. The choice of *ta'k̲īr* is dictated by the fact that it is the delaying of the antecedent which is under consideration: the circumstantial qualifier is not so much 'advanced' as simply fitted into the vacant (i.e. structurally redundant) gap between defined predicate and undefined subject (q.v. 9.73 n 1).

19.74 (1) 'Particular justification' is a free translation of *musawwiġ*, lit. 'that which makes allowable', a synonym of *jā'iz* (q.v. 9.8 n 2) used but rarely by Sībawayhi (Troupeau, *Lex.-Index, s-w-ġ*), but a favorite of the later, more prescriptive grammarians.

(2) Mālik ibn Anas, famous early jurist of Medina, d. 795 (Brockelmann, *G.A.L.* I, 175, Sezgin, *G.A.S.* I, 457). His collection of Traditions (1.01 n 4) is gathered in the book here cited, *al-Muwaṭṭa'*, the title meaning 'the well-trodden path' (cf. Carter, *J.A.O.S.* 93, 147 for synonyms of 'path, way' in the context of grammar). The Tradition here adduced (which aš-Širbīnī has from al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* I, 378) does not occur in that exact form in published editions of the *Muwaṭṭa'*, but see the Karachi ed. 1962, 113 and Wensinck, *Concordance* V, 490.

19.8 (1) 'Indicated by the context of discourse' is *li-dalīl lafẓī*, lit. 'because of some formal pointer', namely the verb *ji'ta* 'you came' in the question actually asked, which is then understood as the operator on the circumstantial qualifier *rākiban* 'riding' uttered alone. Cf. 17.7 n 2, *dalīl maqālī*, synonymous with *dalīl lafẓī*.

(2) '(Indicated by) the context of situation' is *li-dalīl ḥālī*, lit. 'because of some situational pointer'. Not to be confused with the 'language of situation' (1.1 n 3), this aspect of linguistic form has

مثلا كقولك لمن لا يثبت على حالة اتميميا مرة وقيسيا اخرى اي تتحول والاصل في الحال ان تكون جائزة الحذف وقد يعرض لها ما يمنع منه ككونها جوابا نحو راكبا لمن قال كيف جئت او مقصودا حصرها نحو لم يجئ الا راكبا او نائبة عن الخبر نحو ضربي زيدا قائما او منهيا عنها نحو لا تقربوا الصلاة وانتم سكارى ولما فرغ المصنف من الخامس من المنصوبات شرع في السادس منها وهو التمييز لمشاركته اياه في التنكير والفضلية والتبيين والنصب على معنى حرف وهو في في الحال ومن في التمييز فقال

باب التمييز وهو المميز والتبيين والمبين والتفسير والمفسر في اللغة بمعنى واحد

19.81 Elision is compulsory in expressions that have become proverbial,[1] e.g. when you say to an inconstant person *'a-tamīmiyyan marratan wa-qaysiyyan 'ukrā* 'as a Tamīmī one moment and as a Qaysī the next?', i.e. 'you keep changing...'.[2]

19.82 Normally it should always be permissible to elide the circumstantial qualifier,[1] but there may be something which happens to prevent this, as, for example, when it is an answer to a question (e.g. *rākiban* 'riding', to someone who has just asked *kayfa ji'ta* 'how did you come?'),[2] or where the intention is to restrict it (e.g. *lam yaji' 'illā rākiban* 'he came only riding'),[3] or when it replaces a predicate (e.g. *ḍarbī zaydan qā'iman* 'my striking of Zayd was while standing'),[4] or when it is prohibited (e.g. *lā taqrabū ṣ-ṣalāta wa-'antum sukārā* 'do not come to prayer while you are intoxicated').[5]

19.9 Having finished with the fifth of the dependent elements,[1] the author now turns to the sixth of them, namely the specifying element, because it has the following in common with the corcumstantial qualifier: indefinition, structural redundancy, clarification, and dependence through the meaning of a particle (*fī* 'in' for the circumstantial qualifier and *min* 'of' for the specifying element).[2]

CHAPTER TWENTY

20.0 Chapter on specification:[1] i.e. the *mumayyiz* 'specifying element', also known as *tabyīn* 'clarification' and *mubayyin* 'clarifying element', or *tafsīr* 'explanation' and *mufassir* 'explanatory element', all of which have the same lexical meaning. The author now sets out the

been well recognized and exploited from the first, e.g. *Kitāb* I, 109, 157 etc., and cf. 16.311 n 1. On elision, *ḥaḏf*, see 3.73 n 2.

19.81 (1) Even grammarians must occasionally admit the special status of proverbs (e.g. *Kitāb* I, 24, 147, 302 etc.).

(2) Any restitution of a missing verb in a proverbial expression is, of course, purely arbitrary. By the same token it would be artificial to restore the time qualifier *marratan* 'once' (18.113 n 1) implied by the fem. *'uḵrā* 'other'.

19.82 (1) Another example has already been discussed in 19.6.

(2) On one level, if *rākiban* 'riding' is to be the whole of the answer in accordance with 19.8, then it can hardly be elided! It would have been better if the text had given the complete answer *ji'tu rākiban*, in order to demonstrate that a reply *ji'tu* 'I came' alone would fail to satisfy the requirements of a correct utterance (1.13, 1.15).

(3) See 21.3 on this type of exceptive sentence, and cf. the synonymous *'innamā jā'a rākiban* 'he came only riding' (*'innamā*, 9.83 n 2).

(4) The underlying structure is assumed to be **ḍarbī zaydan ḍarbī 'iyyāhu qā'iman* 'my striking of Zayd is my striking of him while standing' (see 16.312 n 1 on the operation of the verbal noun).

(5) S. 4 v 43; see 19.9 n 1 on the syntax.

19.9 (1) Because they are not nouns, circumstantial qualifiers in the form of sentences are not dealt with in this chapter. Both nominal and verbal sentences (9.24 n 2) have this function, however: verbal sentences are asyndetic, e.g. *jā'a zaydun yarkabu* 'Zayd came riding', while nominal sentences are normally introduced by *wa* 'and', e.g. *jā'a zaydun wa-huwa rākibun* 'Zayd came (and he) riding' (other examples: *wa-'antum sukārā* 'while you are drunk' in 19.82, *wa-'antum ᶜākifūna* 'while you are secluded' in 1.705, *wa-š-šamsu ṭāliᶜatun* 'while the sun is rising' in 25.22; *Muf.* #80; *Alf.* v 351; Beeston 89; Fleisch 182.

(2) See 20.01 for the differences between the circumstantial qualifier and the specifying element.

20.0 (1) *Jum.* 245; *Muf.* #83; *Alf.* v 356; *Qaṭr* 263; Beeston 60; Fleisch 185; Nöldeke 39. The range of terminology (see further n 2) gives an impression of the way in which an originally ill-defined grammatical feature can, through the development of pedagogical grammar, acquire a specific identity and place in the system (cf. the treatment of the

وفي الاصطلاح ما ذكره المصنف بقوله التمييز هو الاسم خرج بذلك الفعل والحرف
المنصوب خرج بذلك المرفوع والمجرور والعمدة نحو زيد عالم (58a) المفسر لما انبهم
من الذوات خرج بذلك الحال لانها ليست رافعة لابهام الاسم وانما هي مبينة للهيئة
ثم ان التمييز على ثلاثة اقسام مفسر للنسبة وهو المحول عن كونه فاعلا في الاصل
ومفسر للمعدود ومفسر للمقادير وقد مثل المصنف للقسم الاول بثلاثة امثلة الاول
منها نحو قولك تصبب زيد عرقا فتصبب فعل ماض وزيد فاعل مرفوع به وعرقا
تمييز منصوب مفسر لنسبة التصبب لذات زيد ومعنى تصبب سال واصل الكلام تصبب
عرق زيد فحول الاسناد عن المضاف الى المضاف اليه فحصل ابهام في النسبة فجيء
بالمضاف الذي كان فاعلا وجعل تمييزا والمثال الثاني تفقأ بكر شحما فتفقأ

technical meaning as follows:[2]

20.01 The specifying element is the noun (by which he excludes the verb and the particle) of dependent form (by which he excludes independent and oblique nouns, as well as everything which is structurally indispensable,[1] e.g. *zaydun ᶜālimun* 'Zayd is learned'), *(58a)* which explains what is otherwise vague in entities,[2] by which he excludes the circumstantial qualifier, because it does not remove vagueness in a noun but only clarifies its exterior aspects.

20.02 Specification is of three types: (1) explaining relationship (converted from the original agent),[1] (2) explaining number, and (3) explaining quantity. The author gives three examples of type (1):

20.11 (a) e.g. *taṣabbaba zaydun ᶜaraqan* 'Zayd dripped with sweat', where *taṣabbaba* 'dripped' is a past tense verb,[1] *zaydun* 'Zayd' is an agent made independent by it, and *ᶜaraqan* 'sweat' is a specifying element explaining the relationship between the dripping and the entity of Zayd (the meaning of *taṣabbaba* 'to drip' is *sāla* 'to pour'). The original form[2] is **taṣabbaba ᶜaraqu zaydin* 'the sweat of Zayd dripped': then the predicate of the annexed element has been converted[3] into predication of the annexing element,[4] producing a certain vaguness about the relationship, and so the annexed element which had formerly been the agent has been restored as a specifying element.[5]

'substitution of error' in 14.4, the '*wa* of accompaniment' in ch. 25 (esp. 25.31 n 1), and see also 25.6 n 1.

(2) See 1.1 n 2 on 'lexical' and 'technical'. Of the terms listed here only *tamyīz* is common, and may denote both the specifying function and the specifying element (cf. *badal*, 14.0). Sībawayhi has no specific name for this construction, but treats it as a subdivision of the circumstantial qualifier (*Kitāb* I, 275); *tamyīz* as a technical term seems to appear for the first time in al-Mubarrad, *Muqtaḍab* II, 149, 168, 173 etc., and cf. *Jum.* 77 for *mubayyin*, *tamyīz* and *tafsīr* all together.

20.01 (1) 'Structurally indispensable' is *ᶜumda*, lit. 'support, prop', antonym of *faḍla* 'redundant element' (19.1) and likewise not found in the earliest grammar. It refers to the fact that the minimal sentence comprises two elements (see 1.13), each indispensable to the other. This is most obvious in the equational sentence, since the uttering of a subject obliges the speaker to complete his utterance with a predicate (9.12 n 2): verbal sentences are also predicative (3.73 n 5), but their agents are in any case bound morphemes (7.9 n 1; cf. 21.31 n 1).

(2) Cf. 23.1 n 2 on *ḏāt* 'entity, being', plur. *ḏawāt*, contrasting with *hay'āt*, the 'exterior aspects' indicated by circumstantial qualifiers (19.1 n 3). Other main differences between the two are: specifying element may only be a noun (not sentence or prepositional phrase); circumstantial qualifier sometimes indispensable; there may be more than one circumstantial qualifier; specifying element may not be inverted; specifying element is normally an underived noun; (al-Ušmūnī on *Alf.* v 363).

20.02 (1) See 11.721 n 4 on *nisba* in its primary meaning of 'blood relationship': in the present chapter it has the sense of 'logical relationship' (cf. *mansūbayni* 'two things attributed', 12.5 n 2). For 'converted from the original agent' see 20.11 nn 2, 3.

20.11 (1) Cf. 7.21 on the parsing; the verb in this example is a Stem V (8.64 n 1), 'doubled verb' (11.3 n 1), root *ṣ-b-b*.

(2) See 8.2 n 3 on *'aṣl*, lit. 'root, base, etc., and note how, in the following analysis, the technique has strong similarities with our present notions of deep structure and transformation.

(3) The term here is *ḥawwala* 'to transform, change' (Stem II of the 'hollow verb' *ḥ-w-l*, 8.73 n 1), though in 8.2 etc., in the context of the transformation of active to passive verbs, the preferred word is *naqala*, lit. 'to carry over'.

(4) See 3.73 n 5 for verbs as predicates of their agents, 26.7 for annexation.

(5) Direct objects converted into specifying elements, 20.8 (2). Note how, in aš-Širbīnī's text (adapted from al-Azharī, *Āj.* 86), both the intransitive *jā'a bi* 'to come with, bring' (5.82 n 5) and the doubly transitive *jaᶜala* 'to make' (10.69) appear as impersonal passives, viz. *jī'a bi* 'is brought' and *juᶜila tamyīzan* 'is made a specifying element', the latter retaining its second direct object (cf. 8.0 n 5).

فعل ماض وبكر فاعله مرفوع به وشحما تمييز مفسر لنسبة التفقأ لذات بكر
ومعنى تفقأ امتلأ واصل الكلام تفقأ شحم بكر فعمل فيه ما عمل في المثال الاول
والمثال الثالث طاب محمد نفسا واعراب طاب محمد ما تقدم ونفسا تمييز مفسر
لنسبة الطيب لذات محمد واصل الكلام طابت نفس محمد فعمل فيه ما عمل فيما
قبله والباعث على ذلك ان ذكر الشيء مبهما ثم ذكره مفسرا اوقع في النفس ومثل
للمفسر للعدد بمثالين الاول اشتريت عشرين غلاما فاشتريت فعل وفاعل وعشرين
مفعول به منصوب باشترى وعلامة نصبه الياء نيابة عن الفتحة وغلاما تمييز مفسر
لما وقع عليه عشرون ومنصوب بعشرين والثاني ملكت تسعين نعجة فملكت فعل
وفاعل في محل رفع بملك وتسعين مفعول به منصوب بملك وعلامة نصبه الياء نيابة
عن الفتحة ونعجة تمييز للابهام الحاصل في ذات تسعين لان اسماء الاعداد مبهمة

20.12 (b) *tafaqqa'a bakrun šaḥman* 'Bakr was bursting with fat', where *tafaqqa'a* 'was bursting'[1] is a past tense verb, *bakrun* 'Bakr' is an agent made independent by it, and *šaḥman* 'fat' is a specifying element explaining the relationship between the bursting and the entity of Bakr (the meaning of *tafaqqa'a* 'to burst' is *imtala'a* 'to be full to overflowing'). The original form is **tafaqqa'a šaḥmu bakrin* 'the fat of Bakr was bursting', and the same operation has been carried out here as in the first example.[2]

20.13 (c) *ṭāba muḥammadun nafsan* 'Muḥammad was content in mind', where the parsing[1] of *ṭāba muḥammadun* 'Muḥammad was content' is the same as above, and *nafsan* 'mind, spirit' is a specifying element explaining the relationship between the being contented and the entity of Muḥammad. The original form is **ṭābat nafsu muḥammadin* 'the mind of Muḥammad was content',[2] and the same operation has been carried out here as above. The motive for this construction is that to mention something vaguely at first and then to have it explained makes more impact on the mind.[3]

20.21 The author gives two examples of type (2) which explains number:[1] (a) *ištaraytu ᶜišrīna ġulāman* 'I bought twenty slave-boys', where *ištaraytu* 'I bought' is a verb and its agent, *ᶜišrīna* 'twenty' is a direct object made dependent by *ištarā* 'to buy',[2] with *ī* as its dependence marker instead of *a*,[3] and *ġulāman* 'slave-boy' is a specifying element explaining what is affected by 'twenty'[4] and made dependent by it.

20.22 (b) *malaktu tisᶜīna naᶜjatan* 'I owned ninety ewes', where *malaktu* 'I owned' is a verb and its agent with independent status through *malaka* 'to own', *tisᶜīna* 'ninety'[1] is a direct object made dependent by *malaka* 'to own', with *ī* as its dependence marker instead of *a*, and *naᶜjatan* 'ewe' is a specifying element of the vagueness obtaining in the entity 'ninety' (because numerals are vague *(58b)* by virtue of being proper for every countable).

20.12 (1) The lexical glosses here and above suggest that *taṣabbaba* and *tafaqqa'a* were no longer readily understood. Sībawayhi, *Kitāb* I, 105, uses the example with *tafaqqa'a*, but few later grammarians seem to have bothered with it (only *Muf.* #83 from our group). In the light of 20.6 it seems odd that *tafaqqa'a* is here glossed as *imtala'a*!

(2) Lit. 'there has been done to it what was done with the first example', the verb being ^{c}*umila*, impersonal passive of the same verb which is used in 8.2 etc. to denote the 'operation' of converting active verbs to passive, see further 8.2 n 2.

20.13 (1) Normally *'i^{c}rāb* denotes 'inflection', q.v. ch. 2, but is here used in its not uncommon sense of 'parsing', see also 8.21 n 1.

(2) Note that the verb must become feminine with *nafsun* as its agent: *nafsun* is a member of a fairly large class of unmarked feminine nouns. These comprise (a) parts of the body occurring in pairs, e.g. ^{c}*aynun* 'eye' (cf. 13.9, *ḵarajat* ^{c}*aynuhā* 'her eye went out', with fem. verb), *yadun* 'hand', *rijlun* 'leg' etc. (very few exceptions), (b) words denoting females, e.g. ^{c}*ajūzun* 'old woman', (c) names of countries, towns, e.g. *miṣru* 'Cairo, Egypt', (d) some which are fem. by convention, e.g. *nafsun* 'soul'. See Wright I, 177, 11.43 n 3.

(3) 'Motive' is *al-bā^{c}iṯ*, lit. 'the rouser, provoker'. Here we may be certain that rhetorical considerations are uppermost, but it should be borne in mind that the intentions of the speaker have always been recognized as a determinant of linguistic form, see 14.4 n 5.

20.21 (1) Not all numbers: only 11-99 fall into this group, being (a) those with a fixed *tanwīn* preventing annexation, viz. the decades from 20 to 90, (b) compound numerals whose second element has the status of *tanwīn*, also preventing annexation, viz. 11 to 19. See further n 4.

(2) This verb is a Stem VIII (8.68 n 1) from the 3rd weak radical root *š-r-y*: its past tense conjugates like *ra'ā* in 10.65 n 1, and its imperfect tense like *yarmī* in 4.82 n 1.

(3) See 3.71 on *ī* as an allomorph of *a*.

(4) The decades 20-90 are formally sound masc. plurals (see 3.412 (a)) which never occur without *tanwīn*: the phrase ^{c}*išrūna dirhaman* '20 dirhams' is chosen by Sībawayhi as an explanatory model for structures in which annexation is prevented for whatever reason (see Carter, *B.S.O.A.S.* 35, 487).

20.22 (1) The syntax of numerals is complex: see *Jum.* 137; *Muf.* #313; *Alf.* v 726; *Qaṭr* 362; Beeston 61; Fleisch 94; Yushmanov 71; Hetzron, *J.S.S.* 12, 180. Setting aside '1' and '2', which are pure adjectives, the variables may be summarized as follows:

(a) all units (except '-1', '-2') are marked with the gender opposite to that of their counted nouns; '11' and '12' agree in gender with the noun in both tens and units, '13' to '19' agree in tens only; all numerals are fully inflected except the invariable compounds '11', '13' to '19' and the ten element of '12', which all end in *a*.

(58b)لكونها صالحة لكل معدود ومنه تمييز المقادير مثاله عندي رطل زيتا ومنوان
تمرا فعندي خبر مقدم ورطل مبتدأ مؤخر وزيتا تمييز مفسر لمقدار رطل ومنصوب
برطل وتمرا تمييز لمنوان منصوب به والتقدير رطل زيت ومنوا تمر عندي وقول
المصنف زيد اكرم منك ابا واجمل منك وجها ليس من هذا القسم وانما هو من
قسم تمييز النسبة فكان حقه ان يقدم على ذكر العدد وشرط نصب التمييز الواقع
بعد اسم التفضيل ان يكون فاعلا في المعنى كما في هذين المثالين الا ترى انك لو
جعلت مكان اسم التفضيل فعلا وجعلت التمييز فاعلا وقلت زيد كرم ابوه وجمل
وجهه لصح وانما قلنا انهما من تمييز النسبة لان الاصل ابو زيد اكرم منك
ووجهه اجمل منك فحول الاسناد عن المضاف الى المضاف اليه وجعل المضاف تمييزا

20.3 Lastly, type (3), specification of quantity, e.g. ^{c}*indī raṭlun zaytan wa-manawāni tamran* 'I have a rotl-weight of oil and two mann-weights of dates', in which ^{c}*indī* 'with me'[1] is a preposed predicate, *raṭlun* 'a rotl-weight' is a delayed subject,[2] and *zaytan* 'oil' is a specifying element explaining the quantity of a rotl and made dependent by *raṭlun* 'a rotl-weight';[3] likewise *tamran* 'dates' is a specifying element of *manawāni* 'two mann-weights' and is made dependent by it. The implicit original form[4] is **raṭlu zaytin wa-manawā tamrin* ^{c}*indī* 'a rotl-weight of oil and two mann-weights of dates are with me'.

20.4 The author then adds: and *zaydun 'akramu minka 'aban wa-'ajmalu minka wajhan* 'Zayd is nobler than you as to father and more handsome than you in face'. This does not belong to type (3) just dealt with, but to the specification of relationship,[1] and it should by rights have been dealt with before type (2) (number).[2]

20.41 The condition for the occurrence of a specifying element in dependent form after an elative[1] is that it should have the meaning of an agent, as in the two examples above: you can see that it would be equally correct to replace the elative with a verb and make the specifying element into an agent, saying *zaydun karuma 'abūhu wa-jamula wajhuhu* 'Zayd, his father was noble[2] and his (Zayd's) face was handsome'.

20.42 We have described these two as specification of relationship simply because the original form[1] is **'abū zaydin 'akramu minka wa-wajhuhu 'ajmalu minka* 'Zayd's father is more noble than you and his (Zayd's) face is more handsome than yours',[2] then the predicate of the annexed element has been converted into predication of the annexing element and the former annexed element made into a specifying element:

(b) after '3' to '10' counted nouns have plur. oblique form; after '11' to '99' they have sing. dependent form; after '100' upwards they have sing. oblique form, all determined by the last numeral in the series.

Most of the above principles are illustrated in the examples given in 17.62, 18.31, 19.71, 20.6, 23.45. See also 26.72 n 2.

20.3 (1) Note *ᶜindī* 'with me' = 'I have' (see 18.207 on *ᶜinda*, 3.421 n 3 on suffix *ī*), a regular use of the space qualifier to denote possession (cf. also *maᶜa*, 18.208, *li*, 26.27).

(2) See 9.73 n 1 on this inversion. According to Fleischer, *Kl. Schr.* I, 569, *raṭl* is a metathesized borrowing of Greek *litra* 'a pound'.

(3) Although according to 9.74 these verbless sentences contain an implicit verb, the operation of a self-sufficient utterance is enough to account for the dependent form (see 19.25 n 1).

(4) 'Implicit original form' is a free translation of *taqdīr*, lit. 'estimation' (q.v. 2.101 n 1). See 26.93 n 1 on annexed form *manawā*.

20.4 (1) It will be recognized that the topic here is the comparative adjective. In Arabic both comparative and superlative adjectives are formally identical (cf. 3.411 nn 6, 7, 3.89 n 10) and are termed *ism at-tafḍīl*, lit. 'the noun of causing to excel', usually rendered 'elative'. The comparative and superlative senses are revealed by differences of syntax: see 20.42 n 2 on comparatives and 20.42 n 3 on superlatives. General references: *Muf.* #118; *Alf.* v 496; *Qaṭr* 316; Beeston 57; Fleisch 188, *Tr.* #89e.

(2) i.e. in 20.11-13.

20.41 (1) There is a difference here between the specifying element and the circumstantial qualifier which, though it is implied by the differences enumerated in 20.01 n 2, does not seem to have attracted the grammarians' attention: as the circumstantial qualifier is essentially a predicate of its antecedent (19.7), so the specifying element is an agent or subject (*raṭlun zaytan* in 20.3 can be paraphrased as *az-zaytu raṭlun* 'the oil is a rotl-weight', like *aṯ-ṯawbu ḵazzun* 'the garment is silk', q.v. 26.72. But see *Muf.* #87.

(2) These sentences are of the 'two-faced' (*ḏāt wajhayn*) type, q.v. 9.75 n 1. Note the stative verbs *karuma* 'to be noble', *jamula* 'to be handsome' (cf. Fleisch 117, dislikes the term 'stative'; Yushmanov 50, 10.22 n 2). Since the elative meaning is a property of the pattern *'afᶜalu* (cf. 20.42 n 2), it cannot be shown in the verbal paraphrase.

20.42 (1) See 20.11 nn 2, 3 on the 'transformational' terminology of this paragraph.

(2) Comparative syntax: attributive use is not common (cf. Cantarino, II, 471), and in predicative use the form *'afᶜal* is used for all genders and numbers (e.g. 9.23). Comparison is shown by collocation with a phrase introduced by *min*, freely translated as 'than' but ultimately a noun meaning 'part' which has become a preposition (1.701). Given

فصار زيد اكرم منك ابا واجمل منك وجها فزيد ميتدأ واكرم خبره ومنك جار
ومجرور متعلق باكرم وابا منصوب على التمييز واجمل معطوف على اكرم ومنك
متعلق به ووجها تمييز ولا يكون التمييز الا نكرة خلافا للكوفيين ولا حجة لهم في
قول الشاعر

رأيتك لما ان عرفت وجوهنا   صددت وطبت النفس يا قيس عن عمرو

لامكان حمل ال على الزيادة تنبيه قد يكون التمييز غير محول عن شيء اصلا نحو
امتلأ الاناء ماء ولله دره فارسا وشبهه مما يفيد التعجب لان مثل هذا التركيب
وضع ابتداء كذلك وقد يكون غير مفسر بل موكدا لما قبله نحو قول ابي طالب

this has become *zaydun 'akramu minka 'aban wa-'ajmalu minka wajhan* 'Zayd is nobler than you as to father and more handsome than you in face'. Here *zaydun* 'Zayd' is the subject, *'akramu* 'nobler' is its predicate, *minka* 'than you' is an operator of obliqueness and oblique element semantically connected with *'akramu* 'nobler', and *'aban* 'father' is made dependent as a specifying element; *'ajmalu* 'more handsome' is coordinated to *'akramu* 'nobler', *minka* 'than you' is semantically connected with it, and *wajhan* 'face' is a specifying element.[3]

20.5 The specifying element is always undefined. Contrary to the opinion of the Kūfans,[1] but they have no argument in the verse which they cite:

ra'aytuka lammā 'an ᶜarafta wujūhanā
ṣadadta wa-ṭibta n-nafsa yā qaysu ᶜan ᶜamrin

'I saw you, when you recognized our faces, turn aside, and be content in the mind, O Qays, about ᶜAmr',[2] because it is possible for the *al* 'the' on *an-nafsu* 'the mind' to be construed as redundant.[3]

20.6 Note: Occasionally the specifying element has not been converted from any original form, as in *imtala'a l-'inā'u mā'an* 'the pot became filled with water'.[1] Similarly *li-llāhi darruhu fārisan* 'what an excellent rider he is!' and other like expressions conveying wonder, because these constructions have been conventionally established[2] for beginning such sentences. The specifying element is also found not in an explanatory function but as a corroborative, e.g. in this verse of Abū Ṭālib:

that the pattern (10.37 n 1) *'af^c al* originally had an intensifying function (see Beeston 57), our present examples might be reconstructed as 'Zayd's father is extremely noble on your part (scil. 'with respect to you')' and his face is extremely handsome on your part (scil. 'with respect to you')'. General refs. 20.4 n 1; other examples in text: 1.25, 5.411, 9.81, 11.754, 12.21, 19.34, 23.61 (c). On the irregular *k̲ayr* 'better/best' etc. see 5.82 n 5.

(3) Superlative syntax: attributive use fairly common (e.g. *al-'asmā'u l-ḥusnā* 'the most beautiful names', 5.86), with full concordance (see 3.89 n 10). Predicatively and substantivally *'af^c al* is used, annexed to a noun or pronoun (same distribution as *kull*, 13.4 n 6), viz. (a) undefined sing., e.g. *'ajmalu wajhin* 'the most handsome face' (specifying annexation, 26.72), lit. 'the extremely handsome thing, consisting of a face'; (b) defined plur., e.g. *'ajmalu l-wujūhi* 'the most handsome of the faces' (partitive, also 26.72), lit. 'the extremely handsome thing among the faces'; (c) defined sing., e.g. *'akt̲aru l-waqti* 'most of the time' (particularization, 26.71). General refs. 20.4 n 1; other examples in text: 3.89 end, 10.65, 17.61, and cf. 5.82 n 5.

20.5 (1) See 9.4 n 3 on 'Kūfans'. *Inṣāf* does not record this debate, which aš-Širbīnī has taken from al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* I, 394.

(2) *Schaw. Ind.* 106, and add *Alf.* vv 108, 362, which allude to this verse, also Abū Ḥayyān, op. cit. 8.67 n 1, 34, 221. Cf. 20.13 on the regular construction, and note also: *ra'aytu* 'I saw' with double direct object, being a sentence (10.65), redundant *'an* after *lammā* 'when' (5.413), assimilation of definite article *al* to *nafs* (11.41 n 2), *qaysu* without *tanwīn* in the vocative (23.41).

(3) This is the 'Baṣran' view. A third opinion is that *an-nafsa* is the direct object of *ṣadadta*: 'you turned--and were calm--yourself away'.

20.6 (1) This is adapted from an example in *Kitāb* I, 105, where it stands alongside *tafaqqa'tu šaḥman* 'I was bursting with fat' (see 20.12), with no indication that it is in any way different in kind from its neighbour. If an underlying form had to be found, it would require an external agent, e.g. *mala'a l-'inā'a mā'an* 'he filled the pot with water', not *mala'a l-mā'u l-'inā'a* 'the water filled the pot', v. 20.8.

(2) Cf. 1.14 n 1 on *wuḍi^c a* 'conventionally established'; 'construction' is *tarkīb* (cognate with *murakkab* 'compound, complex, 1.12 n 1, note the continuity of morphological and syntactical terms, cf. 1.41 n 3), see other examples in 2.14, 5.02, 8.3. The formula *li-llāhi darruhu*, lit. 'to God belongs his abundance of milk' obviously defies explanation: see further 20.9 n 2 for this and similar exclamatory expressions, and see 20.7 n 2 for 'verbs of surprise', *'af^c āl at-ta^c ajjub*.
Note also 'interrogative *kam*' (*kam al-istifhāmiyya*, contrast 'predicative *kam*' in 26.61 n 1), 'how much/many', e.g. *kam kitāban laka* 'how many books do you have?' This requires a specifying element for two reasons: (a) because it denotes a vague number (cf. 20.21-22), and (b) because it can be separated from its noun (*kam laka kitāban*), which rules out annexation (cf. 20.21 n 4).

ولقد علمت بان دين محمد   من خير اديان البرية دينا
(59a)فدينا تمييز موكد لقوله خير اديان البرية ومنه قوله تعالى ان عدة الشهور
عند الله اثنا عشر شهرا في كتاب الله تتمة لا يتقدم التمييز على عامله اذا كان
اسما جامدا كرطل زيتا او فعلا جامدا نحو ما احسنه رجلا لان الجامد لا يتصرف في
نفسه فلا يتصرف في معموله بتقديمه عليه ويجوز جر التمييز بمن الا في ثلاث
مسائل الاولى تمييز العدد كعشرين درهما الثانية المحول عن المفعول كغرست الارض
شجرا الثالثة ما كان فاعلا في المعنى ان كان محولا عن الفاعل صناعة كطاب زيد
نفسا اذ اصله طابت نفس زيد ولما فرغ من المنصوب السادس من المنصوبات وهو

wa-la-qad ᶜalimtu bi-'anna dīna muḥammadin
min ḵayri 'adyāni l-bariyyati dīnan

'and I already knew that the religion of Muḥammad is among the best religions in creation, as a religion',[3] *(59a)* where *dīnan* 'as a religion' is a specifying element corroborating his words 'the best religions in creation'. Cf. also the Qur'anic *'inna ᶜiddata š-šuhūri ᶜinda llāhi ṯnā ᶜašara šahran fī kitābi llāhi* 'verily the number of months with God is twelve months in God's book'.[4]

20.7 Supplementary Note: The specifying element never precedes its operator if the latter is an underived noun[1] (e.g. *raṭlun zaytan* 'a rotl-weight of oil') or an underived verb[2] (e.g. *mā 'aḥsanahu rajulan* 'what a good man he is!'), because underived elements have no morphological freedom[3] of their own and so lack the syntactical freedom to invert the elements on which they operate.

20.8 The specifying element may be made oblique by *min* 'of', except in three cases:[1] (1) specification of number (e.g. *ᶜišrūna dirhaman* 'twenty dirhams'), (2) the converted direct object (e.g. *ġarastu l-'arḍa šajaran* 'I planted the land with trees'), and (3) that which had the meaning of an agent before being artificially converted[2] from an agent, e.g. *ṭāba zaydun nafsan* 'Zayd was content in mind', since the original form is **ṭābat nafsu zaydin* 'the mind of Zayd was content'.

20.9 Having finished[1] with the sixth of the dependent elements,[2] the

(3) *Schaw. Ind.* 276, and add Abū Ḥayyān, op. cit. 20.5 n 2, 393. This verse belongs to a couplet said to have been spoken by Abū Ṭālib, the uncle of the Prophet Muḥammad, demonstrating (according to the orthodox interpretation) that Abū Ṭālib remained a pagan in spite of a grudging admiration for Islām (cf. aš-Širbīnī's Qur'ān Commentary I, 19.

(4) S. 9 v 36. It may well be that the repetition of the word for 'months' is felt to be excessive (and therefore corroborative, cf. 13.11), but this hardly alters the explanatory function of *šahran*, which by its undefined sing. dependent form shows that it is operated on in the normal way by the numeral '12' (q.v. 20.22 n 1).

20.7 (1) 'Underived noun' is *ism jāmid*, lit. 'rigid noun', i.e. having no corresponding verb (hence no deverbative cognates such as participles etc.), contrasting with *ism muštaqq* 'derived noun', 19.31 n 1.

(2) 'Underived verb' is *fi^{c}l jāmid*, lit. 'rigid verb', i.e. invariable and unproductive (there is doubt whether it ever was a true verb: cf. Fleisch 189 n 1). This is the 'verb of surprise', *fi^{c}l at-ta^{c}ajjub*, and has either the form given here or a pseudo-imperative *'aḥsin bihi rajulan*; *Jum.* 112; *Muf.* #477; *Alf.* v 474; *Qaṭr* 379. The verbs *ni^{c}ma*, *bi'sa* (5.11) can conveniently be included here, e.g. *ni^{c}ma r-rajulu zaydun* or *ni^{c}ma rajulan zaydun* 'What a good man Zayd is!'; *Jum.* 121; *Muf.* #468; *Alf.* v 485; *Qaṭr* 191.

(3) 'Freedom' renders *yataṣarrafu* (see cognates in 1.41 n 1, 18.4 n 1, 18.41 n 1); *yataṣarrafu fī nafsihi* 'is free in itself' is understood as morphological, and *yataṣarrafu fī ma^{c}mūlihi* 'is free in what it operates on' as syntactical (cf. 2.11 n 1 on 'operation').

20.8 (1) Only the quantitative type (20.3) is left, e.g. *raṭlun min az-zayti* 'a rotl-weight of oil', with 'explanatory *min*' (5.82 n 3). In *^{c}išrūna min ad-darāhimi* the *min* is now partitive (9.03 n 4) and the meaning is 'twenty of the dirhams' (*darāhim*, plur.!). The objection to **ğarastu l-'arḍa min šajarin* is that it makes *al-'arḍa* look like the true direct object of *ğarastu* when it is, in fact, only metaphorical (for *ğarastu šajaran fī l-'arḍi* 'I planted trees in the land', cf. S. 54 v 12: *fajarnā l-'arḍa ^{c}uyūnan* 'we broached the land with springs').

(2) 'Artificially' is *ṣinā^{c}atan*, lit. 'in the craft or art', which may mean 'for rhetorical reasons' but more likely refers to the technical processes of grammar: as early as Ibn Jinnī (d. 1002, cf. his *Sirr ṣinā^{c}at al-'i^{c}rāb* 'Secret of the art of inflection') grammar had become sufficiently self-aware to regard itself as a *ṣinā^{c}a* (=*techne*).

20.9 (1) Here we insert a type of dependent noun which has some slight affinities with the specifying element, e.g. *'innā ma^{c}šara l-^{c}arabi...* 'verily we, the Arab people...', where *ma^{c}šara* 'kinsfolk' has dep. form as a 'specialization' of its antecedent (*taḵṣīṣ*, not in quite the same sense as in 19.71 n 1). Adjectival discord as set out in 11.6 is usually treated as a variety of *taḵṣīṣ*.

(2) Many exclamations involve specifying elements, e.g. *'anta r-rajulu ^{c}ilman* 'you are the man for knowledge!', *wayḥahu rajulan* 'alas for him

التمييز شرع في السابع منها وهو الاستثناء فقال

باب الاستثناء وهو كما في التسهيل المخرج تحقيقا او تقديرا من مذكوراو متروك
بالا او ما في معناها بشرط الفائدة فقوله المخرج جنس يشمل المخرج بالبدل نحو
اكلت الرغيف ثلثه وبالغاية نحو اتموا الصيام الى الليل وبالاستثناء وقوله بالا
او ما في معناها اخرج ما عدا الاستثناء وقوله تحقيقا او تقديرا يشمل قسمي
المتصل والمنقطع وقوله من مذكور او متروك يشمل قسمي التام والمفرغ وقوله بشرط
الفائدة احترز به عن نحو جاءني ناس الا زيدا وجاءني القوم الا رجلا فانه لا يفيد
وحروف الاستثناء اي ادواته ثمانية وسماها حروفا تغليبا فانها تنقسم الى

author now turns to the seventh of them, namely exception.

CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

21.0 Chapter on the excepted element.[1] As defined in the *Tashīl*,[2] it is 'that which is excluded, either actually or implicitly, from something stated or omitted, by means of *'illā* 'except' or its synonyms, on condition that some information is conveyed'.

21.01 The term 'excluded' is generic,[1] and comprises that which is excluded by substitution (e.g. *'akaltu r-raġīfa ṯulṯahu* 'I ate the loaf, a third of it'), by limitation (e.g. the Qur'anic *'atimmū ṣ-ṣiyāma 'ilā l-layli* 'complete the fast, until night')[2] as well as by exception. 'By means of *'illā* 'except' and its synonyms' excludes everything but strict exception. By 'actually or implicitly' both continuous exception and discontinuous exception are included, and 'from something stated or omitted' comprises both complete exception and exhaustive exception. By 'on condition that some information is conveyed'[3] are excluded such utterances as **jā'anī nāsun 'illā zaydan* 'some people came to me except Zayd' and *jā'anī l-qawmu 'illā rajulan* 'the people came to me except a man', for these convey nothing.

21.02 The particles of exception (i.e. its instruments)[1] are eight: (he calls them all particles because the commonest of them is one).[2] They divide into four groups: (a) comprising two particles, viz. *'illā*

as a man!': these lack verbs (contrast 20.7 n 2), even so they still operate verbally upon extraneous elements (see further 19.25 n 1).

21.0 (1) *Jum.* 235; *Muf.* #88; *Alf.* v 316; *Qaṭr* 271; Fleisch 184 (also *E.I.* (2), art. 'Istiṯnā''); Yushmanov 77; Nöldeke 42; Carter, *J.S.S.* 20, 69. Terminology is evidently a natural application of the literal sense, viz. *istiṯnā'* '(act of) exception', *ḥarf istiṯnā'* 'particle of exception', *mustaṯnā minhu* 'excepted from it', i.e. 'antecedent', and *mustaṯnā* 'thing excepted', i.e. 'excepted element', but cf. *E.I.* (2), art. 'Ḥiyal' for *istiṯnā'* as a legal term for 'mental reservation', and cf. Carter, *R.E.I.* 40, 90.

(2) The reference is via al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* I, 346, to *Tashīl al-fawā'id* by Ibn Mālik (q.v. 1.02 n 2), ed. M. K. Barakāt, Cairo 1968, 101.

21.01 (1) On the terminology of this paragraph: 'generic' is *jins*, lit. 'genus' (v. 23.31 n 1); 'substitution' is *badal*, q.v. 14.21 for the example quoted here; 'limitation' is *ḡāya*, lit. 'end, limit' (cf. 5.53, 5.56, 12.91, 12.911 for the overlap of *'ilā*, *ḥattā* and *'illā*); 'strict' has been added to ensure that *istiṯnā'* has its full technical sense; see 21.1, 21.11 for continuous and discontinuous exception respectively; 'actually or implicitly' is *taḥqīqan 'aw taqdīran*, not true antonyms, as *taḥqīq* and cognates are usually opposed to *majāz* 'figure, metaphor' (v. 13.3 n 1) and *taqdīr* to *lafẓ* '(explicit) form' (v. 2.101 n 1).

(2) S. 2 v 187.

(3) See 1.13 on informativeness. Both utterances are meaningful without the exceptive phrases, and with *jā'anī nāsun* there are interesting possibilities: either *nāsun* 'some people' is informative enough, though formally undefined, to be both grammatical and logical subject of the predicate *jā'anī* 'came to me' (cf. 18.108 n 2 on verbs of motion with direct object), or the logical subject is actually *nī* 'me', equal to passive *ji'tu* 'I was come to (by unidentified agent/s)', cf. 8.11 n 1. The second analysis is supported by the fact that *nī* is the only defined element in the utterance, cf. the considerations in 9.12 n 2, 9.73 n 1.

21.02 (1) 'Instruments' is *'adāwāt* (sing. *'adāh*), literally translated. It is a synonym of *ḥarf* in its meaning of 'particle' (cf. 1.25 n 2), which at one time (e.g. *Inṣāf*, intro. 72 n 1) was thought to be a mark of 'Kūfan' grammar (9.4 n 3), but the arch-Baṣran Sībawayhi uses it once (*Kitāb* II, 143) and it seems to crop up indiscriminately.

(2) Lit. 'by predominance', *taḡlīban*, cf. 3.65 n 12.

اربعة اقسام الاول حرفان وهما الا وحاشا ويقال فيها حاش بحذف الالف الاخيرة وحشى بحذف الاولى والثاني فعلان وهما ليس ولا يكون والثالث اسمان وهما غير وسوى بلغاتها فانه (59b) يقال فيها سوى كرضا وسوى كهدى وسواء بفتح السين والمد وهذه اغربها والرابع مترددان بين الفعلية والحرفية وهما خلا وعدا ثم ان المصنف ذكرها على سبيل الاجمال بقوله وهي الا وغير وسوى كرضا وسوى كهدى وسواء بالمد كسماء وخلا وعدا وحاشا ثم ذكرها على سبيل التفصيل وبدأ بالا وذكر لها ثلاث حالات لانها ام الباب وبدأ بالحالة الاولى منها فقال فالمستثنى بالا ينصب وجوبا اذا كان الكلام قبلها تاما وهو ما كان المستثنى منه مذكورا موجبا بفتح الجيم وهو الذي لم يسبق بنفي او شبيهه وهو النهي والاستفهام سواء اكان الاستثناء متصلا وهو ان المستثنى بعض المستثنى منه حقيقة نحو قام القوم الا زيدا ورأيت القوم الا زيدا ومررت بالقوم الا زيدا ومثله خرج الناس الا عمرا والمستثنى بالا منصوب لا غير وناصبها الا لا غيرها على الراجح سواء ارفعت المستثنى منه ام نصبته ام خفضته ام منقطعا وهو ان لا يكون المستثنى بعض المستثنى منه حقيقة

'except' and *ḥāšā* 'except' (the latter sometimes also *ḥāša* with elision of the final long *ā*, and *ḥašā* with elision of the first long *ā*),[3] (b) comprising two verbs, viz. *laysa* 'not to be' and *lā yakūnu* 'is not', (c) comprising two nouns, viz. *ġayru* 'other than' and *siwā* 'other than' (and its variant realizations, *(59b)* it being said as *siwā*, like *riḍā* 'contentment', *suwā*, like *hudā* 'guidance' and *sawā'un*, with *a* after the *s* and a long *ā*, this last being the most unusual),[4] and (d) comprising two elements which fluctuate between being verbs and particles, viz. *ḵalā* 'except' and *ᶜadā* 'except'.

21.03 The author now lists them collectively:[1] and they are *'illā* 'except', *ġayru* 'other than', *siwā* 'other than' (like *riḍā* 'contentment'), *suwā* 'other than' (like *hudā* 'guidance'), *sawā'un* 'other than' (with long *ā'*, like *samā'un* 'sky'), *ḵalā* 'except', *ᶜadā* 'except' and *ḥāšā* 'except'.

21.1 He then deals with them in detail, beginning with *'illā* 'except' (for which he describes three states)[1] because it is the parent of the whole category,[2] starting with the first state: (1) The element excepted by *'illā* 'except' has dependent form (compulsorily) if the utterance preceding it is already structurally complete[3] (i.e. the antecedent has been explicitly mentioned) and positive (*mūjab* 'positive', with *a* after the *j*),[4] i.e. is not preceded by negation or its equivalent (prohibition and interrogation). This applies to "continuous exception',[5] i.e. when the excepted element is actually part of the antecedent, e.g. *qāma l-qawmu 'illā zaydan* 'the people stood except Zayd' (also *ra'aytu l-qawma 'illā zaydan* 'I saw the people except Zayd', *marartu bi-l-qawmi 'illā zaydan* 'I passed by the people except Zayd') and *ḵaraja n-nāsu 'illā ᶜamran* 'the people went out except ᶜAmr'.[6]

21.11 The element excepted by *'illā* 'except' is always dependent and its dependence operator (in the preponderant opinion)[1] is *'illā* alone, whether you have made the antecedent independent, dependent or oblique. The same applies to 'discontinuous exception',[2] i.e. where the excepted element is not actually part of the antecedent, e.g. *qāma l-qawmu 'illā*

(3) Orthographically *ḥāšā* is *ḥa'šay*, and to shorten either vowel a consonantal lengthening marker has to be elided, see 2.43 n 2.

(4) See 21.44 n 1 on *luġa* 'variant realization', and note the use of well known words to specify a particular morphology (an alternative to spelling out in full, q.v. 3.44 n 2). It is pedantic, but necessary, to point out that the transliterations are inconsistent here: *sawā'un* is quoted in its junctural form, i.e. complete with its case vowel and final *n* (q.v. 1.4), not the pausal form (viz. *sawā'*, cf. 2.14 n 2), while *siwā, suwā* etc. are quoted in their pausal form, without final *n* (like *fatā*, 4.2 n 2 (b)). There is no excuse for this, except perhaps that the junctural form *suwan* never occurs in natural language, as *suwā* is always annexed to the following noun (2.14).

21.03 (1) Omitting *laysa* and *lā yakūnu*, which are dealt with in 21.62. Another type of exception which ought to be mentioned is the constructtion with *'innamā* 'only', e.g. *'innamā ḍaraba 'anā* 'only I struck', explained in 7.7 as synonymous with *mā ḍaraba 'illā 'anā* 'none struck but I' (see further 9.83 n 2).

21.1 (1) 'States' is lit. for *ḥālāt*, cf. 11.2 n 1.

(2) Lit. 'mother of the category', cf. 6.4 n 2 on the anthropomorphism and 25.62 n 2 on *bāb* (plur. *'abwāb*) in the meaning of 'category'.

(3) 'Structurally complete' is perhaps not fully justified for the simple term *tāmm*, lit. 'complete, finished', and perhaps 'formally complete' would be less tendentious. The objection to 'structural' is that some of the 'complete' sentences below nevertheless contain more than a structural minimum, viz. *ra'aytu l-qawma* 'I saw the people' ('people' is redundant, cf. 15.06 n 1), *marartu bi-l-qawmi* 'I passed by the people' ('by the people' redundant). However, as aš-Širbīnī's subsequent comment makes clear, in the context of exception these elements cease to be redundant. Further on *tāmm*, 9.71 n 2.

(4) The spelling instruction (3.44 n 2) distinguishes the passive *mūjab* from the active *mūjib* 'one who asserts, makes necessary' (root *w-j-b*, Stem IV, v. 10.34 n 1).

(5) 'Continuous exception' is fairly literal for *istiṯnā' muttaṣil* (*muttaṣil*, 'joined' is also used for bound pronouns, 11.716 n 1, and for a type of conjunctive construction in 12.51), and the definition provided by aš-Širbīnī makes its application clear. What he does not explain until 21.2 (because Ibn Ājurrūm's over-simplification obscures the fact) is that continuous exception also occurs with negative sentences. Cf. Carter, *J.S.S.* 20, 70.

(6) The elements in the incorrect sentences in 21.01 do belong to the same class, but are too vague to be identified as being excepted from one another.

21.11 (1) See 21.14 n 1 on this dispute

(2) 'Discontinuous exception' is fairly literal for *istiṯnā' munqaṭi*^{c} (cf. *munqaṭi*^{c} 'disjunctive' in 12.52), referring, as the examples make

نحو قام القوم الا حمارا ورأيت القوم الا حمارا ومررت بالقوم الا حمارا فالمستثنى
في هذه المثل منصوب لا غير ولا يرد على ذلك قوله تعالى لو كان فيهما آلهة الا الله
بالرفع لان الا فيه ليست للاستثناء وانما هي بمعنى غير فهي صفة لآلهة ولكن نقل
الاعراب هنا الى ما بعدها لكونها على صورة الحرف وسواء اتأخر المستثنى عن
المستثنى منه كما مر ام تقدم نحو قام (60a) الا زيدا او الا حمارا القوم تنبيه
اختلف في ناصب المستثنى بالا على اقوال اصحها انه نفس الا وحدها كما مر ثم
ذكر الحالة الثانية لالا بقوله وان كان الكلام اي قبل الا منفيا بان تقدم عليه نفي
او شبهه وكان تاما بان ذكر المستثنى منه جاز فيه اي المستثنى البدل من
المستثنى منه بدل بعض من كل عند البصريين وعطف نسق عند الكوفيين لان الا عندهم

ḥimāran 'the people stood, except a donkey', *ra'aytu l-qawma 'illā ḥimāran* 'I saw the people, except a donkey' and *marartu bi-l-qawmi 'illā ḥimāran* 'I passed by the people, except a donkey'.

21.12 In all these examples the excepted element is dependent and nothing else: it is no rebuttal of this to cite the Qur'anic *law kāna fīhimā 'ālihatun 'illā llāhu* 'if there had been in them a god other than God', with *allāhu* 'God'[1] in independent form, because *'illā* 'except' in this verse does not denote exception but simply has the meaning of *ğayru* 'other than', and is thus an adjectival qualifier of *'ālihatun* 'a god'; it has, however, been necessary to transfer the inflection in this instance from *'illā* to the following word,[2] because *'illā* has the form of a particle.

21.13 It is a matter of indifference whether the excepted element appears after the antecedent (as in the above examples) or before it, as in *qāma (60a) 'illā zaydan* (or *'illā ḥimāran*) *il-qawmu* 'except Zayd (or 'except a donkey') the people stood'.[1]

21.14 Note: There is some dispute[1] as to the precise operator of the excepted element: the soundest view is that it is *'illā* 'except' itself alone, as already stated.

21.2 (2) The author now treats the second state of *'illā* 'except'. <u>If the utterance</u> preceding *'illā* 'except' <u>is negated</u> by having before it a negative or its equivalent, <u>and is already structurally complete,</u>[1] (i.e. if the antecedent is explicitly mentioned), <u>then it</u> (i.e. the excepted element) <u>may be treated as a substitute</u> of the antecedent.[2] This is substitution of the part for the whole[3] according to the Baṣrans, but

clear, to exception of something not in the same class as its antecedent. This distinction has something artificial about it: *Kitāb* I, 363 and later *Muqtaḍab* IV, 412f recognize the phenomenon, but it seems that the contrasting terms *muttaṣil* (21.1 n 5) and *munqaṭi*ᶜ did not become fixed until the time of Ibn as-Sarrāj (d. 929, e.g. op. cit. 5.3 n 2, 41). Sībawayhi, on the other hand, not only never uses *muttaṣil* in this context, but also uses *munqaṭi*ᶜ in a purely structural sense ('cut off from what operates on the antecedent', ibid.) and illustrates this with examples in which the excepted element is in the same class as its antecedent!

21.12 (1) S. 21 v 22: 'them' refers to heaven and earth, and the verse continues *la-fasadatā* 'they both would perish'. A secular example from the earliest discussion of this case may remove the theological distractions, viz. *law kāna ma*ᶜ*anā rajulun 'illā zaydun la-ḡulibnā* 'if there had been with us any man except Zayd we would have been defeated' (*Kitāb* I, 370), where *'illā* likewise has the status of *ḡayru* 'other than' (21.4). An alternative explanation is that *law* 'if' is effectively a negative (by asserting impossible conditions, cf. 5.811 n 1), scil. 'no man but Zayd was with us', 'no god other than God was in them', hence the excepted element follows the rules of 21.2, 21.46. Sībawayhi seems to be aware of this possibility, but gives it no emphasis at all, though his commentators clearly recognize the underlying negation in this and similar constructions (cf. Jahn's notes to *Kitāb* #194, also Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.* 506).

(2) Cf. 21.41 on transfer of inflection in the opposite direction. Note *ṣūra* 'form', q.v. 11.712 n 2, and see 1.41 n 4 on invariability, *binā'*.

21.13 (1) The indifference here refers only to the obligatory dependent form after *'illā* in positive sentences: the preferred word order remains as illustrated in 21.1 and 21.11, and inversions of the type *qāma 'illā zaydan il-qawmu* are rare (Reckendorf's examples, *Ar. Synt.* 511, are from poetry).

21.14 (1) See *Inṣāf*, prob. 34 on this debate between the 'Baṣrans' and 'Kūfans' (9.4 n 3): some Kūfans make *'illā* itself the operator, some others wrongly segment *'illā* into the two dependence operators *'inna* (10.41) and *lā* (22.0), while the Baṣrans tend to look for an implicit verb such as 'I except' as the operator. See Carter, *B.S.O.A.S.* 35, 493, for the more plausible explanation of Sībawayhi.

21.2 (1) See 21.1 n 3 for some reservations about the translation of *tāmm* as 'structurally complete'.

(2) Both here and in 21.1 the antecedent and the excepted element are homogeneous, hence both belong to the category of *istiṯnā' muttaṣil* 'continuous exception', q.v. 21.1 n 5. This is a purely semantic classification: the logical status of the excepted element and the structure of the sentence both differ from those in 21.1.

(3) See 14.2; one might have expected inclusive substitution (14.3) to be named, since membership of classes is involved, but the Arabs prefer

من حروف العطف في باب الاستثناء خاصة قاله ابو حيان مثال النفي قوله تعالى
ما فعلوه الا قليل منهم بالرفع في قراءة السبعة غير ابن عامر فقليل بدل من
الواو في فعلوه بدل بعض من كل عند البصريين وهو في نية تكرار العامل والتقدير
ما فعلوه الا فعله قليل منهم وعطف نسق عند الكوفيين وشبه النفي النهي والاستفهام
مثال النهي قوله تعالى ولا يلتفت منكم احد الا امرأتك بالرفع في قراءة ابي عمرو
وابن كثير ومثال الاستفهام ومن يقنط من رحمة ربه الا الضالون بالرفع في قراءة
الجميع وجاز ايضا النصب بالا على الاستثناء وهو عربي جيد وقد قرئ به في السبع
في قليل وفي امرأتك ومثل المصنف للشيئين بقوله نحو ما قام القوم الا زيد
بالرفع على البدل والا زيدا بالنصب على الاستثناء ونحو قولك ما مررت بالقوم الا

is sequential coordination according to the Kūfans[4] (because they regard *'illā* 'except' as belonging to the particles of coordination, specifically in the category of exception: so said Abū Ḥayyān).[5]

21.21 An example of the negative is the Qur'anic *mā fa^calūhu 'illā qalīlun minhum* 'they did not do it, except a few of them',[1] with the independent form of *qalīlun* 'few' in the Seven Canonical Readings (apart from Ibn ^cĀmir);[2] here *qalīlun* 'few' is a substitute of the *ū* 'they' in *fa^calūhu* 'they did it',[3] by substitution of the part for the whole according to the Baṣrans. The operator is thus understood as repeated,[4] from an implicit **mā fa^calūhu 'illā fa^calahu qalīlun minhum* 'they did not do it, except a few of them did it'. The Kūfans consider this to be sequential coordination.

21.22 Equivalent to negation are prohibition and interrogation:[1] an example of prohibition is the Qur'anic *wa-lā yaltafit minkum 'aḥadun 'illā mra'atuka* 'and let not one of you look except your wife',[2] with the independent form of *'imra'atuka* 'your wife' in the Reading of Abū ^cAmr and Ibn Kaṯīr.[3] An example of interrogation is the Qur'anic *wa-man yaqnaṭu min raḥmati rabbihi 'illā ḍ-ḍāllūna* 'and who despairs of the mercy of his Lord except those who err?',[4] with the independent form in all Readings.

21.23 The author goes on: <u>or it may take dependent form</u> through *'illā* 'except' <u>by being excepted</u>: which is excellent Arabic, and indeed the Seven Canonical Readings also have the dependent form in the case of *qalīlun* 'few' and *imra'atuka* 'your wife' as variants in the above examples.[1]

21.24 He illustrates both alternatives: <u>e.g. *mā qāma l-qawmu 'illā zaydun* 'the people did not stand except Zayd'</u> (with the independent form by substitution),[1] <u>or *'illā zaydan* 'except Zayd'.</u> This time with the dependent form by being excepted. Further examples: *mā marartu*

to regard this as a partitive relationship.

(4) See 9.4 n 3 on 'Baṣrans' and 'Kūfans', and *Inṣāf* prob. 35 for the dispute alluded to here. The Kūfan position is based on the assumption that, since substitution requires no particle between the concordant elements, any particle which is there must be a conjunction (q.v. 12.0).

(5) See 26.7 n 2 on Abū Ḥayyān.

21.21 (1) S. 4 v 66; variant in 21.23 n 1.

(2) Traditionally the variants in the Qur'anic text have been systematized into seven sets called *qirā'āt*, of which 'Readings' is a literal translation. Each Reading is attached to the name of a prominent transmitter of the Qur'anic text, the earliest of whom was born in 641 and the latest of whom died in 804 (see Sezgin, *G.A.S.* ch. 1, *E.I.* (2), art. 'Ḳirā'a'; on Ibn ᶜĀmir, 641-736, see *G.A.S.* I, 6, *E.I.* (2), s.v.).

(3) Cf. 7.62 on the pronoun suffix *ū*.

(4) 'Understood as repeated' is a free rendering of *fī niyyati takrāri l-ᶜāmili*, lit. 'in the intention of repeating the operator'; *niyya* is a legal term corresponding exactly to mens rei, cf. the maxim *al-'aᶜmāl bi-n-niyyāt* 'actions depend on intentions'. See 14.4 n 5.

21.22 (1) See 5.76 n 1 on *nahy* 'prohibition', 5.741 n 1 on *istifhām* 'interrogation'; to these can be added the quasi-negative *law* 'if' in 21.12, and *hal min k̲āliqin ḡayru llāhi* in 9.03 (rhetorical question).

(2) S. 11 v 81. See 13.12 n 1 on the juncture feature in *imra'atuka*.

(3) See 21.21 n 2 on 'Readings'; For Abū ᶜAmr ibn al-ᶜAlā', d. 770, see *E.I.* (2), s.v., and for Ibn Kat̲īr, 665-738, see *G.A.S.* I, 7, *E.I.* (2), s.v. Needless to say, the existence of seven 'Readings' does not mean that every variant has seven different forms!

(4) S. 15 v 56; *ḍāllūna* 'those who err' displays the only permitted type of over-long syllable C$\bar{V}$C (2.43 n 2), viz. *ḍāl*, which occurs only on the assimilation of identical consonants (<**ḍālilūna*, cf. 10.34 n 1). Where the two consonants are different (which happens only in juncture, e.g. *lā-m* in *'illā mra'atuka*) the vowel is pronounced short but the spelling is unaltered. Cf. Beeston 20; Fleisch 22; Yushmanov 14.

21.23 (1) See 21.21 n 2 on 'Readings'; the variants here would read *mā faᶜalūhu 'illā qalīlan minhum* (S. 4 v 66, 21.21) and *wa-lā yaltafit minkum 'aḥadun 'illā mra'ataka* (S. 11 v 81, 21.22). The dependent form is not appropriate to the logical status of the excepted elements, as they are, in fact, the true agents: but we may accept as-Zajjājī's explanation (*Jum.* 235) as intuitively sound, i.e. that the sentence is already complete without them. The *'illā* phrases can then be regarded as afterthoughts, their structural redundancy marked by the dependent form (cf. Carter, *J.S.S.* 20, 71).

21.24 (1) Etymologically *'illā* is *'in lā* 'if not', and Reckendorf may be right in claiming (*Synt. Verh.* 712, 714) that it originally occurred only after negative sentences as here, and that the excepted element

زيد بالجر على البدل والا زيدا بالنصب على الاستثناء ونحو ما رأيت القوم الا
زيدا بالنصب لا غير سواء اجعلته بدلا من المنصوب ام منصوبا على الاستثناء
ويظهر اثر الاحتمالين في الناصب له ما هو وفي تقدير الضمير وعدمه (60b) فعلى
تقدير ان يكون بدلا فالناصب له رأيت مقدرا بناء على ان البدل على نية تكرار
العامل وهو الاصح ويجب تقدير الضمير معه على ما مر وعلى تقدير ان يكون منصوبا
على الاستثناء يكون الناصب له الا على الاصح عند ابن مالك ولا يحتاج الى تقدير
ضمير ثم ذكر الحالة الثالثة لالا بقوله وان كان الكلام ناقصا بان لم يذكر المستثنى
منه وتقدم عليه نفي او شبهه كان المستثنى على حسب العوامل المقتضية له من
رفع ونصب وخفض والغي عمل الا فان كان ما قبل الا يطلب فاعلا رفعت المستثنى
على الفاعلية نحو ما قام الا زيد فزيد مرفوع على الفاعلية بقام والا ملغاة كما
تقول قام زيد ونحو قوله تعالى وما امرنا الا واحدة كما تقول امرنا واحدة وان

bi-l-qawmi 'illā zaydin 'I did not pass by the people except Zayd', with oblique form by substitution, or *'illā zaydan* 'except Zayd' with dependent form by being excepted;[2] *mā ra'aytu l-qawma 'illā zaydan* 'I did not see the people except Zayd', with dependent form only, whether you make it a substitute of the dependent element or dependent through *'illā* 'except' by being excepted.

21.241 The effect of the two possibilities[1] still shows up in the question of what is the dependence operator and whether there is an implicit pronoun or not. *(60b)* On the assumption that it is a substitute, the dependence operator is an implicit *ra'aytu* 'I saw', because in substitution the operator is understood as repeated (which is the soundest opinion), so it must be accompanied by an implicit pronoun according to the rules set out above. On the assumption that it is made dependent by being excepted, the dependence operator is *'illā* 'except' (in the soundest view, according to Ibn Mālik)[2] and there is no need for an implicit pronoun.

21.3 (3) The author now deals with the third state of *'illā* 'except'. If the utterance is structurally incomplete,[1] in that no antecedent is explicitly mentioned, and it is preceded by negation or its equivalent,[2] it (i.e. the excepted element) accords with the operators, which determine its independence, dependence or obliqueness, and the operation of *'illā* 'except' is neutralized.[3]

21.31 If what precedes *'illā* 'except' requires an agent, the excepted element has independent form as agent, e.g. *mā qāma 'illā zaydun* 'none stood but Zayd', where *zaydun* 'Zayd' is made independent as agent of *qāma* 'to stand', and *'illā* 'except' is neutralized, as if you had said *qāma zaydun* 'Zayd stood'.[1] Cf. the Qur'anic *wa-mā 'amrunā 'illā wāḥidatun* 'and our command is not but one',[2] as if you had said **'amrunā wāḥidatun* 'our command is one'.

had to concord with the function of its antecedent because it had that function itself (cf. the paraphrase in 21.21: **mā faᶜalūhu 'illā faᶜalahu qalīlun minhum* 'they did not do it, except that a few of them did it').

(2) If Reckendorf was right (n 1), this option may not have evolved simultaneously with the previous type, but would have arisen by contamination with the dependent forms in the newer type of exception after positive sentences, perhaps when the role of the dependent form as a marker of structural redundancy had become stabilized (cf. 19.1 n 1).

21.241 (1) By 'two possibilities' aš-Širbīnī means the choice between substitution in the appropriate case or obligatory dependent form. In the last example quoted above the dependent form results either way, but, as the ensuing analysis reveals, the deep structure is different. When the excepted element substitutes for a direct object the underlying form is **mā ra'aytu l-qawma 'illā ra'aytu minhum zaydan* 'I did not see the people except I saw of them Zayd', the two conditions for substitution of the part for the whole (14.2) being (a) concord, hence the dependent form and (b) explicit or implicit pronoun reference to the 'whole' of which the excepted element is the partial substitute (14.21). In our example the pronoun is in *minhum* 'of them', and remains implicit, but this need not always be so, e.g. *mā faᶜalūhu 'illā qalīlun minhum* in 21.21.

(2) See 1.02 n 2 on Ibn Mālik and 21.14 n 1 on the various theories on the operation of *'illā*. This time the underlying form is **mā ra'aytu l-qawma; 'illā zaydan* 'I did not see the people; except Zayd', where the *'illā* phrase is structurally redundant.

21.3 (1) 'Structurally incomplete' is *nāqiṣ*, lit. 'lacking', antonym of *tāmm* '(structurally) complete', q.v. 21.1, esp. n 3, and cf. 9.71, 9.94. In 10.11 and elsewhere in ch. 10 these terms are rendered 'syntactically complete/defective' because they denote functional categories rather than structural features of sentences.

(2) See 21.22 on the equivalents, prohibition and interrogation. There are no positive sentences in this kind of exception, cf. 21.35 n 2.

(3) 'Neutralized' is *'ulġiya*, passive verb cognate with *mulġā*, q.v. 5.431 n 3, and see 21.31 n 1. On 'operators', *ᶜawāmil*, see 2.11.

21.31 (1) An utterance *mā qāma* can mean one of two things: there may be a concealed agent pronoun (11.714 n 3), giving 'he stood', on condition that the reference of 'he' is intended by the speaker and understood by the listener, or else there may be no pronoun agent because an overt agent is about to be mentioned (cf. 7.22 n 1). The occurrence of *'illā* rules out the first possibility, hence *zaydun* is both grammatical and logical agent and inflects accordingly, *'illā* having no effect, except to revoke the previous negative, scil. 'there stood not, if not Zayd' = 'there stood Zayd'.

(2) S. 54 v 50; there is no verb in this sentence, and *mā* here could equally well be interrogative, scil. 'what is our command if not one?'

كان ما قبل الا يطلب مفعولا نصبت المستثنى على المفعولية نحو ما ضربت الا زيدا
فزيدا منصوب على المفعولية بضربت والا ملغاة كما تقول ضربت زيدا وان كان
ما قبل الا يطلب مجرورا متعلق به خفضت المستثنى بحرف جر نحو ما مررت الا
بزيد فزيد مخفوض بالباء متعلق بمر والا ملغاة كما تقول مررت بزيد ويسمى
هذا الاستثناء مفرغا لان ما قبل الا تفرغ لطلب ما بعدها ولم يشتغل عنه بالعمل
في غيره والاستثناء في الحقيقة كما قال الشيخ خالد من عام محذوف وما بعد الا
بدل من ذلك المحذوف والتقدير في حالة الزفع ما قام احد الا زيد وفي النصب ما
رأيت احدا الا زيدا وفي الجر ما مررت باحد الا بزيد (61a) الا انهم حذفوا
المستثنى منه واشغلوا العامل بالمستثنى وسموه استثناء مفرغا واما المستثنى
بغير وسوى بكسر السين وسوى بضمها مع القصر فيهما وسواء بالمد وفتح السين افصح
من كسرها فهو مجرور باضافة غير وسوى وسوى وسواء اليه لا غير اي لا يجوز فيه

21.32 If what precedes *'illā* requires an object, the excepted element is made dependent as an object,[1] e.g. *mā ḍarabtu 'illā zaydan* 'I did not strike but Zayd', where *zaydan* 'Zayd' has dependent form as object of *ḍarabtu* 'I struck', and *'illā* 'except' is neutralized, as if you had said *ḍarabtu zaydan* 'I struck Zayd'.

21.33 If what precedes *'illā* requires an operator of obliqueness and oblique element semantically connected with it,[1] the excepted element is made oblique by a particle of obliqueness, e.g. *mā marartu 'illā bi-zaydin* 'I did not pass except by Zayd'. Here *zaydin* 'Zayd' is made oblique by *bi* 'by', being semantically connected with *marra* 'to pass',[2] and *'illā* 'except' is neutralized, as if you had said *marartu bi-zaydin* 'I passed by Zayd'.[3]

21.34 This kind of exception is called 'exhaustive', because what precedes *'illā* 'except' is fully occupied by what is required after *'illā* and is not diverted from it by operating on anything else.[1]

21.35 In fact, as Šayk̲ K̲ālid[1] put it, this kind of exception is really exception from an elided general antecedent, and what follows *'illā* 'except' is a substitute for that elided antecedent. Thus in the independent state it is implicitly *mā qāma 'aḥadun 'illā zaydun* 'not one stood but Zayd',[2] in the dependent state *mā ra'aytu 'aḥadan 'illā zaydan* 'I saw no-one but Zayd', and in the oblique state *mā marartu bi-'aḥadin 'illā bi-zaydin* 'I passed by no-one but by Zayd' *(61a)* but the antecedent has been elided and its operator preoccupied instead with the excepted element, for which reason they call this 'exhaustive' exception.[3]

21.4 The element excepted by *ḡayru* 'other than',[1] *siwā* 'other than' (spelt with *i* after the *s*), *suwā* 'other than', (with *u* after the *s*, and both ending in *ā*), and *sawā'a* 'other than' (ending in *ā'*, and with *a* after the *s*, which is a purer form than *siwā'un* 'other than' with *i*

cf. 5.83 n 2, 5.84 n 3.

21.32 (1) Here it is only convention which expects a direct object after a transitive verb: the sentence is already structurally complete in the form *mā ḍarabtu* 'I did not strike', cf. 21.1 n 3. However, it is certainly true that the occurrence of *'illā* here leads to the expectation of a direct object, hence the dependent form of *zaydan*. There can be no question of the principles set out in 21.2, 21.23 operating in this case, as there is no antecedent for which *zaydan* could be a substitute or from which it could be excepted (cf. 21.34).

21.33 (1) Apologies have already been offered in 3.84 n 3 for the long-winded translation of *jārr wa-majrūr* as 'operator of obliqueness and oblique element'. For *muta*^{c}*alliq* 'semantically connected' see 5.82 n 6, and cf. also 23.45 n 4.

(2) Note the assimilated 2nd and 3rd radicals in the 'doubled verb' *marra*, q.v. 10.61 n 1, and see 3.52 n 3 on the use of the 3rd masc. sing. in the metalanguage.

(3) When there is no antecedent, as here, *'illā* can hardly be a conjunction, as the 'Kūfans' argue (21.2 n 4), contrast 21.24, where their case appears more plausible, since the preposition *bi* is not repeated before the conjoined element (cf. 12.1).

21.34 (1) 'Exhaustive' is *mufarraḡ*, lit. 'emptied, made idle', a term not found in the earliest grammars (e.g. *Kitāb* I, 360, *Muqtaḍab* IV, 389), but evidently established by the time of Ibn as-Sarrāj (op. cit. 5.3 n 2, 39). It would be elegant if *mufarraḡ* here retained its primary meaning and denoted exception from an empty set, but it is more likely to have developed as the antithesis of *šaḡala* 'to preoccupy, wholly engage' and its derivatives, used by Sībawayhi (loc. cit.) to express the idea that in exception the verb may or may not already be fully occupied by an agent etc., as in aš-Širbīnī's explanation here. Cf. Fleischer, *Kl. Schr.* II, 95, and *ištiḡāl*, 7.30 n 2.

21.35 (1) This is aš-Šayk̲ K̲ālid al-Azharī, the unacknowledged source of most of the contents of the present work (see further 14.63 n 3). The quotation is from *Taṣr.* I, 348.

(2) The translation emphasizes that the agents etc. of the verb remain positive: the structure of the verbal sentence (7.5 n 1) is such that only the verb can be negated, not its agent etc., and the type 'I passed by no man' is impossible in Classical Arabic. In modern usage, and under the influence of European languages, verbs with negated agents are tending to appear, see further 22.6 n 1.

(3) Note that 'exhaustive' exception is confined to negative sentences: a positive **qāma 'illā zayḍun* (or *zaydan*, as in 21.1), while appearing to contain a logical agent for the verb, is devoid of anything which could be its formal agent (contrast 21.31 n 1). Cf. Carter, *J.S.S.* 20, 71. There is, however, a positive equivalent using *ḡayr*, q.v. 21.46 n 3.

21.4 (1) *Jum.* 236; *Muf.* #89; *Alf.* v 326; *Qaṭr* 276; Fleisch, *Tr.* #118i;

غير الجر واعراب كل واحد من هذه الاربعة كاعراب المستثنى بالا فيجب فيه
النصب بالاستثناء من التام الموجب ويجوز فيه الاتباع والنصب في الاستثناء من
التام المنفي ويجري على حساب العوامل في الناقص تقول في الاستثناء نن التام
المثبت في حال رفع المستثنى منه قام القوم غير زيد او سوى زيد بكسر السين او
سوى زيد بضم السين او سواء زيد بفتح السين مع المد فكل واحد من هذه الاربعة
منصوب بفتحة ظاهرة فيما يظهر اعرابه ومقدرة فيما يقدر اعرابه وتقول في
حال نصب المستثنى منه رأيت القوم غير زيد او سوى زيد بحركات سوى المتقدمة
فكل واحد من هذه الاربعة منصوب بفتحة ظاهرة فيما يظهر اعرابه ومقدرة فيما
يقدر اعرابه وتقول في حال جر المستثنى منه مررت بالقوم غير زيد او سوى زيد
بلغاتها المتقدمة فكل واحد من هذه الاربعة منصوب بفتحة ظاهرة فيما يظهر
اعرابه ومقدرة فيما يقدر اعرابه كالمستثنى بالا الا ان نصب كل واحد من هذه
الادوات على الحال ونصب المستثنى بالا على الاستثناء والمستثنى بهذه الاربعة

after the *s*) takes oblique form by having *ḡayru, siwā, suwā* and *sawā'un* annexed to it, and no other.[2] That is, only the oblique form is allowed with these.

21.41 The inflection of these four nouns themselves is the same as that of the element excepted by *'illā* 'except',[1] viz. (a) the dependent form is compulsory for exception from the structurally complete and positive utterance, (b) they may either concord with the inflection of their antecedent or take dependent form in exception from the structurally complete and negative utterance, and (c) for exception from the structurally incomplete and negative utterance they behave according to their operators.[2]

21.42 Examples: (a) exception from the structurally complete and positive utterance, with the antecedent in the independent state, *qāma la-qawmu ḡayra zaydin* or *siwā zaydin* (with *i* after the *s*), or *suwā zaydin* (with *u* after the *s*), or *sawā'a zaydin* (with *a* after the *s*, and long *ā'* ending), 'the people stood except Zayd'.[1] In all these four the exceptive is dependent, with an explicit *a* on those which exhibit inflection and an implicit one in those whose inflection is implicit.[2]

21.43 Exception from an antecedent in the dependent state,[1] *ra'aytu l-qawma ḡayra zaydin* or *siwā zaydin* (and the alternative vowels of *siwā* mentioned above),[2] 'I saw the people except Zayd'. In all four of these the exceptive is dependent, with an explicit *a* on those which exhibit inflection and an implicit one in those whose inflection is implicit.[3]

21.44 Exception from an antecedent in the oblique state, *marartu bi-l-qawmi ḡayra zaydin* or *siwā zaydin* (and the above variant realizations),[1] 'I passed by the people except Zayd'. In all four of these the exceptive is dependent, with an explicit *a* on those which exhibit inflection and an implicit one in those whose inflection is implicit.

21.45 Their behaviour is the same as that of the element excepted by *'illā* 'except', but each of these exceptives[1] is made dependent as a circumstantial qualifier, whereas the element excepted by *'illā*[2] is made

cf. also 21.42 n 1. See 21.02 n 4 on the spelling instructions and transliteration problems.

(2) Ibn Ājurrūm's phrase is *lā ğayru*, using the same word *ğayr* that is under discussion in this paragraph, but in an invariable and evidently fossilized form, possibly connected with other quasi-adverbial elements ending in *u*, q.v. 18.41 n 2 (and cf. Cantarino II, 6, 147).

21.41 (1) Remember that this time it is the excepting element which varies, the excepted elements always having oblique form (21.45).

(2) The three categories correspond to the previous types of exception with *'illā* thus: (a) as in 21.1, i.e. positive sentences, 'continuous' and 'discontinuous' exception, illustrated in 21.42-44; (b) as in 21.2, i.e. negative sentences, 'continuous' exception, illustrated in 21.46; (c) as in 21.3, i.e. 'exhaustive' exception, not illustrated by our author, but see 21.46 n 3. For the inflection of *ğayr* see 21.45.

21.42 (1) The apparent negative meaning of *ğayr* is entirely conventional, as the Arabs have always known: Sībawayhi (*Kitāb* I, 375) states that to say *'atānī ğayru ᶜamrin*, lit. 'other than ᶜAmr came to me', is to assert that he did not come, 'even though it would be quite correct for it to mean that he had come'. The negative connotation of *ğayr* is so strong, however, that it is now regularly used to translate foreign prefixes 'un-', 'non-' etc., e.g. *rasmiyyun* 'official', *ğayru rasmiyyin* 'unofficial'; *maḍbūṭun* 'exact', *ğayru maḍbūṭin* 'inexact', cf. Beeston 101. According to Beeston 102, there is a tendency for this function of *ğayr* to be taken over by the negative particle *lā* 'not' (22.6 n 1).

(2) See 2.6 on implicit inflection and 3.5 on dependence markers.

21.43 (1) See 11.2 n 2 on the reason why *ḥāl* 'state' cannot be translated as 'case' in these paragraphs.

(2) See 21.02, 21.03; the full list would be *siwā/suwā/siwā'a/sawā'a*.

(3) Note in passing that dep. forms of *ğayr* are not confined to the exceptive construction: since *ğayr* is annexed to the element it negates (21.45) it is also marked for the syntactic function of the whole unit, which may be dep. form as a circumstantial qualifier (ch. 19, e.g. *jā'a zaydun ğayra rākibin* 'Zayd came not riding'), or as a space/time qualifier (ch. 18, e.g. *jalastu ğayra ṭawīlin* 'I sat for not long') etc. But see further 21.45 n 2 and cf. Cantarino II, 150.

21.44 (1) See 21.02, 21.03. See Rabin, *Anc. West-Ar.* 9 on the many senses of *luğa*, lit. 'language', but here 'variant realization' and elsewhere 'lexical meaning' as opposed to *iṣṭilāḥ* 'technical meaning' (e.g. 1.1). Both lexicography and dialectology are embraced by *fiqh al-luğa*, lit. 'jurisprudence of language' and *ᶜilm al-luğa* 'science of language', cf. J. Kraemer, *Oriens* 6, 201-238.

21.45 (1) 'Exceptives' here translates the more general term *'adawāt*, plur. of *'adāh* 'instrument', q.v. 21.02 n 1.

(2) See 21.11, 21.14 on *'illā* as a dependence operator. Aš-Širbīnī's

مجرور لا غير كما مر وتقول في المستنثى من التام المنفي في حال رفع المستثنى
منه ما قام القوم غير زيد او سوى زيد بلغاتها المتقدمة فكل واحد من هذه
الاربعة يجوز نصبه كالمستثنى بالا من التام المنفي الا ان نصب المستثنى بالا على
الاستثناء ونصب كل واحد من هذه الاربعة على الحال وعلامة النصب في كل واحد من
الاربعة فتحة ظاهرة فيما يظهر اعرابه ومقدرة فيما يقدر اعرابه ويجوز في كل
واحد من هذه الاربعة ابداله بالرفع مما قبله بدل بعض من كل كالمستثنى بالا من
التام المنفي وعلامة الرفع في كل واحد من الاربعة ضمة ظاهرة فيما يظهر اعرابه
ومقدرة فيما يقدر اعرابه ويأتي في ذلك بقية الاحكام المتقدمة وامثلته واضحة
فلا نطيل بذكرها (61b) واما المستثنى بخلا وعدا وحاشا فانه يجوز جره على تقدير

dependent by being excepted. With these four, as already mentioned, the excepted element is always and only oblique.

21.46 (b) Exception from the structurally complete and negative utterance, with the antecedent in the independent state: *mā qāma l-qawmu ǧayru zaydin* or *siwā zaydin* (and the above-mentioned variant realizations), 'the people did not stand except Zayd'.[1] Either all four have dependent form like the excepted element after *'illā* 'except' in the structurally complete and negative utterance (except that the dependent form of the excepted element after *'illā* is due to being excepted, while the dependence of these four[2] is that of circumstantial qualifiers); the dependence marker of each is an explicit *a* on those which exhibit inflection and an implicit one on those whose inflection is implicit.[3]

21.47 Or else each of the four is made a substitute for its antecedent with independent form, by substitution of the part for the whole,[1] in exactly the same way as the element excepted by *'illā* 'except' after a structurally complete and negative utterance; the independence marker in all four is then an explicit *u* on those which exhibit inflection and an implicit one in those whose inflection is implicit.[2]

21.48 Under this heading the rest of the above rules also apply and the examples are obvious,[1] so we shall not say any more about them. *(61b)*

21.5 The element excepted by *ḵalā* 'except', *ᶜadā* 'except' and *ḥāšā* 'except' may have oblique form,[1] by assuming them to have the quality of

explanation of the dep. form of *ğayr* is taken from al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* I, 361, and is one of three given by Ibn Hišām, *Muğnī* I, 137, the others being either that *ğayr* takes the inflection that a noun after *'illā* has, or that *ğayr* has dep. form by analogy with space/time-qualifiers. See also 21.47 n 1.

(3) 21.4. Conversely *ğayr* never occurs without being annexed (except in the phrases *laysa ğayru, lā ğayru*, q.v. 21.4 n 2).

21.46 (1) To complete the examples omitted by aš-Širbīnī: dep. state *mā ra'aytu l-qawma ğayra zaydin* 'I did not see the people except Zayd', obl. state *mā marartu bi-l-qawmi ğayra zaydin* 'I did not pass by the people except Zayd'. See further 21.47 n 1.

(2) There would be five exceptive nouns if all the variant realizations (21.02) had been included, but one, *siwā'un*, has been discarded in 21.4 in favour of the 'purer' form *sawā'un* (see 13.31 n 6 on *'afṣaḥ* 'purer'), following al-Azharī, *Āj.* 88.

(3) Through following al-Azharī so closely, aš-Širbīnī omits to give examples of 'exhaustive' exception (21.3, 21.34 n 1), viz. *mā qāma ğayru zaydin* 'none stood other than Zayd' etc., but it may be that this construction is not common enough to deserve mention (only one example in Cantarino II, 148 top). On the other hand, *ğayr* etc. are very frequent in positive sentences, e.g. *qāma ğayruhu* 'someone else stood', *ra'aytu ğayrahu* 'I saw someone else', *marartu bi-ğayrihi* 'I passed by someone else', but these, it could be argued, are not 'exception'.

21.47 (1) See 14.2 on 'substitution of the part for the whole'; the examples this time would be, indep. state *mā qāma l-qawmu ğayru zaydin*, dep. state *mā ra'aytu l-qawma ğayra zaydin*, obl. state *mā marartu bi-l-qawmi ğayri zaydin*, in which *ğayr* concords with its antecedent. The variation between concording *ğayru/a/i* and invariable (adverbial) *ğayra* presumably represents an inconsistency in natural usage, cf. the attempts to explain it in 21.45 n 2. Not every grammarian is willing to say which variant is preferable: *Muf.* #89 and *Qaṭr* 277 are vague, *Jum.* 236 mentions concordance only, while *Alf.* v 326 alone seems clearly in favour of concordance (cf. Ibn ᶜAqīl ad loc.).

(2) See 2.6 on implicit inflection and 3.1 on inflection markers. The parsing relates only to the example in 21.46 with indep. *ğayru*, the others having been omitted by aš-Širbīnī, q.v. n 1.

21.48 (1) By which aš-Širbīnī means that *ğayr* etc. will be marked for dep. or obl. function as required by their concordance with the antecedent.

21.5 (1) *Jum.* 236; *Muf.* #88; *Alf.* v 328; *Qaṭr* 276; Fleisch, *Tr.* #150d. As is apparent from their syntactical variation, the status of these elements has become uncertain. In the case of *ḵalā* and *ᶜadā* there can be little doubt that they are originally genuine verbs (the root notion of *ḵ-l-w* is 'isolation, emptiness', and that of *ᶜ-d-w* 'turn away from, pass beyond', cognate with *mutaᶜaddī* in 16.309 n 1), whose transition from verb to particle can be accounted for by assimilation to the

الحرفية ونصبه على تقدير الفعلية نحو قام القوم خلا زيدا بالنصب على ان خلا فعل ماض وفاعله ضمير مستتر فيه وزيدا مفعول به وخلا زيد بالجر على ان خلا حرف جر وزيد مجرور به وعدا عمرا بالنصب على ان عدا فعل ماض وفاعله مستتر فيه وعمرا مفعول به وعدا عمرو بالجر على ان عدا حرف جر وعمرو مجرور بعدا وحاشا زيدا بالنصب وحاشا زيد بالجر واعرابه على وزان ما تقدم في خلا وعدا تتمة الاستثناء بما خلا وما عدا وليس ولا يكون نواصب للمستثنى فقط اما ما خلا وما عدا فانه لما اتصل بهما ما مصدرية تعين النصب لتعين الفعلية حينئذ كقول لبيد

الا كل شيء ما خلا الله باطل

اي ذاهب وفان اخذ من قوله تعالى كل شيء هالك الا وجهه وقول الشاعر

تمل الندامى ما عداني فانني بكل الذي يهوى نديمي مولع

particles, or dependent form, by assuming them to have the quality of verbs,[2] e.g. *qāma l-qawmu ḵalā zaydan* 'the people stood except Zayd', in the dependent form, taking *ḵalā* 'except' as a past tense verb with a concealed pronoun as its agent,[3] and *zaydan* 'Zayd' as its direct object, or *ḵalā zaydin* 'except Zayd', in the oblique form, taking *ḵalā* 'except' as a particle of obliqueness, with *zaydin* 'Zayd' made oblique by it. Similarly *ʿadā ʿamran* 'except ʿAmr', in the dependent form, taking *ʿadā* 'except' as a past tense verb with a concealed pronoun as its agent, and *ʿamran* 'ʿAmr' as its direct object, or *ʿadā ʿamrin* 'except ʿAmr', in the oblique form, taking *ʿadā* 'except' as a particle of obliqueness, with *ʿamrin* 'ʿAmr' made oblique by it; so also *hāšā zaydan* 'except Zayd', in the dependent form, or *hāšā zaydin* 'except Zayd'.[4] This time with oblique form, parsed in the same way as *ḵalā* 'except' and *ʿadā* 'except' above.

21.6 Supplementary Note: Exception by means of *mā ḵalā* 'excepting', *mā ʿadā* 'excepting', *laysa* 'is not' and *lā yakūnu* 'is not' makes the excepted element only dependent.[1]

21.61 The reason for this in the case of *mā ḵalā* and *mā ʿadā* 'excepting' is that, since they are preceded by the 'verbal noun *mā*',[1] the dependent form is specified by virtue of their being specifically verbal[2] under those conditions, cf. the verse of Labīd:

'a-lā kullu šay'in mā ḵalā llāha bāṭilun

'is not everything, excepting God, vain?'[3] (i.e. 'passing away, coming to an end', taken from the Qur'anic *kullu šay'in hālikun 'illā wajhahu* 'everything shall perish except His face').[4] Cf. also the verse:

tamallu n-nadāmā mā ʿadānī fa-'innanī
bi-kulli llaḏī yahwā nadīmī mūlaʿun

'the companions grow bored, excepting me, for I am inflamed by everything which my companion desires'.[5] Occasionally these two do make the

structure of *ğayr* (which is perhaps why *kalā* and *ᶜadā* are also invariable). For the problem of *ḥāšā* see below, n 4.

(2) See 11.721 n 4 on abstract nouns formed by suffixation, in the present case *ḥarfiyya* from *harf* 'particle' and *fiᶜliyya* from *fiᶜl* 'verb'.

(3) See 7.58 n 1. The reasoning is as follows: since the noun before *kalā* is plural it cannot be the agent of the singular verb *kalā* (cf. 7.12 n 1), and therefore the agent of *kalā* is a pronoun concealed in it (scil. 'the people stood, something excluded Zayd').

(4) Historically *ḥāšā* has been explained as 'an ancient verbal noun, used exclamatorily' (Fleisch, *E.I.* (2), art. 'Istiṯnā'', paraphrasing Fleischer, *Kl. Schr.* I, 405). The exclamatory nature of *hāšā* has some confirmation in the final *ā* (cf. 23.22 n 1), and an original meaning of 'beware!' has been suggested, cf. the expression *ḥāšā li-llāhi* 'God forbid!'. This being so the transition to verbal syntax in *ḥāšā zaydan* shows the opposite assimilation to that of *kalā* and *ᶜadā* above, which reaches its extreme in the creation of a spurious verb phrase *mā ḥāšā* by analogy with *mā kalā* etc., q.v. below. Likewise there is a doublet *ḥāšāya/ḥāšānī* 'except me', one showing the nominal suffix *ya* (3.241 n 4), the other the verbal suffix *nī* (16.301), cf. Fleischer, *Kl. Schr.* I, 491. As might be expected, the 'Kūfans' (9.4 n 3) resolutely argue that *ḥāšā* is a verb (*Inṣāf*, prob. 37).

21.6 (1) These are all clearly verbs, for the reasons given in the ensuing paragraphs, though it should be noted that they are invariable in this structure, notwithstanding their behaviour in other contexts.

21.61 (1) See 10.23 n 3 on *mā l-maṣdariyya* 'the verbal noun *mā*', so called because it makes a noun phrase with its verb, scil. 'as long as one excludes...'; see 24.21 n 1 on *maṣdar* 'verbal noun'.

(2) See 21.5 n 2 on *fiᶜliyya* 'verbal quality', lit. 'verbality'.

(3) *Schaw. Ind.* 182; the verse concludes *wa-kullu naᶜīmin lā maḥālata zā'ilun* 'and every happiness inevitably ceasing'. As well as the dep. form *allāha* 'God' after *mā kalā*, note *kull* (13.4 n 6), *lā maḥālata* (22.6 n 1) and positive *zā'il* (contrast 10.19). The poet Labīd was born at about the same time as the Prophet Muḥammad and died some thirty years after him in about 660, aged around ninety: see *E.I.* (2), art. 'Labīd', *G.A.L.* I, 36, *G.A.S.* II, 126.

(4) What aš-Širbīnī (here quoting al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* I, 364) means is that Labīd borrowed the idea for his verse from Qur'ān S. 28 v 88. The latter is also interesting for the occurrence of dep. *wajhahu* 'his face' after *'illā* in a verbless sentence: see 19.25 n 1 for the issues.

(5) *Schaw. Ind.* 140, anon. Verbal status of *ᶜadā* is here confirmed by the suffix *nī* (16.301), also present on *'innanī* in this line, because *'inna* 'verily' is regarded as having verbal force (see 10.401 n 2). Note also *kull* (13.4 n 6), this time annexed to a relative clause (see 11.753), and the 'doubled verb' (10.61 n 1) *tamallu*, fem. sing. because its agent is a broken plural (7.22 n 1 and see also 4.12 n 3).

وقد يجران على تقدير ما زائدة كما جرى عليه ابن مالك في الفيته واما ليس ولا
يكون فالمستثنى منصوب بهما على انه خبر لهما واسمهما مستتر فيهما نحو قاموا
ليس زيد ولا يكون بكرا وفي الحديث ما انهر الدم وذكر اسم الله عليه فكلوا
ليس السن والظفر بنصبهما ولما فرغ المصنف من الكلام على السابع من المنصوبات
شرع في الثامن منها وهو اسم لا المنصوب بها فقال

باب لا النافية للجنس وتسمى لا التبرئة لانها تدل على نفي الجنس فكانها تدل
على البراءة منه وانما عملت لا لمشابهتها لان في دخولها على الجملة الاسمية
وفي انها لتأكيد النفي كما ان ان لتأكيد (62a)الاثبات والشيء يحمل على نقيضه
كما يحمل على نظيره وفي ان لها صدر الكلام ولكونها عملت بطريق الحمل انحطت
رتبتها عنها فلا يكون اسمها الا نكرة ولا يجوز ان يتقدم خبرها على اسمها اذا
كان ظرفا او جارا ومجرورا ولا ينون اسمها بخلاف ان في ذلك وقد نبهَ المصنف

excepted element oblique, as if the *mā* were redundant, according to Ibn Mālik in his *Alfiyya*.[6]

21.62 With *laysa* 'is not'[1] and *lā yakūnu* 'is not' the excepted element is always made dependent by them as a predicate (their subject-nouns being concealed in them), e.g. *qāmū laysa zaydan wa-lā yakūnu bakran* 'they stood, but not Zayd and not Bakr'.[2] In the Traditions we find *mā 'anhara d-damma wa-ḏukira smu llāhi ᶜalayhi fa-kulū laysa s-sinna wa-ẓ-ẓufra* 'whatever has caused the blood to flow, as long as God's name is said over it, eat, but not the teeth and claws',[3] with dependent forms.

21.7 Having finished with the seventh of the dependent elements,[1] the author now turns to the eighth, namely the noun made dependent by *la* 'no'.

CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO

22.0 Chapter on *lā* 'no'.[1] This negates generically, and is also called the '*lā* of quittance', because it denotes the negation of the genus and hence, as it were, quittance from it.[2] It operates only because it resembles *'inna* 'verily' in that it precedes nominal sentences, and because it reinforces negation just as *'inna* 'verily' reinforces *(62a)* assertion (one may correlate something with its opposite as well as with its analogue), and also in that it belongs to the beginning of the utterance.[3] Since it only operates by correlation it has a lower rank[4] than *'inna* 'verily': consequently its noun is always undefined, its predicate may not precede its noun when the predicate is a space/time qualifier or oblique operator and its oblique element, and its noun never has final *n*,[5] unlike *'inna* 'verily' in these respects.

(6) See 1.02 n 2 on Ibn Mālik. The work referred to here (full title *al-Ḵulāṣa l-'alfiyya* 'The 1000-line Precis') is, as its name implies, a statement in about a thousand lines of low quality verse, of the main elements of Arabic grammar, and is the most famous work of its kind in the literature. The reference is to v. 330, though aš-Širbīnī is again quoting al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* I, 364.

21.62 (1) See 10.1 for the syntax of this kind of verb, and 10.11, 10.18 for *kāna* and *laysa* respectively.

(2) In view of the syntax of these verbs, the example might literally be translated 'they stood, it is not Zayd and it is not Bakr'.

(3) Wensinck, *Concordance* VII, 6. The 'Tradition' (1.01 n 4) relates to the problem of meat not ritually slain (e.g. in battle or with a stone when no knife is available): it is lawful as long as blood has flowed and the *basmala* (1.0 n 1) has been pronounced over it.

21.7 (1) Among elliptical expressions worth noting are *laysa ḡayru* and *lā ḡayru* (q.v. 21.4 n 2), and the synonymous *laysa 'illā*, e.g. *jā'anī zaydun laysa 'illā* 'Zayd came to me, none but', cf. *Muf.* #96, Fleischer, *Kl. Schr.* I, 431.

22.0 (1) *Jum.* 241; *Muf.* ##36, 99; *Alf.* v 197; *Qaṭr* 166: Beeston 100; Yushmanov 77: Nöldeke 46; cf. negation in general 5.76 n 1. Note the close structural similarities between *lā* and vocative *yā* (ch. 23), for which reason they are often treated in adjacent chapters (but contrast *Qaṭr*, which places *lā* among the 'cancellers', i.e. elements operating on equational sentences, q.v. ch. 10 and cf. 25.62 n 1).

(2) Terminology: *lā llatī li-nafy al-jins* '*lā* which is for negating the genus', also *lā n-nāfiya li-l-jins* '*lā* negating the genus' (for *jins* see 23.31 n 1). The name *lā t-tabri'a* '*lā* of quittance' is not used at all by the early grammarians, but is already known to Ibn Hišām, *Muḡnī* I, 194. Note that *ism lā* 'the noun of *lā*' (i.e. negated subject) and *ḵabar lā* 'the predicate of *lā*' follow the terminology of 10.1.

(3) See 10.4 et seq. on *'inna*. The correlation (*ḥaml*, see 23.411 n 2) of *lā* and *'inna* here offers a good specimen of analogical extension (*qiyās*, q.v. 8.3 n 2, and see also 22.4 n 1 on *naẓīr* 'analogue').

(4) 'Rank' is literal for *rutba*: such hierarchical notions are rare in the earliest grammar, but see Baalbaki, *Z.A.L.* 2, 1-22, and 11.711 n 2.

(5) i.e. *tanwīn*, q.v. 1.4, but see notes to 22.12.

على بعض ذلك بقوله اعلم بكسر الهمزة فعل امر من تعلم ان لا تنصب النكرات وجوبا
لفظا او محلا بغير تنوين اذا باشرت لا النكرة بان لا يفصل بينهما فاصل ولم تتكرر
لا فتنصب النكرة لفظا اذا كانت النكرة مضافة لمثلها نحو لا صاحب علم ممقـــوت
فصاحب علم اسمها وهو منصوب وممقمت خبرها وهو مرفوع بها وتنصب النكرة محـــلا
اذا كانت النكرة مفردة عن الاضافة وشبهها نحو لا رجل في الدار فلا حرف نفي ورجـــل
اسمها مبني معها على الفتح وموضعه نصب بلا وفي الدار خبرها وذهبت طائفـــة مــــن
البصريين الى ان رجل ونحوه منصوب لفظا من غير تنوين وهو ظاهر كلام المصنف ونسب
الى سبيويه هذا اذا باشرت لا النكرة فان لم تباشرها بان فصل بينهما بفاصل نحو لا
فيها غول او دخلت على معرفة نحو لا زيد في الدار وجب الرفع على الابتداء ووجب عـنـد

22.1 The author draws attention to some of these points. Know (*'i*^{c}*lam* 'know!', with *i* after the *'*, is an imperative verb[1] from *ta*^{c}*lamu* 'you (masc. sing.) know') that *lā* 'no' makes undefined nouns dependent, compulsorily, either in form or status,[2] without final *n*, when it (i.e. *lā* 'no') directly precedes the undefined noun (i.e. is not separated from it by anything) and is not repeated.[3]

22.11 It makes the undefined noun formally dependent when it is annexed to another undefined noun, e.g. *lā ṣāḥiba* ^{c}*ilmin mamqūtun* 'no possessor of knowledge is despised',[1] where *ṣāḥiba* ^{c}*ilmin* 'possessor of knowledge' is the noun of *lā* 'no' and is made dependent, and *mamqūtun* 'despised' is its predicate and made independent by it.[2]

22.12 It makes the undefined noun dependent in status[1] if it is isolated from annexation or its equivalent, e.g. *lā rajula fī d-dāri* 'no man is in the house'. Here *lā* 'no' is a particle of negation and *rajula* 'man' is its noun which, in combination with *lā* 'no', ends in an invariable *a* and has dependent function through *lā*, with *fī d-dāri* 'in the house' as its predicate. A certain group of Baṣrans maintain that *rajula* 'man' and such like are formally dependent without the final *n*, which is clearly what our author means; this view is attributed to Sībawayhi.[2]

22.2 This applies when *lā* 'no' directly precedes the undefined noun. But if it does not directly precede it (because some element intervenes, as in, for example, the Qur'anic[1] *lā fīhā ġawlun* 'in it is no ill-effect' or because it precedes a defined noun, e.g. *lā zaydun fī d-dāri* 'not Zayd is in the house'),[2] the independent form is compulsory. The noun is then treated as the subject of an equational sentence.

22.1 (1) Imperative verb 5.03, 5.2. Note that in transliteration here the verb has been given the ʼ which appears only in utterance-initial position and is elided in juncture, q.v. 13.12 n 1.

(2) 'In form or status' translates *lafẓan ʼaw maḥallan*: see 1.11 n 1 on *lafẓ* and 5.81 n 3 on *maḥall*. Note the three-way opposition between *lafẓ, maḥall* and *mawḍiᶜ* ('function', 3.1 n 4) throughout this chapter and see further 22.12 n 1.

(3) See 22.3 et seq. for repetition of *lā*.

22.11 (1) Observe the close parallel with the vocative structure in 23.44, and see 26.7 on annexation. It is a pedagogical simplification to refer to the noun here as 'undefined' (*nakira*, 11.8 n 1), as it has neither definition nor indefinition markers. Reckendorf (*Synt. Verh.* 343) explains this unmarked form as a survival from a stage before such markers had evolved. While he will not go so far as to assert that *lā* effectively defines its noun syntactically (enough to be a subject of a sentence, cf. 9.12 n 2), he makes a useful comparison with the generic article (id. 344, cf. 11.741). Since *lā* and *al* 'the' are in complementary distribution, are they simply the negative and positive members of the same function class? Cf. 19.72 n 1.

(2) Predicates (q.v. 9.11) after *lā* are nearly always prepositional phrases (Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.* 119, Cantarino II, 220).

22.12 (1) In this paragraph *lafẓ* 'form', *mawḍiᶜ* 'function' and *maḥall* 'status' are used contrastively (refs. 22.1 n 2). On the one hand the final *a* of *rajula* is called the true, formal dependence marker (q.v. 3.5), and on the other hand, *rajula* is said to function as an unmarked dependent element. But this leaves the final *a* unexplained, hence, if it is not an inflection marker (cf. 3.3), *rajula* can only be regarded as having equivalent status, *maḥall*, to a dependent noun.

(2) See 9.4 n 3 on Baṣrans, 0.1 n 1 on Sībawayhi (though aš-Širbīnī is here quoting al-Azharī, *Āj.* 89, and cf. *Inṣāf*, prob. 53). Although *tanwīn* is incompatible with *lā* (cf. 22.11 n 1), duals and sound masc. plurals with final *n* do occur after *lā*, e.g. *lā tawʼamayni* 'no two twins' (Beeston 100). Unless we argue that a dual such as *tawʼamayni* means 'a pair of twins' as a single, negatable category (cf. 3.65 n 2), these constructions must be seen as innovations (cf. 23.421 n 2).

22.2 (1) S. 37 v 47, meaning the harmlessness of the wine of Paradise. Here *lā* cannot operate on *ḡawlun* because the sentence is inverted (q.v. 9.73 n 1). The question to ask, however, is whether it was inverted deliberately in order to draw *ḡawlun* away from *lā*, i.e. to preserve the meaning 'there is not in it any single ill-effect' rather than 'no ill--effect is in it' (**lā ḡawla fīhā*), perhaps because 'ill-effect' is not felt to be a negatable category (cf. 22.44 n 1).

(2) As the translation implies, this is not categorical negation: where it does occur in literature (e.g. *lā ʼummayata* 'no Umayya', see Howell #99 for others) it is explained as equivalent to *lā miṯla ʼumayyata* 'none like Umayya' (*ʼumayyatu* semi-declinable, 3.89 (4)). Proper names

غير المبرد وابن كيسان تكرار لا نحو لا في الدار رجل ولا امرأة ونحو لا زيدفي الدار
ولا عمرو وان تكررت لا مع مباشرة النكرة جاز اعمالها والغاؤها فان شئت قلت
على الاعمال في قول المصنف نحو لا رجل في الدار ولا امرأة بفتح رجل ورفع امرأة
ونصبها وفتحها وان شئت قلت على الالغاء لا رجل في الدار ولا امرأة (62b) برفع
رجل ورفع امرأة وفتحها والحاصل ان للنكرة بعد لا النافية خمسة اوجه ثلاثة بعد
فتح النكرة الاولى واثنان بعد رفعها ونظير ذلك لا حول ولا قوة الا بالله فلك فتح
الاول على الاعمال وفي الثاني ثلاثة اوجه احدها الفتح على الاعمال وهو الاصل فيها
كقوله تعالى لا بيع فيه ولا خلة بفتحهما في قراءة ابي عمرو وابن كثير وثانيها
النصب نحو قول الشاعر
لا نسب اليوم ولا خلة

22.3 It is also compulsory (except in the opinion of al-Mubarrad and Ibn Kaysān)[1] for *lā* 'no' to be repeated, e.g. *lā fī d-dāri rajulun wa-lā mra'atun* 'in the house is no man and no woman'. Similarly *lā zaydun fī d-dāri wa-lā ᶜamrun* 'not Zayd is in the house and not ᶜAmr'.[2]

22.31 If *lā* 'no' is repeated before an undefined noun it may either operate upon it or be neutralized,[1] so that, if you wish, you may say (by making it operate, as the author does here), e.g. *lā rajula fī d-dāri wa-lā mra'ata* 'no man is in the house and no woman', with *a* on *rajula* 'man', while *imra'at-* 'woman' may be independent, dependent, or end in *a*;[2] and if you wish, you may say (by neutralizing *lā* 'no'), *lā rajulun fī d-dāri wa-lā mra'atun* 'no man is in the house and no woman'. *(62b)* This time *rajulun* 'man' is independent, while *imra'at-* 'woman' may be independent or end in *a*.[3]

22.4 The gist of all this is that there are five modes[1] for the undefined noun after *lā* 'no': three when the first undefined noun ends in *a*, and two when the first undefined noun is independent. An illustration[2] is *lā ḥawla wa-lā quwwata 'illā bi-llāhi* 'there is no power and no might except with God':[3] here you may give the first noun *a* by making the first *lā* 'no' operate upon it, leaving three possibilities for the second noun:

22.41 (1) The first, and regular way,[1] is to give the second noun *a* by making the second *lā* 'no' operate upon it, cf. the Qur'anic *lā bayᶜa fīhā wa-lā ḵullata* 'no barter on it and no friendship',[2] both with *a* in the Readings of Abū ᶜAmr and Ibn Kaṯīr.[3]

22.42 (2) Or both may be dependent, cf. the poet's verse:

lā nasaba l-yawma wa-lā ḵullatan

'there is no breeding today and no friendship',[1] making the second *lā*

being defined by nature or by form (11.72, 11.82 n 4), they can only be negated as individuals, not categories (cf. 3.65 n 8, 23.421 n 2).

22.3 (1) See 12.6 n 3 on Ibn Kaysān; his master Abū l-ᶜAbbās Muḥammad ibn Yazīd al-Mubarrad was born in Baṣra in about 825 and died in 898 in Baghdad, where he had established himself as the leading 'Baṣran' grammarian (cf. 9.3 n 4). We refer frequently to his *Muqtaḍab*, a pedagogical reworking of the *Kitāb*. See *G.A.L.* I, 108.

(2) If we replace the first *lā* by *laysa* 'is not' (10.18), then *wa-lā* reveals itself as a normal repeater negative, q.v. 12.8 n 2.

22.31 (1) See 2.11 n 1 on 'operate' and 5.431 n 3 on 'neutralized'.

(2) The abundance of alternative constructions probably reflects mere confusion rather than any actual differences of use (e.g. dialect) or meaning. Yet another possibility is adduced by Nöldeke 46, viz. *lā ᶜawfan wa-lā 'irama* 'no ᶜAwf and no Iram', with both elements dependent but differing from 22.42 in that the first noun retains its final *n*. Both elements are proper names and occur thus in a poem: seemingly this is an anomaly like those in 22.2 n 2.

(3) By 'end in *a*' we are to understand that this is not an inflection marker of the dependent form but an invariable ending, q.v. 22.12.

22.4 (1) 'Modes' here is *'awjuh*, lit. 'faces, aspects, directions', a part of the linear metaphor in which grammatical abstractions were expressed in Arabic (cf. 1.01 n 1); its singular *wajh* has been used from the first in the sense of 'proper manner, correct way' (Troupeau, *Lex. -Index, w-ǧ-h*), retaining in grammar its original ethical connotation.

(2) 'Illustration' is a very free translation of *naẓīr*, lit. 'like, corresponding', rendered elsewhere as 'analogue' (e.g. 22.0). It is aš-Širbīnī's way of saying that the phrase discussed in the second half of this paragraph (reproducing al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* I, 240) is 'analogous' to the principle stated in the first half of the paragraph (this time reproducing al-Azharī, *Āj.* 89).

(3) An often quoted, perhaps proverbial expression from the Traditions of Muḥammad (1.01 n 4; see Wensinck, *Concordance* I, 533 for locations). *Muf.* #105 is devoted to it, and the following notes are largely drawn from Ibn Yaᶜīš's Commentary thereon.

22.41 (1) See 3.0 n 2 on *'aṣl* 'regular way'. Here *lā quwwata* has the same form as *lā ḥawla* because it is regarded as making a fresh start (*isti'nāf*) to the sentence.

(2) S. 2 v 254, referring to Judgement Day.

(3) See 21.22 n 3 on these two. This 'Reading' (21.21 n 2) is evidently a minority one, as the standard editions have *lā bayᶜun fīhā wa-lā ḵullatun*, both with independent form as in 22.45.

22.42 (1) *Schaw. Ind.* 142 (and see 164 for alternative second hemistich rhyming in *ar-rātiqi*); it concludes *ittasaᶜa l-ḵarqu ᶜalā r-rāqiᶜi* 'the hole has become too wide for the patcher' (so Howell, #105 = p. 332).

بنصب خلة على جعل لا زائدة موكدة وعطف الاسم بعدها على محل اسم لا قبلها
فان محله نصب وثالثها الرفع كقوله
هذا لعمركم الصغار بعينه   لا ام لي ان كان ذاك ولا اب
برفع اب وذلك على زيادة لا الثانية وعطف اسمها على محل لا الاولى مع اسمها فان
موضعها رفع على الابتداء ولك رفع الاول على الابتداء ويجوز لك حينئذ فتح اسم
لا الثانية على اعمالها نحو لا لغو فيها ولا تأثيم او رفعه على الغائها وعطف
الاسم بعدها على ما قبلها ويمتنع النصب لعدم نصب المعطوف عليه لفظا ومحلا
تتمة في اعراب لا اله الا الله لا حرف نفي واله اسمها والا الله بدل في موضع لا
مع اسمها فان موضعهما رفع على الابتداء عند سيبويه لا بدل من لفظ الاسم الواقع
بعد لا وليس هو خبرا للا لان لا لا تعمل في معرفة كما مر وخبر لا محذوف

redundant and corroborative, coordinating the following noun to the status of the noun after the first *lā*,[2] that status being dependence.[3]

22.43 (3) Or the second noun may be independent, as in the verse:

hāḏā la-ᶜamrukumu ṣ-ṣaḡāru bi-ᶜaynihi
lā 'umma lī 'in kāna ḏāka wa-lā 'abu

'this, by your life, is lowliness itself! I have no mother, if that be so, and no father!',[1] with independent form of *'abu* 'father', treating the second *lā* 'no' as redundant, and coordinating its noun to the status of the first *lā* and its noun, their function being independence as the subject of an equational sentence.

22.44 (4) You may also make the first noun independent as the subject of an equational sentence, in which case the second noun may take *a* by making the second *lā* 'no' operate upon it, as in *lā laḡwun fīhā wa-lā ta'ṯīma* 'no vanity in it and no cause of sin'.[1]

22.45 (5) Or the second noun may be independent by neutralizing *lā* 'no' and coordinating its following noun to the preceding noun.[1] But the dependent form is impossible here because the antecedent is not dependent in form or status.[2]

22.5 Supplementary Note concerning the parsing of *lā 'ilāha 'illā llāhu* 'there is no god but God':[1] *lā* 'no' is a particle of negation and *'ilāha* 'god' is its noun; *'illā llāhu* 'except God' is a substitute with the same function as the previous *lā* 'no' and its noun, this function being (according to Sībawayhi)[2] independence as the subject of an equational sentence. It is not a substitute of the noun formally expressed after *lā* 'no', because *lā* does not operate upon defined elements, as already stated above. The true predicate of this *lā* has been elided,[3] and is

(2) This time *lā* is redundant (*zā'ida*, q.v. 5.413 n 1) and only reinforces the previous negation (cf. 13.13), while the conjunction *wā* 'and' transmits the operation of the first *lā* to the second noun (cf. 12.1).

(3) 'Status' is *maḥall*, cf. 22.12 n 1; *kullatan* is genuinely dependent, but *nasaba*, to which it is coordinated, has only dependent status, not dependent form. Likewise *lā ḥawla wa-lā quwwatan*.

22.43 (1) *Schaw. Ind.* 11 (add *Jum.* 243, note variant). For metrical reasons (5.88 n 4) the undefined, independent form *'abun* loses its final *n* and is pronounced (but not spelt) *'abū*; in transliteration *'abu* has been retained, to prevent confusion with the annexed form *'abū*, cf. 4.7 n 1. This time the second negated noun has the independent form proper to the function of the whole phrase *lā 'umma* 'no mother' to which it is coordinated (*lā 'umma* itself, being incapable of inflection, can only be said to have the status, *maḥall*, of an independent element); the same would apply to *lā ḥawla wa-lā quwwatun*. Other points to note: prefix *la* in oaths, cf. 'emphatic *la*', 13.6 n 3; vowel harmony in *la-ᶜamrukum*, from **la-ᶜumrukum*, cf. 13.9 n 9; juncture feature in *ᶜamrukumu*, 11.1 n 2; corroborative *ᶜayn*, 13.31 n 2.

22.44 (1) First half of a verse (*Schaw. Ind.* 229, rhyme *muqīmun*, and cf. Qur'ān S. 52 v 23), describing the wine of Paradise. The problem is why *laġwun* is not inverted like *ġawlun* in 22.2. We may come no closer than the answer of Ibn Yaᶜīš (on *Muf.* #105, discussing the identically structured *lā ḥawlun wa-lā quwwata*, cf. 22.4 n 3), that the first *lā* has the status of *laysa* 'is not' (10.18) with *laġwun* in the regular form of a subject-noun, the second *lā* and its noun having the normal categorical negation pattern. Note, however, that the standard editions of the Qur'ān do not have this 'Reading' (21.21 n 2), but instead the form set out in 22.45 n 1. Cf. also 23.61 n 10.

22.45 (1) Thus *lā laġwun fīhā wa-lā ta'ṯīmun* (S. 52 v 23, the orthodox 'Reading') and *lā ḥawlun wa-lā quwwatun*, with *lā* again equivalent to *laysa* (v. previous note). In *Muf.* #105 a sixth possibility is given, viz. *lā ḥawla wa-lā quwwatun*, formally identical with 22.43, but with the second *lā* this time explained as equivalent to *laysa* 'is not', so that *quwwatun* is its subject-noun, not an independent noun coordinated to the function of the previous *lā*-phrase!

(2) The excluded case is **lā ḥawlun wa-lā quwwatan* (contrast 22.42).

22.5 (1) S. 37 v 35, being the first half of the Muslim declaration of faith (see *E.I.* (1), art. 'Shahāda'). On 'parsing', *'iᶜrāb*, see 8.21 n 1; on *ḥarf* 'particle' see 1.25 n 1; for 'substitute', *badal*, see ch. 14, and for 'function', *mawḍiᶜ*, cf. 22.12 n 1.

(2) Sībawayhi (0.1 n 1) does not discuss the syntax of this phrase, but deals with it in a general way in *Kitāb* I, 345. The actual source for aš-Širbīnī, however, is al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* I, 246.

(3) The assumption of an elided predicate (cf. 9.93-93) accords with the fact that *lā*-phrases seem to function only as subjects (cf. Beeston 100). But al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* I, 246, reproduces a dissenting view from

تقديره لا اله في الوجود او موجود ولما فرغ من الثامن من المنصوبات وهو اسم لا شرع في التاسع منها وهو المنادى فقال

باب المنادى المنادى اسم مفعول من ناديته فهو منادى والنداء (63a) بكسر النون وضمها لغة مطلق الدعاء وفي الاصطلاح الدعاء بحرف مخصوص وهي ثمانية الهمزة واي مقصورتان وممدودتان ويا وايا وهيا ووا اذا علمت ذلك فالمنادى له اعتباران اعتبار من جهة ذاته واعتبار من جهة لفظه اما اعتباره من جهة ذاته فهو

implicitly *lā 'ilāha fī l-wujūdi* or *mawjūdun* 'there is no god in existence' or 'existing'.

22.6 Having finished with the eighth of the dependent elements,[1] namely the noun of *lā* 'no', the author now turns to the ninth of them, which is the vocative.

CHAPTER TWENTY-THREE

23.0 Chapter on the vocative.[1] The term *munādā* 'vocative' is actually the patient noun of the verb *nādaytuhu* 'I called him', so that he has become *munādā* 'called'. 'Calling' *(63a)* (*nidā'* or *nudā'*, with *i* or *u* after the *n*) is lexically the unqualified action of invoking, and its technical[2] meaning is invocation by means of a particular particle, of which there are eight, viz. *'a*, *'ay* (both in long and short varieties), *yā*, *'a-yā*, *ha-yā* and *wā*.[3]

23.1 Now that you have learnt this much, you should know that the person called[1] may be considered in two ways, from the aspect of his essence and from the aspect of his form.[2]

az-Zamakšarī (3.53 n 6) that no elision is involved here: rather the sentence is an inversion of an underlying complete sentence 'God is the only god' with the surface structure 'not a god is anything but God'. It is clear that az-Zamakšarī, as a Mu^c^tazilite (3.53 n 5), wanted to avoid the vagueness of the orthodox explanation which, with its indeterminate elisions, substitutions and predications, left too much scope for loose thinking! Try also P. Nwiya, *M.U.S.J.* 49, 739-765.

22.6 (1) Some items not dealt with by aš-Širbīnī: (a) a number of elliptical expressions with *lā*, e.g. *lā šakka* 'no doubt, doubtless', *lā maḥālata* 'inevitably', *lā jarama* 'certainly', *lā ḡayru* 'no other' (note final *u*, v. 21.4 n 2), *lā budda* 'unavoidably', this last commonly for Eng. 'must', cf. Beeston 101 n 1, Fleisch, *Tr.* #74 n 3; (b) *lā* for Eng. prefix 'un-' etc., e.g. *lā silkī* 'wireless', *lā 'adrī* 'a "don't know"', cf. 21.42 n 1; (c) the phrase *lā 'aḥada* 'no one' now tends to function, under influence of European syntax, as 'no-one' even in verbal sentences, e.g. *lā 'aḥada yaqūlu ḏālika* 'no-one says that': in Classical Arabic, if the sentence contains a verb, only this can be negated, thus *lā yaqūlu ḏālika 'aḥadun*, lit. 'someone does not say that', *mā fāza bi-šay'in* 'he won nothing', lit. 'he did not win something', see Beeston 101; Cantarino I, 118; other examples in 12.902, 18.110, 19.72, 21.22, 21.35.

23.0 (1) *Jum.* 157; *Muf.* #48; *Alf.* v 573; *Qaṭr* 220; Fleisch 190; Nöldeke 44. Terminology: *nidā'* 'action of calling', *ḥarf nidā'* 'particle of calling', *munādā* 'thing or person called' (see further 23.1 n 1). In transliteration *munādā* is preferred to *munādan*, see remarks on *siwā* in 21.02 n 4. See 10.34 n 1 on Stem III patient nouns.

(2) See 1.1 n 2 on 'lexical' and 'technical'; 'unqualified' is *muṭlaq*, elsewhere translated as 'absolute', cf. 11.717 n 3.

(3) These are listed in *Muf.* #554; the 'long' varieties of *'a* and *ay* are *'ā* and *'āy* (here 'long', *mamdūda*, lit. 'stretched' and 'short' *maqṣūra*, lit' 'shortened', are hardly technical terms at all, contrast their special application in 3.89 n 2).

23.1 (1) Note that there is no distinction between the linguistic element (a noun with vocative function) and the external reality (the person called): both are termed *munādā*, cf. 16.1 n 1 on a comparable ambiguity in the term *fi^c^l*, 'action' or 'verb'.

(2) 'Essence' is *ḏāt*, an interloper from philosophy which appears for the first time perhaps in the time of Ibn al-Ḥājib (d. 1249, cf. *Kāfiya*,

قريب وبعيد ومندوب فالهمزة المقصورة للقريب الا ان ينزل منزلة البعيد كالساهي فله بقية الاحرف كما انها للبعيد واجمعوا على جواز نداء القريب بما للبعيد توكيدا او على منع العكس قاله بدر الدين ابن مالك وتتعين يا في نداء اسم الله تعالى وفي باب الاستغاثة وتتعين هيا ووا في الندبة ولكن انما يندب بيا عند امن اللبس بالمنادى ويجوز حذف حرف النداء نحو قوله تعالى يوسف اعرض عن هذا الا في مسائل المنادى البعيد كيا زيد والمستغاث كيا لله والمندوب كيا عمرا لان المراد فيهن اطالة الصوت والحذف ينافيه واسم الجنس غير المعين كقول الاعمى يا رجلا خذ بيدي والمضمر وندائه شاذ واسم الله تعالى اذا لم يعوض في اخره الميم المشددة واما اعتباره من جهة لفظه فهو خمسة انواع الاول المفرد

23.2 From the aspect of essence the person called is either nearby, far away or lamented. The short *'a* is for the near person (unless he has the status[1] of someone far away, e.g. someone who is inattentive, in which case all the remaining particles may be used for him as well as for the person far away: it is generally agreed that the nearby person may be invoked by particles of the far vocative for the sake of emphasis, but the converse is forbidden, according to Badr ad-Dīn Ibn Mālik).[2]

23.21 In invoking the name of Almighty God the particle *yā* specifically is used,[1] and this particle also serves for calling for help.[2]

23.22 For lamentation[1] *ha-yā* and *wā* are used; *yā* is only used in lamentation when there is no danger of confusion with the regular vocative.

23.3 The vocative particle may be elided,[1] as in the Qur'anic *yūsufu 'a^c^riḍ ^c^an hāḏā* 'Joseph, turn away from this',[2] except in certain cases, viz. the remote vocative (e.g. *yā zaydu* 'O Zayd'), calling for help (e.g. *yā la-llāhi* 'O God') and lamentation (e.g. *yā ^c^amrā* 'alas for ^c^Amr!'),[3] because the desire in these three is to prolong the sound, and elision is incompatible with that desire.

23.31 Nor may it be elided when followed by a generic noun,[1] e.g. when a blind man says *yā rajulan ḵuḏ bi-yadī* 'O (any) man, take my hand', or followed by a pronoun[2] (but this is rare in the vocative anyway), or by the name of Almighty God when the vocative particle is not replaced by the final compensatory double *m*.[3]

23.4 From the aspect of form the person called is of five kinds:[1]

ch. on *tamyīz*); see *E.I.* (2), art. '<u>Dh</u>āt', and 20.01 n 2.

23.2 (1) 'Status' is *manzila*, lit. 'place of dismounting', but which has had from the earliest times the metaphorical meaning of 'standing, rank'. It was taken into grammar from law: in both systems status and function (*mawḍi*ᶜ, 3.1 n 4) are the mutually determining axes of behaviour. Cf. Carter, *R.E.I.* 40, 84; 5.81 n 3; 8.1 n 1.

(2) Son of the famous Ibn Mālik (1.02 n 2), see 17.71 n 3. The reference here is to his unpublished Commentary on the *Alfiyya* (e.g. Brit. Mus. Or. 25Ad, = 7425 Rich., fol. 133v), though the immediate source for aš-Širbīnī is not clear: he seems to be quoting al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* II, 164, but there is no mention of Badr ad-Dīn at that point.

23.21 (1) This is an anomaly, since *yā* may not normally occur before nouns prefixed with *al* 'the', see further 23.5 n 2.

(2) 'Calling for help' is literal for *istiġāṯa*, e.g. *yā la-llāhi li-l-muslīmina* 'God help the Muslims!': the prefix (*lām al-istiġāṯa* '*l* of calling for help') is *la* before the noun invoked and *li* before the noun for which help is invoked. This *la* may be a remnant of *yā 'āla* 'O family of...', Nöldeke 5, but cf. Fleisch 143. See *Jum.* 178; *Muf.* #48; *Alf.* v 598; *Qaṭr* 236.

23.22 (1) 'Lamentation' is *nudba*, hence *ḥarf nudba* 'particle of lamentation', *mandūb* 'thing or person lamented', e.g. *wā zaydā(h)* 'alas for Zayd'. See *Jum.* 190; *Muf.* #55; *Alf.* v 601; *Qaṭr* 238; another example 23.3. On the ending *ā(h)* see Fleisch, *Tr.* #150g.

23.3 (1) The vocative particle is never found with *allāhumma* 'O God', see further 23.31 n 3. Another elided voc. *rabbi* 'O my Lord', 5.55(c).

(2) S. 12 v 29. Compare the converse: a minority 'Reading" (21.21 n 2) of S. 27 v 25, *'allā yasjudū* 'that they do not bow down' is *'a-lā yā sjudū* 'why not, O, bow down?', with elision of the vocative noun (see al-Farrā', *Ma*ᶜ*ānī* II, 290, also *Muf.* #59 as expanded by Howell).

(3) See 23.21 n 2 on *istiġāṯa* 'calling for help', 23.22 n 1 for *nudba* 'lamentation', and cf. 14.4 n 5 on motive determining linguistic form.

23.31 (1) 'Generic noun' is *ism jins*, lit. 'name of a genus', cf. 3.64 n 2 on semantic categories of nouns, though here it simply contrasts with the specific individual normally addressed in the vocative, q.v. 23.42 and cf. also 23.43.

(2) But *yā hāḏā* 'O this one' etc. are not excluded because *hāḏā* 'this' etc. are nouns, not pronouns (11.73).

(3) The final *mma* of *allāhumma* 'O God' has never been explained: the 'Baṣran' view (*Inṣāf* prob. 47) reproduced here by aš-Širbīnī, that *mma* compensates for the elided *yā* is problematical. Fleisch 146 (*Tr.* #115k) sees an old demonstrative element *m* here.

23.4 (1) By 'kinds' (*'anwā*ᶜ, 17.2 n 1) Ibn Ājurrūm means formal categories, not structural or inflectional varieties, contrast 22.4.

العلم والمراد بالمفرد هنا وفي باب لا ما ليس مضافا ولا شبيها به فهذا يبنى
على ما يرفع به من حركة او حرف لو كان معربا كيا زيد فانه مبني على الضم
لانه لو كان معربا لكان مرفوعا على الضم ومثله يا رجال ويا هندات ويا هنود
ويا رجل لمعين لانه مفرد ومعرف بالاقبال (63b) عليه ونحو يا زيدان يبنى على
الالف لانها علامة رفعه لو كان معربا نحو جاء الزيدان ونحو يا زيدون يبنى على
الواو لانها علامة رفعه لو كان معربا نحو جاء الزيدون واما ما كان مبنيا قبل
النداء كسيبويه وحذام في لغة اهل الحجاز او كان مقصورا كالفتى او منقوصا
كالقاضي فيقدر فيه الضمة في اخره ويظهر اثر ذلك التقدير في تابعه فتقول يا
سيبويه العالم برفع العالم مراعاة للضمة المقدرة وبنصبه مراعاة لمحله كما تفعل
في تابع ما جدد بناؤه نحو يا زيد الفاضل برفع الفاضل ونصبه والنوع الثاني النكرة
المقصودة بالنداء دون غيرها وهي ايضا تبنى على ما يرفع به لو كان معربا نحو
يا رجل لمعين يبنى على الضمة لانها علامة رفعه لو كان معربا نحو جاء رجل ونحو

23.41 (1) <u>the single proper name,</u>[1] which here (as in the chapter on *lā* 'no') means that which is not annexed to anything or equivalent to such. This type is constructed as invariable in the short or long vowel it would have had in its independent form if it had been inflected, e.g. *yā zaydu* 'O Zayd', which is constructed as invariable in *u* because if it had been inflected it would have been independent in *u*.[2] Likewise *yā rijālu* 'O men', *yā hindātu* 'O Hinds', *yā hunūdu* 'O Hinds', *yā rajulu* 'O man' (to a specific man,[3] being a single word and defined by the act of accosting), *(63b) yā zaydāni* 'O both Zayds' (constructed as invariable in *ā* because that would be its independence marker if it were inflected, as in *jā'a z-zaydāni* 'the two Zayds came'), and *yā zaydūna* 'O Zayds' (constructed as invariable in *ū* because that would be its independence marker if it were inflected, as in *jā'a z-zaydūna* 'the Zayds came').[4]

23.411 As for nouns that are already invariable before being invoked, such as *sībawayhi* 'Sībawayhi' and *ḥaḏāmi* 'Ḥaḏāmi'[1] (in the Ḥijāzī dialect), or which end in the 'shortened *ā*', e.g. *al-fatā* 'the boy', or are defective, such as *al-qāḍī* 'the judge', in all these the final *u* is implicit. The trace of this implicit inflection appears in their concordants,[2] e.g. *yā sībawayhi l-ᶜālimu* 'O wise Sībawayhi', with independent form of *al-ᶜālimu* 'wise' in keeping with the implicit *u* of *sībawayhi*, or else with the dependent form *al-ᶜālima* in keeping with the status of *sībawayhi*, in the same way as the concordants of nouns which have been given their new, invariable form,[3] e.g. *yā zaydu l-fāḍilu* or *l-fāḍila* 'O virtuous Zayd', with independent or dependent form of *al-fāḍil-* 'virtuous'.[4]

23.42 (2) <u>the specifically intended individual,</u>[1] i.e. deliberately called to the exclusion of everyone else. This is also constructed as invariable in the form it would have had if it had been inflected, e.g. *yā rajulu* 'O man', for a particular man, constructed as invariable in *u* because that would be its independence marker if it were inflected,[2] as

23.41 (1) See 11.72 on *^{c}alam* 'proper name' and 23.431 on *mufrad* 'single'.

(2) See 3.1 on *u* and its allomorphs; 'constructed as invariable' is an explanatory translation of *yubnā*, lit. 'is built' (cognate with *binā'* 'invariability', 1.41 n 4, and cf. *mabnī li-l-maf^{c}ūl*, 8.0 n 1). As with *lā* 'no' (22.12), the theory of the vocative requires that the noun should have dependent function (see 23.42 n 2), hence *u* here cannot be an inflection marker.

(3) The examples *yā rajulu* and *yā rijālu* do not belong here, but aš-Širbīnī is following *Qaṭr* 222, where instead of 'single proper name' Ibn Hišām uses the category 'singled defined noun' (*mufrad ma^{c}rifa*, see 11.8 n 1 on *ma^{c}rifa*). See further 23.421 n 2.

(4) See 3.63 for dual, 3.41 for sound masc. plur. Note that both retain their *n* suffix (*na* or *ni*, 4.81 n 1), possibly to avoid confusion with sing. *yā zaydu* 'O Zayd', *yā zaydā* 'Alas for Zayd' (though this would not also account for retention of *n* in categorical negation as well, 22.12 n 2). The distribution of this *n* is a problem in itself, as it is only partially identical with that of its singular correlative *tanwīn* (compare paradigms in 4.11 n 1, 4.5 n 1, 4.6 n 1).

23.411 (1) For a historical Sībawayhi see 0.1 n 1. The name is one of several ending in the invariable suffix *wayhi*, ultimately an adaptation of a Persian diminutive suffix *ūya* (cf. *G.A.L.* I, 101 n 1). The class of names represented by *ḥaḏāmi* is somewhat obscure, cf. Fleisch, *Tr.* #70; *Jum.* 233; *Muf.* #193; *Qaṭr* 7, and see further 5.552 n 2. For the inflection of *al-fatā* see 2.5, for *al-qāḍī* 2.6.

(2) See ch. 11 on adjectival concordance, and cf. 22.12 for the opposition of *lafẓ* 'form' and *maḥall* 'status'. 'In keeping with' is literal for *murā^{c}atan*, though this notion is more often expressed by the true technical term *ḥamala ^{c}alā* 'to correlate', lit. 'to carry back to, bear upon', (e.g. 19.5, 22.0; in 20.5 it is rendered 'construed as').

(3) Although it is fairly clear that *zaydu* etc. have in some sense a 'new' form (*juddida binā'uhu*, lit. 'its invariability has been newly made'), there is no need for such a formulation in our text: it is only a phrase used by Ibn Mālik (*Alf.* v 578) under pressure of rhyme, and survives here (via al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* II, 166) by simple inertia.

(4) The rule for common nouns is different, see 23.51.

23.42 (1) 'Specifically intended individual' paraphrases *an-nakira l-maqṣūda*, lit. 'the unknown thing aimed at' (see 11.8 n 1 on *nakira*). The force of *maqṣūd* (cf. 14.4 n 5) is to single out a formally undefined element 'by the act of accosting' (*bi-l-'iqbāli ^{c}alayhi*, 23.41), so that it becomes defined by context.

(2) The interpretation of the status of the vocative noun given here is the orthodox 'Baṣran' (9.4 n 3) opinion: they suppose a compulsorily deleted verbal operator such as *'ad^{c}ū* or *'unādī* 'I call'. Most 'Kūfans' dispute this, and argue that the vocative noun has no operator at all,

يا رجلان لمعينين يبنى على الالف لانها علامة رفعه لو كان معربا نحو جاء رجلان
فاجريت النكرة في هذه الامثلة مجرى العلم في بنائها على علامات الاعراب وقول
المصنف في هذين النوعين انهما يبنيان على الضم مراده بذلك انهما يبنيان على
الضم او على نائبه كما مر وانما ترك التنبيه على نائب الضم اختصارا ولان نداء
المثنى والجمع لم يكثر كنداء المفرد والنوع الثالث النكرة غير المقصودة بالذات وانما
المقصود واحد من افرادها كقول الواعظ يا غافلا والموت يطلبه اذا لم يقصد غافلا
بعينه هذا كله في المفرد لان المراد بالمفرد في هذا الباب ما ليس مضافا ولا .
شبيها بالمضاف والنوع الرابع المضاف الى غيره نحو يا غلام زيد فهذا يجب نصب
لفظه والنوع الخامس الشبيه بالمضاف وهو ما اتصل به شيء من تمام (64a) معناه
اما بعمل او بعطف فهذا يجب نصب لفظه ايضا فالعمل نحو يا حسنا وجهه فحسنا

in *jā'a rajulun* 'a man came'. Likewise *yā rajulāni* 'O both men', for two particular men, constructed as invariable in *ā* because that would be its independence marker if it were inflected, as in *jā'a rajulāni* 'two men came'. The undefined noun in these examples behaves like the proper name in being constructed as invariable with one of the inflection markers.[3]

23.421 When the author says of these two kinds that they are 'constructed as invariable in *u*'[1] he means that they are constructed as invariable in *u* or whatever replaces it, as illustrated above. He omits to point out the replacements for *u* simply for the sake of brevity, and because the vocative is not nearly so frequent with the dual and the plural as it is with the singular.[2]

23.43 (3) the individual, not specifically intended in essence: only any one of various individuals is meant, as when the preacher says *yā ġāfilan wa-l-mawtu yaṭlubuhu* 'O heedless one, while death is chasing him', where no particular heedless one is meant.[1]

23.431 All the examples so far are of single nouns, since in this chapter *mufrad* 'single, singular' means that which is not annexed to anything or equivalent to such.[1]

23.44 (4) that which is annexed to something else,[1] e.g. *yā ġulāma zaydin* 'O slave-boy of Zayd', where the vocative noun must be formally dependent;

23.45 (5) that which is equivalent to something annexed. This is the noun suffixed by something which completes *(64a)* the sense, either by being operated upon or being coordinated.[1] It must also be formally dependent. Examples of operation: *yā ḥasanan wajhuhu* 'O handsome of face',[2] where *ḥasanan* 'handsome' is formally dependent as a vocative and

and is only given independent form to avoid confusion with other functions, likewise lacks *tanwīn* to distinguish it from the true indep. noun (e.g. as subject of sentence). The Baṣrans, not without justification, brand this as 'pure arbitrariness', *Inṣāf* prob. 45.

(3) This is a statement of a rule rather than a description of actual practice: Nöldeke 44-46 supplies examples (admittedly mostly from poetry) of vocative nouns not only in *u* but also in *un, a* and *an*, often with no particular metrical constraint.

23.421 (1) Aš-Širbīnī is here anticipating Ibn Ājurrūm's formulation in 23.5, probably from too closely following *Qaṭr* 222.

(2) Dual and plural are indeed uncommon with the vocative, as they are with the structurally similar categorical negative (cf. 22.12 n 2), and possibly for related reasons: both *lā* 'no' and *yā* 'O' have the effect of particularizing their nouns (cf. 22.11 n 1), and in the case of *yā* it seems a fair assumption that its original purpose was to attract the attention of an individual (and in poetry, by natural extension, of a whole tribe). But see also 23.44 n 1.

23.43 (1) Cf. *yā rajulan kuḏ bi-yadī* 'O (any) man, take my hand' in 23.31. In both cases the context is decisive: neither the preacher nor the blind man can particularize any of the listeners (cf. 19.8 n 2 on the influence of context on linguistic form). Nevertheless this structure must be regarded as a secondary development from the true vocative (cf. previous note). Note the sentence introduced by *wa* 'and' in the function of a circumstantial qualifier (q.v. 19.9 n 1).

23.431 (1) As the explanation makes clear, *mufrad*, lit. 'alone' means here that the noun is isolated: elsewhere *mufrad* denotes 'singular' as opposed to plural etc. (e.g. 3.21, 4.11; cognate *'ifrād* 'being singular', 11.02), and 'simple' as opposed to composite (*murakkab,* 1.12 n 1), e.g. 9.5, 11.723. Note how this term, like others, does not recognize boundaries between morphology and syntax, cf. 1.41 n 3.

23.44 (1) See 26.7 on annexation. Here we may include the phrase *yā ṣāḥibayi s-sijni* 'O two companions of the prison' quoted in 26.9, as an example of the dual vocative noun. In *ṣāḥibayi* we see (a) the regular loss of final *n* in annexation (*ṣāḥibay-ni*, cf. 26.93 n 1), and (b) the resolution of the resulting consonant cluster *y-s-s* by insertion of the glide vowel *i* (see 11.1 n 2).

23.45 (1) 'Suffixed by something which completes the sense' renders *mā ttaṣala bihi šay'un min tamāmi ma*^{c}*nāhu*, lit. 'what has attached to it something which is part of its whole meaning': for *ittaṣala* 'suffixed' was chosen because the second element of an annexation unit is regarded as a bound morpheme (see 26.91). On 'operation', ^{c}*amal*, see 2.11 n 1, and see below, n 5 for ^{c}*aṭf* 'coordination' in this context.

(2) Lit. 'O handsome his face', and equivalent to the formal annexation construction *yā ḥasana l-wajhi* 'O handsome of face' (26.92). Note that *ḥasanan,* though formally an adjective, is analysed as a verb phrase (equivalent to *yaḥsunu* 'is handsome'), of which *wajhuhu* 'his face' is

لفظه منصوب على النداء والوجه مرفوع به على الفاعلية ومتمم لمعناه ونحو يا
طالعا جبلا فطالعا لفظه منصوب على النداء وجبلا منصوب به على المفعولية
وفاعله ضمير مستتر فيه ونحو يا مارا بزيد فمارا لفظه منصوب على النداء
وبزيد جار ومجرور متعلق به في محل نصب واما العطف فنحو يا ثلاثة وثلاثين
فيمن سميته بذلك فثلاثة لفظه منصوب على النداء وثلاثين معطوف عليه متمم
لمعناه ثم ان المصنف بين حكم النوعين الاولين بقوله فاما المفرد العلم والنكرة
المقصودة فيبنيان على الضم من غير تنوين اي في حالة الاختيار ثم مثل للمفرد
العلم بقوله نحو يا زيد وللنكرة المقصودة بقوله يا رجل اي لمعين هذا اذا لم
تكن النكرة المقصودة موصوفة فان كانت موصوفة فالعرب تؤثر نصبها على ضمها
يقولون يا رجلا عالما اقبل ومنه الحديث يا عظيما يرجى لكل عظيم نقله ابن مالك
عن الفراء واقره عليه ثم بين حكم بقية الانواع وهي الثلاثة الباقية بقوله والثلاثة
الباقية وهي النكرة غير المقصودة والمضاف والشبيه بالمضاف بقوله منصوبة لا غير
اي فلا يجوز فيها غير النصب وتقدمت امثلة ذلك تنبيه ما ذكره المصنف

wajhuhu 'his face' is made independent by it as an agent which completes the sense; likewise *yā ṭāliᶜan jabalan* 'O mountain climber',[3] where *ṭāliᶜan* 'climber' is formally dependent as a vocative and *jabalan* 'a mountain' is made dependent by it as a direct object, the agent being a concealed pronoun in *ṭāliᶜan* 'climber'; similarly *yā mārran bi-zaydin* 'O passer by Zayd', where *mārran* 'passing' is formally dependent as a vocative and *bi-zaydin* 'by Zayd' is an operator of obliqueness and oblique element semantically connected with *mārran* 'passing' and with dependent status.[4] An example of coordination[5] is *yā ṯalāṯatan wa-ṯalāṯīna* 'O Thirty-Three' (to someone so named): here *ṯalāṯatan* 'three' is formally dependent as a vocative and *ṯalāṯīna* 'thirty' is coordinated to it and completes the sense.

23.5 Next the author sets out the rule for the first two kinds.[1] The single proper name and the specifically intended individual are constructed as invariable in *u* without final *n*, that is, if there is any choice. He then illustrates the single proper name: e.g. *yā zaydu* 'O Zayd' and as an example of the specifically intended individual, *yā rajulu* 'O man', addressed to one particular man.[2]

23.51 This applies when the individual is not qualified by an adjective, in which case the Arabs prefer to make it dependent rather than give it a *u*, and so they say *yā rajulan ᶜāliman 'aqbil* 'O wise man, approach',[1] cf. the Tradition[2] *yā ᶜaẓīman yurjā li-kulli ᶜaẓīmin* 'O great one, in whom it is hoped for every great deed', this being the view of al-Farrā', transmitted and confirmed by Ibn Mālik.[3]

23.52 Then the author gives the rule[1] for the remaining three kinds: and the remaining three kinds (viz. the individual not specifically intended, the annexed and the equivalent[2] to such), are dependent and nothing but. By this he means that only the dependent form is allowed; examples have already been given above.[3]

therefore not the subject but the agent; see 11.45 n 1, 26.92 n 5.

(3) Lit. 'O climbing a mountain', and equivalent to *yā ṭāli*^{c}*a jabalin* 'O climber of a mountain' (an extremely unlikely construction, cf. also 26.92). This time the agent noun *ṭāli*^{c}*an* operates on a direct object, like its equivalent verb phrase *yaṭlu*^{c}*u* 'he climbs', cf. 16.312 n 1, and see 7.58 n 1 for the notion of the concealed agent pronoun.

(4) See 3.84 n 3 on 'operator of obliqueness etc.', 5.82 n 6 on 'semantically connected', 5.81 n 3 on 'status', and cf. 21.22 n 4 on *mārran* (⟵**māriran*). In the Arab view, all prepositional phrases have dependent status through a verbal operator, cf. 9.74 n 2.

(5) 'Coordination' is ^{c}*aṭf*, here used in a restricted sense (contrast syntactic coordination, ch. 12) for the formation of compound numbers with *wa* 'and' (scil. 'three and thirty'), as distinct from the genuine compound set '13' to '19', e.g. *ḵamsata* ^{c}*ašara* '15' (lit. 'five-ten').

23.5 (1) There is no choice if the proper name of common noun belongs to the classes which never have *tanwīn*, q.v. 3.89.

(2) One type of vocative construction omitted by aš-Širbīnī is that in which, for whatever reason, the vocative noun must retain its prefix *al* 'the'. In that case *yā* may not be used (exceptions, *yā llāhu* 'O God', and some rarities, *Muf.* #52); instead *'ayyuhā* or *yā 'ayyuhā* is used, e.g. *(yā) 'ayyuhā r-rajulu* 'O man', fem. *'ayyatuhā l-'arḍu* 'O Earth!' (Cantarino II, 219). The Arabs segment *'ayyuhā* into a demonstrative noun *'ayyu* and the '*hā* of attracting attention' (q.v. 11.735 n 1), while the vocative noun itself (as we might interpret it) is regarded as being in adjectival apposition to the actual vocative noun *'ayyu*, exactly as in *yā hāḏā r-rajulu* 'O this man' (cf. 11.73 n 1). *Jum.* 161; *Muf.* #51; *Alf.* v 588; Fleisch, *Tr.* #114g, 150g.

23.51 (1) See 1.21 n 1 on 'Arabs'. Note that the nouns here revert to their formal state of indefinition. However, the other option, to use *'ayyuhā* with the defined noun, always remains possible, e.g. *'ayyuhā r-rajulu l-*^{c}*āqilu* 'O wise man' (variant *al-*^{c}*āqila* as argued in 23.411).

(2) See 1.01 n 4 on 'Tradition'.

(3) This Tradition is not to be found in Wensinck's *Concordance*: the immediate source for aš-Širbīnī, however, is undoubtedly al-Azharī, *Āj.* 90, and cf. al-Ušmūnī on *Alf.* v 577. Curiously al-Farrā' himself does not mention this Tradition at the place where he deals with this very topic in *Ma*^{c}*ānī* II, 375. Ibn Mālik 1.02 n 2, al-Farrā' 1.21 n 2.

23.52 (1) See 24.1 n 2 on *ḥukm* 'rule'.

(2) Though translated here and elsewhere as 'equivalent' (e.g. 9.7), *šabīh* could just as well have been rendered 'analogous', since its literal meaning is 'similar, like'. However, the principle has already been established that formal similarity can imply functional similarity (cf. *qiyās* 'analogy', 8.3 n 2, and arguments in 5.02, 22.0).

(3) See 23.43-45.

في المضاف الى غير ياء المتكلم واما هو فينقسم الى اربعة اقسام القسم الاول ما
فيه ست لغات وهو الصحيح الاخر تقول يا غلام مريدا به الاضافة الى ياء المتكلم
بالحركات الثلاث على الميم اما الكسرة فكقوله تعالى يا عباد (64b) فاتقون اكتفاء
بالكسرة عن الياء واما الفتح فكقول الشاعر

ولست براجع ما فات مني بلهف ولا بليت ولا لو اني

فلهف منادى سقط منه حرف النداء والاصل يا لهفا فحذف الالف المنقلبة عن ياء
المتكلم اكتفاء بالفتحة عنها واما الضم فكما يضم المفردات في غير الاضافة قرئ
شاذا رب السجن احب الي بضم الرب والاصل يا ربي فحذفت الياء تخفيفا وبني على
الضم تشبيها بالنكرة المقصودة وبالياء مفتوحة كقوله تعالى يا عبادي الذين اسرفوا
وساكنة كقوله تعالى يا عبادي لا خوف عليكم وبالالف نحو يا حسرتى والاصل

23.6 Note: The author's statement applies to everything except what is annexed to the first person singular *ī* 'my'.[1] This divides into four kinds:

23.61 (1) With six variant realizations,[1] when the last letter is sound[2] (e.g. *yā ḡulām-* with all three short vowels on the *m*, 'O my boy', meant as annexed to the first person singular *ī* 'my'), viz.

(a) with *i*, as in the Qur'anic *yā ^{c}ibādi (64b) fa-ttaqūni* 'O my servants, fear me',[3] where *i* suffices for *ī*;

(b) with *a*, as in the verse

wa-lastu bi-rāji^{c}in mā fāta minnī
bi-lahfa wa-lā bi-layta wa-lā law 'annī

'nor shall I get back what has escaped me by an "O my regret" or a "would that" or an "if only I..."',[4] where *lahfa* 'O my regret' is a vocative with the vocative particle elided. It was originally *yā lahfā* 'O my regret',[5] but the final *ā* (which is itself converted from *ī* 'my') has been elided and *a* suffices in its stead;[6]

(c) with *u*, just like the *u* of single, non-annexed nouns,[7] as in the rare Reading of the Qur'anic *rabbu s-sijnu 'aḥabbu 'ilayya* 'O my Lord, prison is more dear to me'.[8] This was originally *yā rabbī* 'O my Lord', but the *ī* 'my' has been elided for phonetic ease and the word constructed as invariable in *u* by analogy with the specifically intended individual vocative noun;

(d) with *iya*, as in the Qur'anic *yā ^{c}ibādiya llaḏīna 'asrafū* 'O my servants who have been prodigal';[9]

(e) with unvowelled *ī*, as in the Qur'anic *yā ^{c}ibādī lā ḵawfun ^{c}alaykum* 'O my servants, no fear be upon you';[10]

23.6 (1) See 3.421 n 3, 23.62 n 3 on this suffix, which is peculiar in that it blankets out the inflection of the noun to which it is attached (note that, in the Arab analysis, the noun is regarded as being attached to the suffix, not vice versa; see further 26.7 n 3).

23.61 (1) See 21.44 on *luġa* 'variant realization'.

(2) 'Sound' is literal for *ṣaḥīḥ*, i.e. not one of the 'defective' consonants *ā*, *w* or *y* (see 2.43 n 2), and see further 23.62 on suffixation of *ī* 'my' to weak consonants and long vowels.

(3) S. 39 v 16; cf. *yā rabbi* 19.71, *rabbi* 5.55(c). Far more interesting in this verse is *fa-ttaqūni*: it is Stem VIII (8.68 n 1) of root *w-q-y*, showing assimilation of 1st rad. *w* to infix *t*, and loss of 3rd rad. *y* before masc. plur. suffix *ū* (as *ramā*, 4.81 n 2), also reduction of *nī* 'me' (16.301) to *ni* for the sake of rhyme, so as to give pausal form (2.14 n 2) *fa-ttaqūn* (cf. Fleisch, *Tr.* #108o).

(4) *Schaw. Ind.* 265; see next note on the form of *lahfa* 'Oh my regret'. Other points to note in this verse: *lastu* 'I am not' (see 10.18 n 3) here has its predicate in oblique form prefixed with *bi* instead of the dependent form (see 10.18 n 4); *rāji^{c}in* is an agent noun (cf. 10.34 n 1) with *tanwīn*, therefore the following noun phrase *mā fāta minnī* 'what has escaped me' is construed as having dependent status as its direct object (see 16.312: presence of *tanwīn* rules out objective genitive, cf. 24.31 n 1); *minnī* 'from me' shows unexplained doubling of *n* before *ī* suffix (**min-ī*, try Fleisch, *Tr.* #108n); *lahfa*, *layta* etc. have become 'formal nouns' (1.6 n 5) by being prefixed with *bi*.

(5) It seems most unlikely that the final vowel of *lahfa* has anything to do with possessive suffixes: in its full form *lahfā* doubtless displays the *ā* suffix characteristic of expressions of dismay etc., cf. 23.22 n 1, Nöldeke 45 nn 1, 2. No form *lahfī* 'my woe' has been noted.

(6) Observe the use here of *ḥaḏf* 'elision' for both the morphological elision of *yā* and the phonological reduction of *ā* to *a* by removing the lengthening marker (cf. 3.9 n 2, 2.43 n 2).

(7) This tautology is in the text, even though it has already been explained at 23.431 that 'single' means 'non-annexed'.

(8) S. 12 v 33. It might be argued that no possessive suffix is involved here, and that *rabbu*, like *yūsufu* in the same Sūra (q.v. 23.3) is simply a case of elided *yā*, but the majority 'Reading' (21.21 n 2) preserves *rabbi*, as in type (a). 'For phonetic ease' renders *taḵfīfan*, lit. 'so as to lighten', contrast *istiṯqāl*, 2.31 n 4.

(9) S. 39 v 53; this is optional in juncture (q.v. 11.1 n 2), the *ī* (= *iy*, 2.43 n 2) being realized either as a short vowel to avoid the over-long syllable (cf. 21.22 n 4), or receiving the glide vowel as here (cf. *liya* in 10.63 n 3).

(10) S. 43 v 68; see 2.43 n 2 on 'unvowelled *ī*'. On indep. *ḵawfun* after the categorical negative cf. 22.44 n 1: is it possible that this *lā* 'no' is not categorical, but a kind of negative optative (an avenue

يا حسرتي فهذه ست لغات افصحها حذف الياء والاستغناء بالكسرة عنها والقسم
الثاني ما فيه لغة واحدة وهو المنادى المعتل بالالف او الياء فان ياءه واجبة
الثبوت والفتح نحو يا فتاي ويا قاضي فلا يجوز حذفها للالتباس ولا اسكانها لئلا
يلتقي ساكنان ولا تحريكها بالضم او الكسر لثقلهما على الياء والقسم الثالث ما
فيه لغتان وهو الوصف المشبه بالفعل المضارع في كونه بمعنى الحال او الاستقبال
نحو يا مكرمي ويا ضاربي فان ياءه ثابتة لا غير مفتوحة وساكنة والقسم الرابع
ما فيه ثماني لغات وهو الاب والام ففيه اللغات الست المتقدمة ولغتان اخريان
تقول يا ابت ويا امت بتاء تأنيث عوضا عن ياء المتكلم وتقول في المضاف الى
المضاف الى ياء المتكلم اذا كان ابن عم او ابن ام يا ابن ام ويا ابن عم بفتح
وبكسر على التاء في الاول وعلى الميم في الثاني ولما فرغ المصنف من الكلام

(f) with *ā*, as in the Qur'anic *yā ḥasratā* 'O my woe', whose original form is **yā ḥasratī*;[11]

This makes six variant realizations, of which the purest is to elide the *ī* and make *i* suffice in its stead.[12]

23.62 (2) With only one recorded form.[1] This is the vocative of the defective noun[2] ending in *ā* or *ī*, where it is compulsory for the *y* element to be retained and followed by *a*, e.g. *yā fatāya* 'O my boy', *yā qāḍiyya* 'O my judge'. Because of resulting ambiguity this *yā* must not be elided; moreover it may not be left unvowelled, as this produces a clash of two unvowelled consonants, nor may it be vowelled with *u* or *i* because these are phonetically cumbersome after *y*.[3]

23.63 (3) With two variant realizations, viz. the adjective which is equivalent to an imperfect tense verb[1] in having present or future meaning,[1] e.g. *yā mukrimī* 'O one honouring me', *yā ḍāribī* 'O one striking me', where the *y* is always retained, either unvowelled or with *a*.[2]

23.64 (4) With eight variant realizations, viz. *'abun* 'father', *'ummun* 'mother'.[1] These have the six variant realizations already mentioned,[2] and two more: you say *yā 'abata* or *yā 'abati* 'O my father', and *yā 'ummata* or *yā 'ummati* 'O my mother', with the feminine *t* compensating for the first person singular *ī* 'my'.[3]

23.7 When the noun is annexed to a noun itself annexed to the first person singular *ī* 'my' you may say, in the case of *ibnu ᶜammin* 'cousin' and *ibnu 'ummin* 'brother', *yā bna 'ummi* or *yā bna 'ummi* 'O my brother' and *yā bna ᶜamma* or *yā bna ᶜammi* 'O my cousin'.[1] (The *t* in the preceding paragraph[2] may have either *a* or *i*, and the *m* in this paragraph likewise).

evidently not explored by the Arab grammarians)?

(11) S. 39 v 56. As with *lahfā* (see n 5), it is very unlikely that *ḥasratā* is derived from any form **ḥasratī* with the possessive suffix, not least because it is in any case never found with the other pronoun suffixes (contrast *wayḥaka* 'woe to you' etc.), cf. Fleisch, *Tr.* #150h.

(12) See above, n 6 on the meaning of 'elision' in this context, and 21.44 on *luġa* 'variant realization'. 'Purest' is *'afṣaḥ,* not stylistic but referring to the idealized Beduin norm, cf. 13.31 n 6.

23.62 (1) For *luġa wāḥida* 'one recorded form' was preferred, as it did not seem logical to render it 'one variant realization'.

(2) 'Defective' is *mu^{c}tall*, cognate with *^{c}illa* 'defect, ailment', and subsequently 'reason, cause' (e,g, 24.22). According to Köbert, *Orientalia* (NS) 14, 280, *^{c}illa* was borrowed from Syriac in the primary meanof 'cause', and the extension to 'defect' is secondary.

(3) Excluded are (a) elision of *ya*, leaving *qāḍī, fatā* (= *fatay*, 2.5), identical then with the unsuffixed form, (b) **qāḍiyy, *fatayy* with unvowelled *y* (2.5 n 3), (c) **qāḍiyu/qāḍiyi, *fatayu/fatayi* (2.31 n 4). In the end only *ya* is left as the allomorph of *ī* after long vowels, e.g. *yadāya* 'my two hands' and *ay*, e.g. *bi-yadayya* 'with my two hands'.

23.63 (1) The text has *al-waṣf al-mušabbah bi-l-fi^{c}l al-muḍāri^c*, lit. 'the describing element made to resemble the imperfect tense verb'; cf. 11.0 n 1 on *waṣf*, 9.81 n 4 on *mušabbah*, 5.02 on *muḍāri^c*, and see also 5.01 n 1 on tenses, 16.312 n 1 on the implications here.

(2) The alternatives are *yā mukrimiya, yā ḍāribiya*, but only in juncture (q.v. 23.61 n 9). Note that these elements, despite their verbal operation, never bear the object suffix *nī* 'me' (16.301), even though they may be followed by overt nouns in direct object form (16.312 n 1).

23.64 (1) These are old biconsonantal stems (cf. 4.71 n 1) which by their nature are likely to harbour extinct or anomalous features.

(2) Viz., in the order set out in 23.61, *yā 'abi, 'aba, 'abu, 'abiya, 'abī, 'abā*, and likewise for *yā 'ummi* etc.

(3) *Qaṭr* 225, Howell #54 also cite *yā 'abatā* and *yā 'abatī*; the final *t*, rather than being a 'compensation' (*^{c}iwaḍ*, 1.44 n 1) is more likely to be related to the deictic *t* in *ṯummata* etc., cf. 1.83 n 3.

23.7 (1) These are alternatives to the regular *yā bna 'ummī, yā bna ^{c}ammī*. The old biconsonantal stem *b-n* displays some interesting features: in isolation a dummy syllable is prefixed to give *ibn-* (v. 11.1 n 2) which disappears in juncture, while in the plural the problem is resolved by dissimilating to *banūna* (see 3.412 (b)). There is a unique form *ibnam-*: the function of the *m* is unknown, perhaps it is to extend *b-n* into a triliteral root (Fleisch, *Tr.* #100e, and cf. 4.71 n 1).

(2) 'Paragraph' was inserted here to give some coherence to this rather clumsy backward reference: aš-Širbīnī is here apparently making his own paraphrase of *Qaṭr* 224-5.

على التاسع من المنصوبات وهو (65a) المنادى شرع في العاشر منها وهو المفعول من اجله فقال

باب المفعول من اجله ويقال لاجله ويقال له وحده المصنف بقوله وهو الاسم المنصوب الذي يذكر بيانا لسبب وقوع الفعل فاحترز بالاسم عن الفعل والحرف وبالمنصوب عن المرفوع والمجرور لكن المنصوب حكم من احكامه وكان الاولى عدم ذكره في تعريفه ولكنه ذكره تقريبا على المبتدئ كما مر في نظائره وقوله بيانا لسبب وقوع الفعل اشار به الى ان المفعول له يبين السبب الذي وقع الفعل من اجله وقد علمت ان حكمه النصب لكن بشروط الاول ان يكون مصدرا لان المصدر يشعر بالعلية والذوات لا تكون عللا للافعال غالبا فلا يجوز جئتك السمن والعسل بالنصب لانه اسم عين لا مصدر الشرط الثاني ان يكون علة لانها الباعث على الفعل

23.8 Having finished with the ninth of the dependent elements,[1] namely *(65a)* the vocative, the author now turns to the tenth of them, to wit the object of reason.

CHAPTER TWENTY-FOUR

24.0 Chapter on the object of reason.[1] This is also known as the 'object for which the action is done' and the 'object because of which the action is done'. The author defines it as follows:

24.1 This is the dependent noun mentioned to explain the cause of the action's occurrence,[1] and by 'noun' he excludes the verb and the particle. By 'dependent' he excludes the independent and oblique (although dependence is only one of its rules,[2] and it would have been better not to mention it in the definition, which he only did to make it easier for the beginner). By 'to explain the cause of the action's occurrence' he indicates that the object of reason explains the cause for which the action takes place.

24.21 You already know that the rule is for it to be dependent, but there are certain conditions: (1) that it must be a verbal noun,[1] because verbal nouns can give the idea of causality whereas, on the whole, concrete nouns[2] cannot be reasons for actions—you never say, for example, **ji'tuka s-samna wa-l-ᶜasala* 'I came to you because of fat and honey', with dependent forms, because they are concrete and not verbal nouns.

24.22 (2) It must be a reason,[1] since this is the stimulus for the

23.8 (1) The arbitrary shortening of the vocative noun, termed *tarḵīm* 'softening' is dealt with at length by most grammarians even though it hardly occurs outside poetry, e.g. *yā ṣāḥi* 'O friend' (for *yā ṣāḥibu*), *yā māli* 'O Mālik' (for *yā māliku*, S. 43 v 77: the speakers, it is said, were too weak to finish the word, *Qaṭr* 232). *Jum.* 181; *Muf.* #58; *Alf.* v 608; *Qaṭr* 231.

24.0 (1) *Muf.* #71; *Alf.* v 298; *Qaṭr* 244; Fleisch 179; Nöldeke 34. Terminology: *al-maf^{c}ūl lah* 'that for which it is done', *al-maf^{c}ūl min 'ajlih* (or *li-'ajlih*) 'that because of which it is done'; see 24.6 n 1.

24.1 (1) *sabab wuqū^{c} al-fi^{c}l*, translated literally (see 24.22 n 1 on *sabab* 'cause'), leaving open the question of whether *fi^{c}l* is the technical term 'verb' or the common noun 'action', see further 16.1 n 1.

(2) *ḥukm*, plur. *'aḥkām*, here translated '(grammatical) rule' is one of the terms which entered grammar in its second phase of contact with the law, during the ninth century, when legal methodology was becoming established (e.g. al-Mubarrad, *Muqtaḍab* II, 96, 225, 237, 314 etc.). It retains its full legal meaning in grammar, viz. 'rule, precept', but note that, at an even later stage (not before the 10th cent.), *ḥukm* was borrowed again, this time from philosophy, see 12.1 n 3, 19.7 n 1). Though himself heavily influenced by law (cf. Carter, *R.E.I.* 40, 86), Sībawayhi never uses *ḥukm* (see Troupeau, *Lex.-Index*, root *ḥ-k-m*), but the examples from *Muqtaḍab* certainly show that the term was current long before the 10th cent. (cf. A. Mehiri, *Les théories grammaticales d'Ibn Jinnī*, Tunis 1973, 122). See *E.I.* (2), art. 'Ḥukm' II, for an exhaustive treatment by Fleisch of *ḥukm* as 'rule' in grammar.

24.21 (1) Behind the term *maṣdar* 'verbal noun' hides an obscure aspect of the earliest stage of Arabic linguistic speculation. It means lit. 'source, origin', but is is unknown whether this referred originally to a lexical feature (scil. 'root meaning') or an etymological one (scil. 'root form'), to mention only the two most obvious possibilities. While there is no doubt that Arab grammarians of the time of az-Zajjājī and later have assimilated Greek ideas on the 'verbal noun', there is no evidence of a Greek connection in the period of Sībawayhi or before (see Versteegh 83-89). See further 17.1 n 2.

(2) *ism ^{c}ayn*, lit. 'name of a thing in itself' (cf. *^{c}ayn*, 13.31), synonym *ism ḏāt* 'name of a being' (*ḏāt*, 23.1 n 2), and *ism ma^{c}nā*, lit. 'name of an idea' (*ma^{c}nā*, 2.1 n 2) are the two types of common noun, 3.64 n 2.

24.22 (1) Both *^{c}illa* 'reason' and *sabab* 'cause' seem to be used more or

كقعدت عن الحرب جبنا خرج بذلك بقية المفاعيل اذ لا تعليل فيها الشرط الثالث
ان يكون وقت الفعل المعلل بفتح اللام الاولى والمصدر المعلل بكسرها واحدا فلا
يجوز تأهبت اليوم السفر غدا لان زمن التأهب غير زمن السفر الشرط الرابع ان يكون
فاعل الفعل وفاعل المصدر واحدا فلا يجوز جئتك محبتك اياي لان فاعل المجيء
المتكلم وفاعل المحبة المخاطب الشرط الخامس ان يكون قلبيا فلا يجوز جئتك قراءة
للعلم من افعال اللسان ولا قتلا للكافر من افعال اليد واكتفى المصنف عن ذكر
هذه الشروط بمثالين ذكر المثال الاول منهما بقوله نحو قولك قام زيد اجلالا
لعمرو فاجلالا مصدر منصوب ذكر علة وسببا لوقوع الفعل الصادر من زيد فان سبب
قيام زيد لعمرو هو اجلاله (65b) وتعظيمه واعرابه قام زيد فعل وفاعل واجلالا
مفعول لاجله ولعمرو جار ومجرور متعلق باجلالا وذكر المثال الثاني بقوله وقصدتك
ابتغاء معروفك فابتغاء مصدر منصوب ذكر علة لبيان سبب القصد

action, e.g. *qa*^{c}*adtu* ^{c}*an il-ḥarbi jubnan* 'I stayed away from the war out of cowardice'. This excludes all the other types of object, because they contain no idea of causality.

24.23 (3) The action caused (*mu*^{c}*allal* 'caused', with *a* after the double *l*)[1] must be simultaneous with the verbal noun which is causing it (*mu*^{c}*allil* 'causing', with *i* after the double *l*).[2] It is not allowed to say **ta'ahhabtu l-yawma s-safara ḡadan* 'I prepared today because of travelling tomorrow', because the time of the preparation is not the same[3] as the time of journeying.

24.24 (4) The agent of the verb and the agent of the verbal noun must be one and the same. It is not allowed to say **ji'tuka maḥabbataka 'iyyāya* 'I came to you because of your loving of me',[1] because the agent of the coming is the speaker and the agent of the loving is the person addressed.

24.25 (5) The verbal noun must belong to a mental verb.[1] It is not allowed to say **ji'tuka qirā'atan li-l-*^{c}*ilmi* 'I came to you because of lecturing in science',[2] using a verb of the tongue, or **qatlan li-l-kāfiri* 'because of killing the pagan', using a verb of the hand.

24.31 The author is content to illustrate all these conditions in two examples: (1) e.g. *qāma zaydun 'ijlālan li-*^{c}*amrin* 'Zayd stood out of respect for ^{c}Amr',[1] in which *'ijlālan* 'out of respect' is a dependent verbal noun mentioned as the reason and cause of the occurrence of the action proceeding from Zayd: the cause of Zayd's standing for ^{c}Amr is his respect *(65b)* and esteem for him. It is parsed thus: *qāma zaydun* 'Zayd stood' is a verb and its agent, *'ijlālan* 'out of respect' is an object of reason, and *li-*^{c}*amrin* 'for ^{c}Amr' is an oblique operator and oblique element semantically connected with *'ijlālan* 'out of respect'.[2]

24.32 (2) *qaṣadtuka btiḡā'a ma*^{c}*rūfika* 'I have made my way to you out of desire for your favour'. Here *ibtiḡā'a* 'out of desire'[1] is a dependent verbal noun mentioned as a reason to explain the cause of making one's

less indiscriminately (cf. *E.I.* (1), Suppl., art. 'Sabab'), though ^{c}*illa* has become the key term in Arabic theoretical linguistics, both in the treatment of grammatical causality and the critique of method, each pursued to a high level of abstraction, v. *E.I.* (2), art. '^{c}Illa'.

24.23 (1) Spelling instructions (3.44 n 2) are necessary here because active and passive participles differ only by one vowel (v. 10.36 n 2).

(2) Orthographically *mu^{c}allil* and *mu^{c}allal* are both *m^{c}ll*, with diacritical vowels and a sign over what aš-Širbīnī calls 'the first *l*' to show that it is doubled. This sign is called *šadda* or *tašdīd*, lit. 'tying together', written as a small, vestigial *š* over the affected consonant.

(3) Both MSS have *muta'akkir ^{c}an* 'later than', but this is clearly a mistake, and has been corrected according to aš-Širbīnī's source, al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* I, 335. The error may be due to confusion with the example to be discussed in 24.53.

24.24 (1) See 16.501 for the free object pronoun *'iyyāya* and 16.312 n 1 for the operation of verbal nouns corresponding to both subjective and objective genitives in English. See also 24.31 n 1.

24.25 (1) *'af^{c}āl al-qulūb,* lit. 'verbs of the hearts', the heart being the seat of the intellect (Beeston 115), and explained by al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* I, 334, as meaning 'verbs of the inner self' (*'af^{c}āl an-nafs al-bāṭiniyya*) in contrast with 'verbs of the extremities' (*'af^{c}āl al-jawāriḥ*). These latter include the 'verbs of the tongue' (*'af^{c}āl al-lisān*) and 'verbs of the hand' (*'af^{c}āl al-yad*) mentioned here by aš-Širbīnī, though whether we should also reckon among them the 'verbs of the (five) senses (*'af^{c}āl al-ḥawāss*) is not certain, as they show signs of assimilating to the 'mental verbs', see further 10.71. It goes without saying that these semantic categorizations are completely lacking from the earliest grammar, though there are signs of their emergence as early as al-Mubarrad (d. 898), e.g. 'verbs of being near', *'af^{c}āl al-muqāraba* (q.v. 10.101 n 1), *Muqtaḍab* III, 68.

(2) The traditional method of instruction was for the pupil to learn a book by heart through hearing it recited from memory by the teacher.

24.31 (1) Although the object of reason my be defined (see 24.32) it is usually undefined, and cannot therefore be annexed to its direct object (cf. 16.512 n 1). In that case a paraphrase is used, namely to prefix the direct object with *li* 'of, to', as in *qirā'atan li-l-^{c}ilmi* 'because of lecturing in science' in 24.25 and *'ijlālan li-^{c}amrin* 'out of respect for ^{c}Amr' here. The same procedure is used if the verbal noun is already annexed to its agent, e.g. *qatlu zaydin li-^{c}amrin* 'Zayd's killing of ^{c}Amr', i.e. the killing by Zayd of ^{c}Amr. With pronoun objects *li* or *'iyyā* may be used: *qatluhu lahu/'iyyāhu* 'his killing of him'.

(2) See 5.82 n 6 on '(semantically) connected', and cf. 10.34 n 1 on Stem IV verbal noun *'ijlāl,* from 'doubled' root (11.3 n 1), *j-l-l*.

24.32 (1) See 13.12 n 1 on the initial juncture feature in *ibtiḡā'*, a Stem VIII verbal noun (10.34 n 1) of weak 3rd rad. stem *b-ḡ-y*.

واعرابه قصدتك فعل وفاعل ومفعول وابتغاء مفعول لاجله ومعروفك مضاف اليه
ونبه ايضا بهذين المثالين على انه لا فرق في ذلك بين الفعل المتعدي واللازم ولا
بين المصدر المضاف وغيره فان فقد المعلل بكسر اللام الاولى من شروط جواز النصب
شرطا منها وجب جره بحرف التعليل وهو الباء واللام وفي ومن فقط فمثال فقد
الشرط الاول وهو المصدر قوله تعالى خلق لكم ما في الارض جميعا فان المخاطبين
هم العلة في الخلق وخفض ضميرهم بلام العلة لانه ليس مصدرا ومثال فقد الشرط
الثاني وهو كونه علة قتلته صبرا لكن هذا يمتنع جره بحرف التعليل لان الجر به
تفيد العلية والغرض عدمها ومثال فقد الشرط الثالث وهو الاتحاد في الوقت قوله

way. It is parsed thus: *qaṣadtuka* 'I made my way to you'[2] is a verb, agent and direct object, *ibtiġā'a* 'out of desire' is an object of reason, and *ma^c^rūfika* 'for your favour' is what *ibtiġā'a* is annexed to.[3]

24.4 In these two examples the author draws our attention to the fact that there is no difference here between the transitive and intransitive verb,[1] nor between the annexed verbal noun and the non-annexed.

24.5 If the cause (*mu^c^allil* 'causing', with *i* after the double *l*) lacks any one of the conditions allowing the dependent form, then the object of reason must be made oblique by one of the particles of causation, namely *bi* 'by', *li* 'for', *fī* 'in' and *min* 'from', and no others.[1]

24.51 An example of the absence of the first condition (that the object of reason must be a verbal noun) is the Qur'anic *k̲alaqa lakum mā fī l-'arḍi jamī^c^an* 'he created for you what is in the earth, totally',[1] where the reason for the act of creation is the people being addressed, and so their pronoun is made oblique by the causal *li* 'for', because the reason is not a verbal noun.

24.52 An example of the absence of the second condition (that the object must be a reason) is *qataltuhu ṣabran* 'I killed him in bondage',[1] except that in this case it is impossible to make it oblique with a causative particle, because that would then convey causality, when the intention here is nothing of the kind.[2]

24.53 An example of the absence of the third condition (simultaneity) is the verse

(2) Segmented *qaṣad-tu-ka*: verb stem (5.1 n 2), agent pronoun suffix (7.51) and direct object pronoun suffix (16.303). Note that this verb of motion is directly transitive to its goal, cf. 18.108 n 2.

(3) Note that *ibtiġā'* is not defined by annexation to *ma*ᶜ*rūf*, because the annexation is purely 'formal' (26.92), i.e. the elements are not in a possessive or explanatory relationship. A paraphrase in the form of a circumstantial qualifier (ch. 19; these may also denote purpose) shows that the object of reason is instrinsically undefined: *mubtaġiyan ma*ᶜ*rūfaka* 'desiring your favour' (*ma*ᶜ*rūfa* marked as a direct object), cf. Nöldeke 34 and see also 24.52 n 2.

24.4 (1) See 16.309 n 1 on transitivity. A glance at the dependent noun summary in ch. 15 will confirm that it is misleading to associate transitivity too closely with direct objects. It is better to consider first the binary structure of the minimal sentence (20.01 n 1), from which it emerges that elements occupying the 'third' position will be prepositional phrases (9.74 n 2) or dependent nouns (19.1 n 1). It also follows that, since all verbs are sentences (7.9 n 1), dependent nouns are really operated upon by sentences: this accounts for the occurrence of dependent nouns after verbless sentences, see 19.25 n 1.

24.5 (1) See 24.23 n 2 on the spelling instructions. 'Condition' is *šarṭ*, the same as for the protasis of a conditional sentence (5.811 n 1) and 'allowing' paraphrases *jawāz* 'permissibility', q.v. 9.8 n 2.

(2) 'Particle of causation' is *ḥarf at-ta*ᶜ*līl* (see 1.92 n 1 on this way of identifying particles): *ta*ᶜ*līl* is the verbal noun cognate with *mu*ᶜ*allil*, i.e. Stem II, doubled root ᶜ*-l-l* (see 10.34 n 1). For *bi* see 1.707, for *li* 1.709, for *fī* 1.705 and for *min* 1.701.

24.51 (1) S. 2 v 29, previously quoted in 13.42 to illustrate the occurrence of *jamī*ᶜ*an* 'totally' as a circumstantial qualifier of *mā fī l-'arḍi* 'what is in the earth'. By no stretch of the imagination could the phrase *lakum* 'for you' be regarded as an object of reason (it also infringes conditions (4) and (5)). Strangely, in the light of his theological scruples eleswhere (v. 5.751 n 1), aš-Širbīnī does not flinch from implying that God's creation is dependent upon some external cause (perhaps because here he is following *Qaṭr* 245).

24.52 (1) The reference is to a method of execution by tying up the victim and either throwing at him till he dies or allowing him to die by neglect (the same was also done with animals), a practice much disapproved of by Muḥammad (see Wensinck, *Concordance* III, 242).

(2) This is, in fact, classified as a circumstantial qualifier (cf. *Muf.* #76 and 19.33 n 1), though Nöldeke 33 objects that it is neither, but an example of the gerund, on the grounds that it fails to meet the condition of being a predicate of its antecedent (19.7). The line between the object of reason and circumstantial qualifier is, however, by nature narrow: it would be difficult to distinguish, for example, between 'he stood in respect' and 'he stood out of respect'. Cf. 24.32 n 3

وقد نضت لنوم ثيابها
فالنوم وان كان علة لخلع الثياب لكن وقت الخلع سابق على وقت النوم فلما
اختلفا في الوقت جر باللام ومثال فقد الشرط الرابع وهو الاتحاد في الفاعل قوله
واني لتعروني لذكراك هزة
فالذكرى علة عرو الهزة وفاعلهما مختلف ففاعل العرو الهزة وفاعل الذكرى هو
المتكلم لان المعنى لذكري اياك فلذلك جر باللام والهزة بالكسر النشاط او الارتياح
ومثال فقد الشرط الخامس وهو كونه قلبيا قوله تعالى ولا تقتلوا اولادكم من
املاق اي فقر وهو علة للقتل وليس قلبيا فلذلك (66a) جر بمن التعليلية وذكرت
زيادة على ذلك في شرح القطر لا يحتملها هذا المختصر ولما فرغ المصنف من
الكلام على العاشر من المنصوبات شرع في الحادي عشر منها وهو المفعول معه فقال

wa-qad naḍḍat li-nawmin ṯiyābahā

'she had already doffed her clothes for sleep',[1] where even though sleep is the reason for taking off the clothes, the time of taking off is nevertheless prior to the time of sleeping and, since they differ, the word 'sleep' is made oblique by *li* 'for'.[2]

24.54 An example of the absence of the fourth condition (that both agents should be the same) is the verse:

wa-'innī la-ta^c^rūnī li-ḏikrāki hizzatun

'and there comes over me, from the thought if you, a liveliness',[1] where the thought is the reason why the liveliness comes over him but their agents are different: the agent of the coming over is the liveliness, while agent of the thought is the speaker, because the meaning is *li-ḏikrī 'iyyāki* 'because of my thinking of you',[2] hence *ḏikrā* 'thought' has been made oblique by *li* 'for' (*hizzatun* 'liveliness' means 'briskness' or 'cheerfulness').

24.55 An example of the absence of the fifth condition (that it must be a mental verb) is the Qur'anic *wa-lā taqtulū 'awlādakum min 'imlāqin* 'do not kill your children from destitution'[1] (i.e. 'poverty'), which is the reason for the killing but is not a mental verb, and so *(66a)* has been made oblique by the causative *min* 'from'.[2]

24.6 In my *Commentary on Qaṭr an-nadā* I have gone further into this than a short work such as this will bear.[1] Having finished with the tenth of the dependent elements, namely the object of reason, the author now turns to the eleventh of them, the object of accompaniment.

24.53 (1) *Schaw. Ind.* 194; this is the first half-line of a verse by Imrū l-Qays, and concludes *ladā s-sitri 'illā libsata l-mutafaḍḍili* 'at the curtain, except for the garment of one about to repose'.

(2) The difference in time would not of itself disqualify *nawm* 'sleep' from being an object of reason (it is in fact rule (5) which is operative here): absolute simultaneity is fundamentally irrelevant to this construction, proved by such well-formed examples as *ji'tuka 'iṣlāḥan li-'amrika* 'I came to you for the betterment of your situation', where the time relationship is totally vague. What is essential is that the verbal noun should express a logical reason for the action, cf. aṣ-Ṣabban on al-Ušmūnī on *Alf.* v 299, drawing on al-Astarābāḏī, op. cit. 1.23 n 1, I, 175.

24.54 (1) *Schaw. Ind.* 88; this is the first half-line of a verse ending *kamā ntafaḍa l-ᶜuṣfūru ballalahu l-qaṭru* 'as the bird shakes when soaked by rain'. The second hemistich is quoted in its own right as an example of a past tense verb as a circumstantial qualifier, viz. *ballalahu* lit. 'it soaked him', i.e. 'it having been soaked', cf. *Inṣāf* prob. 32. On *'innī* for *'innanī* 'verily I...' cf. 10.55 n 3.

(2) See 16.504 on *'iyyāki*, here required as a free direct object because *ḏikrī* 'my thinking' is already an annexed unit (subjective genitive, see 24.31 n 1). Contrast the paraphrase *ḏikrī* 'my thinking' (see 3.421 n 3 on possessive suffix *i*) + *'iyyāki* with *ḏikrāki* 'the thought of you', invariable fem. noun *ḏikrā* (4.2 (c)) and possessive suffix *ki* (4.72 (2)).

24.55 (1) S. 6 v 151. This can usefully be compared with S. 17 v 31: *wa-lā taqtulū 'awlādakum ḵašyata 'imlāqin* 'and do not kill your children out of fear of destitution', where *ḵašyata 'imlāqin* 'out of fear of destitution is a regular object of reason as in 24.32.

(2) See 1.701 on *min* in general. The category *min at-taᶜlīliyya* 'causative *min*' is somewhat ad hoc, probably a simple extension of its original partitive function, scil. 'as part of becoming destitute' etc.

24.6 (1) The work is unfortunately not to be found (0.4 n 6). Historically the 'object of reason', like some other constructions (e.g. the '*wa* of accompaniment', ch. 25) seems to have become more autonomous with age: al-Farrā' (d. 822, 1.21 n 2) does not identify it in *Maᶜānī* II, 123, where one might expect it (and cf. id. I, 17), while Sībawayhi has so many names for it (*mawqūᶜ lah* 'that for which it happens', *ᶜuḏr* 'excuse', *tafsīr li-mā qablah* 'explanation for what precedes', *mafᶜūl lah* 'that for which it is done', cf. *Kitāb* I, 184) that we must assume he did not want to make a technicality of it. For Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.* 100, it is simply a variety of the 'absolute object' (q.v. ch. 17).

باب المفعول معه وانما اخره عن المفاعيل لاختلافهم فيه هل هو قياسي دون غيره
ولوصول العامل اليه بواسطة حرف دون غيره وحده المصنف بقوله وهو الاسم المفرد
المنصوب اي الفضلة بعد واو اريد به التنصيص على المعية الذي يذكر لبيان من فعل
معه الفعل فلا بد ان تكون تلك الواو مسبوقة بجملة فعلية او ما فيه حروف الفعل
ومعناه كاسم الفاعل والمفعول اي بجملة ذات فعل او ذات اسم فيه معنى الفعل
وحروفه وذات الفعل كسرت والنيل وذات الاسم الذي فيه معنى الفعل وحروفه انا
سائر والنيل فيصدق على النيل في المثالين انه اسم لدخول ال عليه وانه فضلة لانه
منصوب وانه مسبوق بواو تلك الواو بمعنى مع والواو مسبوقة بجملة ذات فعل وهو
سرت في المثال الاول وذات اسم فيه معنى الفعل وحروفه وهو سائر في المثال الثاني
فخرج بالاسم نحو لا تأكل السمك وتشرب اللبن بنصب تشرب وبمفرد

CHAPTER TWENTY-FIVE

25.0 Chapter on the object of accompaniment.[1] The author only puts this after all the other objects because (unlike the others) there is disagreement about whether it is a productive[2] construction, and because (unlike the others) its operator is joined to it through the mediation of a particle. He defines it as follows:

25.1 This is the noun (i.e. the single noun)[1] which is made dependent[2] (i.e. is structurally redundant),[3] which occurs after *wa* 'and' with the intention[4] of denoting accompaniment, and is mentioned to explain with whom the action of the verb is done. This *wa* 'and' must always be preceded by a sentence containing a verb[5] or something with the constituent letters and meaning of a verb[6] (such as the agent and patient nouns), i.e. by a sentence with a verb or a noun having the meaning and constituent letters of a verb.

25.11 An example of the verbal sentence is *sirtu wa-n-nīla* 'I travelled with the Nile', and of the sentence containing a noun with the meaning and constituent letters of a verb, *'ana sā'irun wa-n-nīla* 'I am travelling with the Nile'.[1] In both these examples it is true of *an-nīla* 'the Nile' that it is a noun because it is prefixed by *al* 'the',[2] that it is structurally redundant because it has dependent form,[3] that it is preceded by *wa* 'and' (that *wa* which has the meaning of 'with'),[4] and that the *wa* 'and' is preceded by a sentence containing either a verb (namely *sirtu* 'I travelled' in the first example) or one containing a noun with the meaning and constituent letters of a verb (namely *sā'irun* 'travelling' in the second example).

25.21 By 'noun' are excluded such cases as *lā ta'kul is-samaka wa-tašraba l-labana* 'do not eat fish and drink milk together'.[1]

25.0 (1) *Muf.* #68; *Alf.* v 311; *Qaṭr* 251; Fleisch 191; Nöldeke 42; Fleischer, *Kl. Schr.* II, 99. Terminology: *al-maf^{c}ūl ma^{c}ah* 'that with which it is done', *wāw al-ma^{c}iyya* 'the *wa* of withness' (v. 11.721 n 4 on such abstract nouns, and cf. 5.54 n 2 on letter-names for one-letter particles—*wāw* = '*w*'); *wāw bi-ma^{c}nā ma^{c}a* '*wa* in the meaning of "with"'; *wāw aṣ-ṣarf* '*wa* of diversion'. Origins 25.1 n 2; cf. also 25.11 n 4.

(2) 'Productive' here renders *qiyāsī*, lit. 'analogical' (see 8.3 n 2), i.e. a valid basis for analogical extension: the antonym is *samā^{c}ī*, lit. 'by hearing', i.e. isolated recorded data not to be generalized.

25.1 (1) On *mufrad* 'single' see 23.431 n 1.

(2) Fleisch 191 suggests that this is not an inflection, but a relic of the *ā* ending still found in lamentation etc. (23.22): he finds a possible model in such expressions as *mā 'anā wa-l-mujūna* (<**mujūnā*) 'what have I to do with obscenity!?', lit. 'what am I and obscenity!?'.

(3) See 19.1 on *faḍla* 'redundant element', and see further 25.23.

(4) Observe that intention is a necessary component, cf. 20.13 n 3.

(5) 'Sentence containing a verb' should be 'verbal sentence' (*jumla fi^{c}liyya*, 7.1 n 1: word order is decisive), but anticipates the looser formulation used later and in 25.11, *jumla ḏāt fi^{c}l*, lit. 'sentence possessing a verb', i.e. regardless of word order.

(6) See 17.5 on 'constitutent letters', which here simply means that the operator must be deverbative (cf. 10.34 n 1).

25.11 (1) The verb in these examples is a 'hollow verb' (10.23 n 2), which in the agent noun pattern *fā^{c}il* (10.34 n 1) acquires a dummy radical *'*, hence *sā'ir* instead of **sāyir*.

(2) See 1.5 on *al* as a noun marker, 11.41 n 2 on assimilation *l*>*n*.

(3) A neat statement of this characteristic feature of dependent elements, see further 24.4 n 1.

(4) For the 'Baṣrans' (9.4 n 3) *wa* simply mediates (cf. 16.309 n 1) between verb and noun, but the 'Kūfans' attribute the dep. form to a kind of discongruence which they term *ṣarf* 'diversion, deviation', i.e. the difference in function between the two nouns on each side of *wa* (cf. *Inṣāf* prob. 30). A closer study suggests that the 'Baṣrans' originally shared this view, see Carter, *Arabica* 20, 292, and 25.34 n 1.

25.21 (1) This is a true case of '*wa* of accompaniment' but is excluded here simply because the topic happens to be nouns. It is easy to see that this *wa* is not a coordinating conjunction (12.1): the command is

نحو سرت والشمس طالعة برفعهما فان الواو وان كانت بمعنى مع فيهما الا انها
داخلة في المثال الاول على فعل وفي الثاني على جملة وبفضلة نحو اشترك زيد
وعمرو فانه عمدة وبقوله الذي يذكر لبيان من فعل معه الفعل بقية المفاعيل
وببعد واو نحو جئت مع زيد فانه بعد مع لا الواو التي بمعنى مع وباريد بها
التنصيص على المعية نحو رأيت زيدا وعمرا اذا اريد مجرد العطف او قبله او
بعده وبمسبوقة (66b) بفعل او ما فيه حروفه ومعناه نحو كل رجل وضيعته فلا
يجوز النصب على المفعولية معه لعدم سبق شيء من ذلك ثم ان المفعول معه نوعان
احدهما ما يجوز رفعه ونصبه وقد مثل له المصنف بقوله نحو قولك جاء الامير
والجيش فجاء فعل ماض والامير فاعل والواو واو المعية والجيش مفعول معه وصدق

25.22 By 'single' are excluded such cases as *sirtu wa-š-šamsu ṭāliᶜatun* 'I travelled while the sun was rising',[1] with independent form of both *aš-šamsu* 'the sun' and *ṭāliᶜatun* 'rising'. In both the above examples the *wa* 'and', though it does have the meaning of 'with', in the first instance[2] formally precedes a verb and in the second a sentence.

25.23 By 'structurally redundant' are excluded such cases as *ištaraka zaydun wa-ᶜamrun* 'Zayd and ᶜAmr worked together', where both nouns are structurally indispensable.[1]

25.24 By 'mentioned to explain with whom the action of the verb is done' all the other objects are excluded.[1]

25.25 By 'after *wa* "and"' are excluded such cases as *ji'tu maᶜa zaydin* 'I came with Zayd', because that is after *maᶜa* 'with' and not after *wa* 'and' in the meaning of 'with'.[1]

25.26 By 'with the intention of denoting accompaniment' are excluded such cases as *ra'aytu zaydan wa-ᶜamran* 'I saw Zayd and ᶜAmr', when the intention is merely coordination or having seen one before or after the other.[1]

25.27 By 'preceded *(66b)* by a verb or something with the constituent letters and meaning of a verb' are excluded such cases as *kullu rajulin wa-ḍayᶜatuhu* 'every man and his trade',[1] where the dependent form as object of accompaniment is not allowed because there is no preceding verb or anything of the kind.

25.3 Next, the object of accompaniment is of two kinds:[1]

25.31 (1) One allows both independent and dependent forms, which the author illustrates as follows: e.g. *jā'a l-'amīru wa-l-jayša* 'the commander came with the army', where *jā'a* 'came' is a past tense verb, *al-'amīru* 'the commander' is an agent, *wa* 'and' is the '*wa* of accompaniment',[1] and *al-jayša* 'the army' is an object of accompaniment, of which

not 'do not eat fish, and also do not drink milk', but 'do not eat fish and drink milk at the same time', see further 25.33.

25.22 (1) In this example the sentence introduced by *wa* 'and' is one of the varieties of circumstantial qualifier (see 19.9 n 1). It has a particularly close resemblance to the '*wa* of accompaniment' structure (a) in that the *wa* does mean something like 'with, while', and (b) in each case the *wa*-phrases are structurally redundant.

(2) The 'first instance' referred to here is the example given in the previous paragraph.

25.23 (1) It should be pointed out that structural redundancy is an ideal condition which cannot always be fulfilled (especially with circumstantial qualifiers, q.v. 19.6). See further 25.5.

(2) There might seem to be a semantic restraint here (co-operation requires at least two people), but a purely formal explanation is also possible: verbs with the *t* infix (Stem VIII, q.v. at 8.68 n 1) often denote reciprocal activities, hence two different agents may be needed. 'Structurally indispensible' renders *^{c}umda*, see 20.01 n 1.

25.24 (1) This distinction is necessary because single nouns which function as verb qualifiers all have dependent form, as if they were direct objects of the verb (but see 24.4 n 1).

25.25 (1) Though *ma^{c}a* 'with' is here synonymous with a '*wa* of accompaniment', it is a pure space-qualifier which can only occur in annexation to its noun (see 18.208).

25.26 (1) So far aš-Širbīnī has been following fairly closely al-Azharī *Taṣr.* I, 342, but here he must be drawing upon some other source, most likely *Qaṭr* 252 (or perhaps his own lost *Commentary* thereon, 0.4 n 6), for the importance of intention (20.13 n 3). The example is not well chosen: it is impossible to tell, as both nouns are dependent, whether the second is an object of accompaniment or merely coordinated. *Qaṭr* 252 is better, with *jā'a zaydun wa-^{c}amrun* 'Zayd and ^{c}Amr came', ruling out *wa-^{c}amran* as an object of accompaniment. See 12.1 on coordination.

25.27 (1) Expressions of this kind are regarded as elliptical nominal sentences without a predicate; moreover, in such quasi-proverbial utterances no predicate can be restored except purely notionally, e.g. in 9.94, which supplies a vague *muqtarināni* '(are) connected' for the saying *kullu ṣāni^{c}in wa-mā ṣana^{c}a* 'every doer and what he has done'. Nevertheless some grammarians (e.g. *Muf.* #29) allow *kullu rajulin wa-ḍay^{c}atahu* with dependent form of *ḍay^{c}atahu* as an object of accompaniment.

25.3 (1) Another example of 'rational dichotomy', q.v. 1.2 n 2.

25.31 (1) Cf. Fleischer, *Kl. Schr.* II, 99 (who uses an alternative name for this *wa*, viz. *wāw al-muṣāḥaba*, 'the *wa* of accompanying'). Doubts exist about the genuineness of the object of accompaniment construction (cf. reservations in 25.0). The example cited by Nöldeke 42, *wa-'iyyāhā* 'and her' (cf. 16.509) as proof that it is not an 'invention of the

عليه انه اسم منصوب قد ذكر لبيان من صاحب الامير في المجيء بعد ان كان من
فعل معه الفعل محتملا لان يكون الجيش وغيره هذا اذا نصبته ويجوز لك ايضا فيه
الرفع عطفا على فاعل الفعل الذي هو الامير والواو حينئذ لمجرد العطف لا للمعية
والتقدير جاء الامير وجاء الجيش وثانيهما ما يتعين فيه النصب وقد مثل له
المصنف بقوله واستوى الماء والخشبة فاستوى فعل ماض والماء فاعله والخشبة اسم
يتعين نصبه على انه مفعول معه ولا يصح رفعه عطفا على فاعل الفعل الذي هو
الماء لان الخشبة لا تستوي مع الماء وانما يستوي الماء معها اي يصل اليها ومن هذا
ايضا قول القائل لا تنه عن القبيح واتيانه بنصب اتيان وجوبا لان المعنى لا تنه
عن القبيح مع اتيانك اياه ولو عطف لكان المعنى لا تنه عن القبيح ولا عن اتيانه
وهو خلاف المعنى المراد بل فيه الامر بتقرير القبيح واتيانه والسكوت عليه لما
فيه من النهي عن ذلك ومنه ايضا مات زيد وطلوع الشمس بنصب طلوع وجوبا لان

it is true to say that it is a dependent noun mentioned to explain who accompanied the commander in his coming, after the possibility that it might have been the army or something else. This is the case when you make *al-jayša* 'the army' dependent, but you may also make it independent by coordinating it to the agent of the verb (namely *al-'amīru* 'the commander), and then the *wa* 'and' merely denotes coordination, not accompaniment: the implicit meaning is then **jā'a l-'amīru wa-jā'a l-jayšu* 'the commander came and the army came'.[2]

25.32 (2) The second kind specifically has dependent form, and the author's example is: *istawā l-mā'u wa-l-k̲ašabata* 'the water became level with the piece of wood'. Here *istawā* 'became level'[1] is a past tense verb, *al-mā'u* 'the water' is its agent, and *al-k̲ašabata* 'the piece of wood'[2] is a noun which specifically must be dependent as an object of accompaniment. It is not correct for it to be independent in coordination with the agent of the verb (namely *al-mā'u* 'the water'), because the piece of wood does not become level with the water—it is the water which becomes level with the piece of wood, i.e. reaches to it.[3]

25.33 In this category belongs the expression *lā tanha ᶜan il-qabīḥi wa-'ityānahu* 'do not forbid evil while doing it',[1] where the dependent form of *'ityāna* 'doing' is compulsory because the meaning is 'do not forbid evil alongside doing it yourself'. If you coordinate here, the meaning becomes 'do not forbid evil nor the doing of it', which it the opposite of the intended meaning. Indeed it becomes a command to affirm and commit evil and to say nothing against it, because of the prohibition it contains.

25.34 Similarly *māta zaydun wa-ṭulūᶜa š-šamsi* 'Zayd died with the rising of the sun',[1] with compulsory dependent form of *ṭulūᶜa* 'rising',

grammarians' is somewhat weakened by the fact that *'iyyā* does not automatically mark the suffixed pronoun as dependent (see 16.502 n 1). And there are inconsistencies in the technical history of the construction: it is described in detail by Sībawayhi (*Kitāb* I, 150) but seems to have been overlooked by grammarians of the following century (or to have been regarded with some perplexity, cf. Carter, *Arabica* 20, 297). It eventually achieved a settled place in the pedagogical scheme by the time of Ibn as-Sarrāj (d. 929, op. cit. 5.3 n 2, 36). Nevertheless it does crop up in modern Arabic (e.g. Cantarino II, 214), though to what extent such occurrences are 'grammaticogenic' is not clear.

(2) This is an example of *taqdīr* (see 2.101 n 1): it comes as close as one could wish to the notion of deep structure in this context, though it is perhaps a pity that no such reconstructions are offered in the place where they would have been expected, i.e. in the analysis of simple coordination (ch. 12).

25.32 (1) The verb *istawā* is a Stem VIII (8.68 n 1) form of the root *s-w-y*, i.e. its second and third radicals (5.1 n 2) are 'defective consonants' (2.43 n 2). However, in this situation the second radical is always syllable-initial, hence behaves as a 'sound' consonant, and only the third radical is weak; *istawā* therefore follows *ra'ā* in the past tense (10.65 n 1) and *yarmī* in the imperfect tense (4.81 n 2(b)). It has no passive, but in any case passives of *w-y* verbs follow *du^{c}iya* in 10.14 n 1, e.g. *ruwiya* 'it was related', *yurwā* 'it is related'.

(2) Note that the fem. suffix *at* (11.44 n 2) has individualizing function here: *k̲ašabatun* 'one piece of wood' contrasts with the unmarked masc. *k̲ašabun* 'wood' as a substance. When the system is fully observed (which is not always the case), the fem. sing. takes sound fem. plur. (3.23) for countables and the masc. takes broken plur. (3.22) for species (cf. generic nouns, 3.64 n 2). Fleisch 45.

(3) This specious explanation may be an original contribution from aš-Širbīnī, perhaps developed from al-Azharī, *Āj*. 92.

25.33 (1) This is a paraphrase of a verse often discussed in this context: *lā tanha ^{c}an k̲uluqin wa-ta'tiya mit̲lahu; ^{c}ārun ^{c}alayka 'in fa^{c}alta ^{c}aẓīmun* 'do not forbid a certain conduct while doing the same yourself; it is a great shame on you if you do' (*Schaw. Ind.* 227). In the prose paraphrase *wa-'ityānahu* 'with the bringing of it' (i.e. doing of it) the dependent verbal noun functions as an object of accompaniment equivalent to the dependent verb *wa-ta'tiya* 'while you bring it' (i.e. do it) in the verse, both with dep. form for the reasons given in the text (but see 25.11 n 4 for 'Baṣran' and 'Kūfan' dispute). Compare also the verse quoted in 5.411, where a different reason (false coordination of verb to noun) is advanced for the dep. *wa-taqarra* 'and it may relax', and the noun paraphrase *wa-qarratu* 'and the relaxation' can only have indep. form because it is correctly coordinated to the indep. noun *lubsu* 'the wearing'. Cf. also next note.

25.34 (1) The example is a pure grammarians' fiction (cf. 25.31 n 1), and genuine cases of this construction are rare. However, it does

المعنى مات زيد مع طلوع الشمس ولو عطفت لكان المعنى مات زيد ومات طلوع الشمس والطلوع لا يقوم به الموت وقد يترجح العطف في نحو قام زيد وعمرو لانه الاصل وقد امكن بلا ضعف في اللفظ ولا في المعنى وقد يتعين العطف في نحو (67a) اشترك زيد وعمرو لان الفعل لا يستغني عنه لان الاشتراك لا يتأتى الا بين اثنين ولما فرغ المصنف من الحادي عشر من المنصوبات شرع فيما بقي منها فقال واما خبر كان وخبر اخواتها نحو كان زيد عالما واسم ان واسم اخواتها نحو ان زيدا عالم ومفعولا ظننت نحو ظننت زيدا قائما وقد تقدم ذكرهما في المرفوعات استطرادا عقب باب المبتدأ والخبر اي فلا حاجة لنا الى اعادتهما هنا وكذلك التوابع المنصوبة وهي اربعة النعت نحو رأيت زيدا الفاضل والعطف نحو رأيت زيدا وعمرا والتوكيد نحو رأيت زيدا نفسه والبدل نحو رأيت زيدا اخاك فقد تقدمت هناك اي في ابواب اربعة عقب النواسخ اي فلا حاجة لنا ايضا الى اعادتها وهذه الابواب الاربعة وهي خبر كان واخواتها واسم ان واخواتها ومفعولا ظننت وتوابع المنصوب

because the meaning is 'Zayd died as the sun was rising', and if you were to coordinate the meaning would become '*Zayd died and the rising of the sun died', but death is not something which can occur in sunrise.

25.4 In such cases as *qāma zaydun wa-ᶜamrun* 'Zayd and ᶜAmr stood', coordination predominates because it is the norm,[1] although the dependent form would be possible without weakness in form or meaning.

25.5 With *(67a) išt̄araka zaydun wa-ᶜamrun* 'Zayd and ᶜAmr worked together' and such like, coordination is specifically prescribed because it is indispensable for the verb, since working together can only come about between two people.[1]

25.6 Having finished with the eleventh of the dependent elements,[1] the author now proceeds to deal with the remainder:

25.61 The predicate of *kāna* 'to be' and its related verbs,[1] e.g. *kāna zaydun ᶜāliman* 'Zayd was learned', and the subject-noun of *'inna* 'verily' and its related particles,[2] e.g. *'inna zaydan ᶜālimun* 'verily Zayd is learned' (add to these the two objects of *ẓanantu* 'I thought', e.g. *ẓanantu zaydan qā'iman* 'I thought Zayd was standing'),[3] have been dealt with under the independent elements, (in the exhaustive treatment following on from the chapter on the subject and predicate) i.e. there is no need for us to repeat it here; likewise the concordants which have dependent form, which are four in number, viz. the adjective,[4] e.g. *ra'aytu zaydan il-fāḍila* 'I saw Zayd the virtuous', the coordinated element,[5] e.g. *ra'aytu zaydan wa-ᶜamran* 'I saw Zayd and ᶜAmr', the corroborative,[6] e.g. *ra'aytu zaydan nafsahu* 'I saw Zayd himself', and the substitute,[7] e.g. *ra'aytu zaydan 'aḵāka* 'I saw Zayd your brother', have also been dealt with there. (In four chapters following on from the 'cancellors',[8] i.e. there is no need for us to repeat them here).

25.62 Those four categories[1] (the predicate of *kāna* 'to be' and its related verbs, the subject-noun of *'inna* 'verily' and its related particles, the two objects of *ẓanantu* 'I thought' and the concordants to

illustrate neatly one of the characteristic features of the dependent form, viz. the tendency not only to be structurally redundant (19.1 n 1 and cf. 25.11), but also to be excluded semantically from the antecedent ('continuous' exception, 21.1, is a good example). For this reason the dependent form is often attributed to the property of being different from, or not included in the antecedent, expressed as *ṣarf* 'diversion' or *ḵilāf* 'difference', cf. Carter, *Arabica* 20, 292, *B.S.O.A.S.* 35, 491.

25.4 (1) See 3.0 n 2 on *'aṣl* 'norm'. Both *ḍa*^{c}*īf* 'weak' and *qawī* 'strong' have been used as value terms for well-formedness from the earliest grammar (see Troupeau, *Lex.-Index*, roots *ḍ*-^{c}-*f*, *q-w-y*), and see Baalbaki, *Z.A.L.* 2, 16 on *qawī*.

25.5 (1) See 25.23. Cantarino II, 215 has a remarkable example, *ištaraka wa-'ismā*^{c}*īla* 'he collaborated with Ismā^{c}īl': presumably the author avoided the regular coordination *ištaraka huwa wa-'ismā*^{c}*īlu* 'he and Ismā^{c}īl collaborated' because it transfers the emphasis from the action to the participants. See 12.11 n 3 on coordination to pronouns.

25.6 (1) One object which did not catch on in the general exploitation of Sībawayhi's *Kitāb* is the *maf*^{c}*ūl minhu*, 'that from which it is done', referring to the dependent form in such constructions as *'iyyāka wa-l-'asada* 'beware of the lion!' (and cf. 26.96 *'iyyāka 'an taẓunna* 'beware of thinking...'). Sībawayhi explains *'iyyāka* as the direct object of an elided verb (scil. 'I warn'), and *al-'asada* as a *maf*^{c}*ūl minhu* 'that which it is (warned) about', *Kitāb* I, 138.

25.61 (1) See 10.1 on *kāna* etc., and 6.4 n 2 on 'related'.

(2) See 10.4.

(3) See 10.6. There are inconsistencies in the manuscripts (cf. 15.14) and/or in Ibn Ājurrūm's arithmetic: we accept aš-Širbīnī's explanation that the two objects of *ẓanantu* form one item of the inventory, likewise the four concordants together, thus making the fifteen required.

(4) See ch. 11.

(5) See ch. 12.

(6) See ch. 13.

(7) See ch. 14.

(8) See 10.1 n 3 on *nawāsiḵ* 'cancellers'. Other dependent forms not dealt with by aš-Širbīnī: 16.311 n 1 (dep. forms in isolation); 20.9 n 1 ('specialization'); 22.6 n 1 (*lā* 'not' with single nouns); 25.6 n 1 (warnings), and cf. 11.6 for the suspension of adjectival concordance.

25.62 (1) Cf. 9.3 n 1 on the practice of computing grammatical features. The actual arrangement of material is not without interest, as it reveals differences in approach: thus *Muf.* treats concordants entirely under oblique elements and makes one chapter of *kāna* and *'inna*, while *Qaṭr* disperses dependent elements thoughout the book, treating the vocative as a subdivision of the direct object (cf. 16.6 n 2).

مكملة للمنصوبات الخمسة عشر التي ترجم عليها المصنف رحمه الله تعالى ورضي عنه
ولما انتهى القول في الاسم ونصبه شرع في الكلام على خفضه فقال

باب مخفوضات الاسماء باضافة المخفوضات الى الاسماء اضافة بيانية لا للاحتراز
عن الفعل فانه لا خفض فيه والتقدير باب المخفوضات التي هي الاسماء وهي خاتمة
الكتاب ختم الله تعالى لنا ولاهلينا ولمحبينا ولجميع المسلمين بخير امين
والمخفوضات المشهورة على ثلاثة اقسام قسم مخفوض بالحرف نحو جلست في الدار
وقسم مخفوض بالاضافة نحو غلام زيد وهذا ضعيف والصحيح انه مخفوض بالمضاف لا
لا بالاضافة وقسم مخفوض على التبعية على رأي الاخفش وهو مراد المصنف بقوله
وتابع للمخفوض نحو مررت بزيد الفاضل وهذا ضعيف ايضا وقد (67b) اجتمعت
الثلاثة في البسملة فاما المخفوض بالحرف وهي عشرون حرفا ثلاثة مضت في الاستثناء

dependent elements) complete the fifteen dependent elements to which the author (may God have mercy on him and be content with him) has devoted individual chapters.[2] Having finished with the dependence of the noun[3] he now turns to its obliqueness.

CHAPTER TWENTY-SIX

26.0 Chapter on oblique nouns.[1] (The word *makfūḍāti* 'things made oblique' is annexed to *al-'asmā'i* 'nouns' in explanatory annexation, not in order to exclude verbs, since obliqueness is not found in verbs anyway: the implicit meaning is thus, 'Chapter on oblique elements, which are nouns').[2] This is the last chapter of the book; may God give us a good end, and our families, and those who love us and all Muslims, Amen.

26.01 The oblique elements (which are well known) are of three kinds: (1) made oblique by a particle,[1] e.g. *jalastu fī d-dāri* 'I sat in the house', (2) made oblique by annexation,[2] e.g. *ġulāmu zaydin* 'the slave-boy of Zayd' (but this is somewhat weak: the correct view is that it is made oblique by the element annexed to it, not by annexation itself), and (3) made oblique by concordance, in the opinion of al-Akfaš, which is what our author means by the concordant to the oblique element. (As in *marartu bi-zaydin il-fāḍili* 'I passed by Zayd the virtuous', but this, too, is rather weak).[3] All three kinds of obliqueness *(67b)* are found in *bi-smi llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīmi* 'in the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful'.

26.1 The nouns made oblique by particles[1] (of which there are twenty: three already dealt with under exception, viz. *kalā* 'except', *ᶜadā*

(2) Note how, in this paragraph, *bāb* (lit. 'door') is used to mean both 'category' (other examples 1.41, 21.1) and 'chapter'.

(3) By way of conclusion, here is a sentence containing six qualifiers in dep. form and one prepositional phrase: *ḍarabtu ḍarban zaydan bi-sawṭin nahāran hunā ta'dīban wa-ṭulūᶜa š-šamsi* 'I struck hard Zayd with a whip by day here as a discipline with the sun rising' (Goguyer, *Qaṭr* 256 n 7, taken from aṣ-Ṣabbān on al-Ušmūnī on *Alf.* v 315).

26.0 (1) *Jum.* 72, 155; *Muf.* ##110, 498; *Alf.* vv 364, 385; *Qaṭr* 279; Beeston 45, 88; Fleisch 170; Yushmanov 61, 64; Bateson 44, 48. There are two unexplained sets of parallel terminology:
jarr or *k̲afḍ* 'obliqueness, oblique function', see further 3.8 n 1,
jārr or *k̲āfiḍ* 'making oblique, obliqueness operator', cf. 2.11 n 1,
majrūr or *mak̲fūḍ* 'made oblique, oblique element', see 3.84 n 3.
Apart from Sībawayhi, who uses only *jarr*, most grammarians seem to use both sets indiscriminately, though traditionally *jarr* was said to be a 'Baṣran' and *k̲afḍ* a 'Kūfan' term (q.v. 9.4 n 3).

(2) See 26.72 on explanatory annexation, 2.44 on the lack of oblique form in verbs, and cf, 2.101 n 1 on *taqdīr* 'implicit meaning'.

26.01 (1) In Western terms this also includes all those 'prepositions' which were, and often still are nouns (cf. 18.4 n 2), hence this category is structurally identical with the next one, annexation.

(2) As Arabic nouns only have three cases, of which one (independence) is a marker of subject or predicate status (chs. 7-9) and another (dependence) marks structural redundancy (cf. 19.1), annexation remains as the only possible bond between nouns (excluding concordance, chs. 11-14 and the small, unproductive class of genuine compound nouns, 3.411 n 5).

(3) See 1.31 n 4 on this argument. Al-Ak̲faš (here cited via al-Azharī, *Āj.* 93) is best known for having preserved and transmitted Sībawayhi's *Kitāb* in the version which we now have. He died in 830 or 835; *G.A.L.* I, 105, Fleisch, *Tr.* p. 31, *E.I.* (2), art. 'al-A<u>kh</u>fa<u>sh</u>', sect. II.

(4) S. 1 v 1, parsed above in 1.31.

26.1 (1) *Jum.* 72; *Muf.* #498; *Alf.* v 364; *Qaṭr* 279; Fleisch 175. Note the pedagogical enumeration (cf. 9.3 n 1), which is extended by *Qaṭr* to twenty-one by including *lawlā* 'if not for' (6.6 n 6), on the grounds that it may take pronoun suffixes (e.g. *lawlāka* 'if not for you', but *lawlā 'anta* 'if not for you', with free independent pronoun, is the regular construction).

وهي خلا وعدا وحاشا وثلاثة شاذة احداها متى في لغة هذيل وهي بمعنى من
الابتدائية سمع من بعضهم اخرجها متى كمه والثانية لعل في لغة عقيل قال قائلهم
لعل الله فضلكم علينا
بجر الهاء من الجلالة الكريمة والثالثة كي المصدرية وصلتها نحو جئتك كي تكرمني
اذا قدرت ان بعدها والاربعة عشر الباقية قسمان سبعة تجر الظاهر والمضمر وقد
اشار اليها المصنف بقوله فهو ما يخفض بمن وهي ام حروف الخفض نحو قوله
تعالى ومنك ومن نوح والى نحو قوله تعالى الى الله مرجعكم واليه مرجعكم وعن نحو
قوله تعالى طبقا عن طبق رضي الله عنهم وعلى نحو قوله تعالى وعليها وعلى الفلك
تحملون وفي نحو قوله تعالى وفي الارض ايات وفيها ما تشتهي الانفس والباء كما
سيأتي في كلامه ايضا نحو قوله تعالى امنوا بالله ورسوله وامنوا به واللام كما

'except' and *ḥāšā* 'except';[2] then three rare ones, (1) *matā* 'when' in the Huḏaylī[3] dialect, where it has the meaning of 'from' denoting the beginning of a limit: thus one of them was heard to say *'akrajahā matā kummihi* 'he took it from his sleeve',[4] (2) *laᶜalla* 'perhaps' in the ᶜUqaylī[5] dialect, as one of their poets said:

laᶜalla llāhi faḍḍalakum ᶜalaynā

'perhaps God has made you superior to us',[6] with the oblique form of the name of the Almighty, and (3) the 'verbal noun *kay*' 'so that' and its attached clause, e.g. *ji'tuka kay tukrimanī* 'I came to you so that you might honour me', if an implicit *'an* 'that' is assumed after the *kay*).[7]

26.2 The remaining fourteen divide into two kinds:[1] (1) seven which make oblique both overt nouns and pronouns. As the author[2] goes on to point out, nouns and pronouns are made oblique by:

26.21 *min* 'from', which is the fundamental particle of obliqueness, e.g. the Qur'anic *wa-minka wa-min nūḥin* 'and from you and from Noah'.[1]

26.22 *'ilā* 'to', as in the Qur'anic *'ilā llāhi marjiᶜukum* 'to God is your return' and *'ilayhi marjiᶜukum* 'to him is your return'.[1]

26.23 *ᶜan* 'from', as in the Qur'anic *ṭabaqan ᶜan ṭabaqin* 'rank after rank', *raḍiya llāhu ᶜanhum* 'may God be content with them'.[1]

26.24 *ᶜalā* 'on', as in the Qur'anic *ᶜalayhā wa-ᶜalā l-fulki tuḥmalūna* 'on it and on the ark you shall be carried'.[1]

26.25 *fī* 'in', as in the Qur'anic *wa-fī l-'arḍi 'āyātun* 'and in the earth are signs' and *fīhā mā taštahī l-'anfusu* 'in it is what souls desire'.[1]

26.26 To these must be added *bi* 'by', which the author will speak about later, as in the Qur'anic *'āminū bi-llāhi wa-rasūlihi* 'believe in God and his Prophet' and *'āminū bihi* 'believe in him'.[1]

(2) See 21.5 for these.

(3) A tribe east of Mecca, regarded as speaking a western dialect with heavy eastern influences, v. Rabin, *Anc. West-Ar.* ch. 8, *E.I.* (2), s.v.

(4) The usage is probably genuine enough (see this and other examples in Rabin, *Anc. West-Ar.* 91), though grammarians never mastered it.

(5) See 10.46 on normal *la*ᶜ*alla*. The ᶜUqayl tribe inhabited the eastern dialect area of the Najd, v. Rabin, *Anc. West-Ar.* 3.

(6) *Schaw. Ind.* 226; the line concludes *bi-šay'in 'anna 'ummakum šarīmun* 'through something, i.e. that your mother had a ruptured peritoneum'. The verse is as anonymous as it is unpleasant.

(7) Both MSS have *'an* (5.41) for *kay* here, suggesting that the confusion stems from aš-Širbīnī's radical simplification of al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* II, 3: this states that *kay* is a preposition because it is prefixed to nominalized clauses (see 5.44 n 1) and also to the pronoun *mā* 'what', viz. *kaymā*, synonymous with *limā* 'for what, why?', see 5.44 n 4.

26.2 (1) See 26.64 for other methods of classification.

(2) The Qur'anic illustrations (cf. 1.704 n 2) are provided by Ibn Hišām, via al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* II, 3f, contrast 1.701-13, where aš-Širbīnī was drawing on al-Azharī, *Āj.* 14 in his treatment of the same particles.

26.21 (1) S. 33 v 7, and see 1.701; on 'fundamental particle', lit. 'mother of the particles' cf. 6.4 n 2, and see also 18.41 n 3.

26.22 (1) S. 5 v 48, S. 6 v 60 respectively; note that *ā* becomes *ay* before pronoun suffixes (1.702 n 1), entailing here the change *hu* to *hi* by vowel harmony (13.9 n 9).

26.23 (1) S. 84 v 19, S. 5 v 119 respectively. The latter has become the normal invocation after the mention of any dead person except Muḥammad (cf. 14.34 n 3 on optative verbs). See also 1.703.

26.24 (1) S. 23 v 22: this example (like the one in 26.21) has the added distinction of illustrating both oblique noun and oblique pronoun in the same sentence! See also 1.704.

26.25 (1) S. 51 v 20, S. 43 v 71 respectively (note *al-'anfusu* 'the souls' here in its literal meaning, contrast 13.9). Brockelmann, *Grundr.* II, 371, says that *fī* 'in' is originally the oblique form of *fū* 'mouth' (q.v. 3.42, and cf. 3.61 n 1). It is classified by Fleisch, *Tr.* #151f without comment as a peculiarly Arab creation.

26.26 (1) S. 3 v 179, S. 17 v 107 respectively, and see 1.707, 26.4. In common with other invariable elements (negatives, conditionals, ch. 5; conjunctions, ch. 12; demonstratives, 11.73, pronouns, 11.71 etc.), *bi* and most other prepositions are primitive roots which lie outside the derivational system (Beeston 31; Fleisch 134; Bateson 37). Some former nouns (e.g. *min*, 1.701) and verbs (e.g. *la*ᶜ*alla*, 10.46, *ḵalā*, 21.5) have drifted into this category. Others seem to be in the process of doing so, e.g. *qablu* etc., see 18.4 n 2, 18.41 n 2.

سيأتي في كلامه ايضا نحو قوله تعالى لله ما في السماوات وله ما في السماوات
وسبعة تختص بالظاهر وتنقسم الى اربعة اقسام ما لا يختص بظاهر بعينه وهي
حتى والكاف والواو وما يختص بالزمان وهي مذ ومنذ كما سيأتي في كلامه وما
يختص بالنكرات وهو ربّ نحو رب رجل وقد تدخل في الكلام على ضمير غيبة ملازم
للافراد والتذكير والتفسير بتمييزه بعده مطابق للمعنى قال الشاعر
ربه فتية دعوت الى ما يورث المجد دائبا فاجابوا
وما يختص بالله ورب مضاف للكعبة او لياء المتكلم وهو التاء كما سيأتي في
كلامه نحو وتالله لاكيدن اصنامكم وترب الكعبة وتربي (68a) لافعلن وندر تالرحمن

26.27 Likewise *li* 'for', which the author will also speak about later, as in the Qur'anic *li-llāhi mā fī s-samāwāti* 'to God belongs what is in the heavens' and *lahu mā fī s-samāwāti* 'to Him belongs what is in the heavens'.[1]

26.3 Then there are seven which are peculiar to overt nouns,[1] and these divide into four groups:

26.31 (1) those which are not peculiar to any specific overt noun, viz. *ḥattā* 'till', *ka* 'like', and *wa* 'and, by'.[1]

26.32 (2) those peculiar to time, viz. *muḏ* 'since' and *munḏu* 'since', which the author will speak about in due course.[1]

26.33 (3) that which is peculiar to undefined nouns,[1] namely rubba 'how few, how many',[2] e.g. *rubba rajulin* 'how few men, how many a man'. In some speech this particle is also found before the third person pronoun, but always in the masculine singular and followed by an explanatory specifying element[3] of corresponding meaning, as in the verse:

rubbahu fityatan da^cawtu 'ilā mā
yūriṯu l-majda dā'iban fa-'ajābū

'how many of him—such youths—have I called to that which bequeathes glory perpetually, and they answered!'.[4]

26.34 (4) that peculiar to the words *allāhu* 'God'[1] and *rabbun* 'Lord' (when the latter is annexed to *al-ka^cbatu* 'the Kaaba' or to the first person singular *ī* 'my'), viz. *ta*, as the author will speak about later, as in the Qur'anic *wa-ta-llāhi la-'akīdanna 'aṣnāmakum* 'and by God I will surely outwit your idols!',[2] also *ta-rabbi l-ka^cbati* 'by the Lord of the Kaaba!' and *ta-rabbī (68a) la-'af^calanna* 'by my Lord I shall surely do it!'. The expressions *ta-r-raḥmāni* 'by the Merciful One!' and *ta-ḥayātika* 'by your life!' are rare.[3]

26.27 (1) S. 2 v 284, S. 2 v 116 respectively, and see 1.709, 26.4; *li* is possibly cognate with *'ilā* (q.v. 26.22), Brockelmann, *Grundr.* II, 377. Note that *li* (and also *^{c}inda* 'with', 18.207, *ma^{c}a* 'with', 18.208) paraphrases the Eng. 'to have, possess' (cf. 26.71), and see also 14.2 n 2. The alternation *li* before nouns, *la* before pronouns (except of course *lī* 'to me, mine') is unexplained.

26.3 (1) But see 26.33 and 26.4 n 2 for rare exceptions; for *ẓāhir* 'overt (noun) see 7.2 n 1. The distributional criteria here are taken from Ibn Hišām, via al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* II, 3.

26.31 (1) See 5.53, 12.91 on *ḥattā*; 1.708, 26.4 on *ka*; 1.711, 26.5 on *wa* (also 12.1 on *wa* as a coordinating conjunction).

26.32 (1) See 26.62, esp. n 2, on the reason why these were left till last by Ibn Ājurrūm, which has been obscured by aš-Širbīnī's arbitrary rearrangement of the material (on which see 26.4 n 1).

26.33 (1) See 11.8 n 1 on *nakira* 'undefined'.

(2) See 1.706. This word has contrary meanings, as appears in the translation: the phenomenon itself was well known to the Arabs, who made collections of such words under the heading of *'aḍdād*, lit. 'opposites' (see *E.I.* (2), art. 'Aḍdād', D. Cohen, *Études de linguistique sémitique et arabe*, The Hague/Paris 1970, 79, 101, esp. 95, and for *rubba* in particular Fleisch, *Tr.* #118n-q). Curiously enough, *rubba* itself does not appear in standard collections of words with contrary meanings, unlike *warā'a* 'behind/in front of', q.v. 18.204.

(3) See ch. 20 on *tamyīz* 'specifying element'.

(4) *Schaw. Ind.* 16. Points to note in this verse: *fityatan* 'as to youths', a specifying element, plural by poetic licence; *da^{c}awtu* 'I called', weak 3rd radical (10.14 n 2); *yūriṯu* 'bequeathes', Stem IV of 1st rad. *w* (= *yuwriṯu,* 8.63 n 1); *dā'iban* 'habitually' (variant *dā'iman* 'always', 18.32 n 3), circumstantial qualifier (ch. 19); *'ajābū* 'they answered', Stem IV of hollow verb (8.73 n 1).

26.34 (1) See 1.713 and further examples in 26.5.

(2) S. 21 v 57. Note the collocation of asseverative *ta* and verbs prefixed with 'emphatic *la*' (*lām at-tawkīd*, 13.6 n 3) and suffixed with 'emphatic *n*' (*nūn at-tawkīd*): this *n* is realized as a 'light' (*ḵafīfa*) form *an* (other examples 1.4, 5.32) or a 'heavy' (*ṯaqīla*) form *anna* (see 3.241 n 2; other examples 2.101, 3.241, 5.32, 5.56, 9.92, 13.6). It has the effect of obliterating mood inflections, though these are in any case assumed to be those of the apocopated form (paradigms Fleisch 108, *Tr.* #119w, and cf. id. #120j, 5.32 n 4). 'Baṣrans' and 'Kūfans' (9.4 n 3) argued with each other (*Inṣāf*, prob. 94) as to whether *an* was derived by lightening *anna* or vice versa, the 'Kūfans' maintaining the former view, the 'Baṣrans' insisting that neither was derived from the other!

(3) See Fischer, op. cit. 1.711 n 1, for numerous other forms of oath, including some entirely without particles, e.g. *allāha* 'by God', 14.62.

وتحياتك ولم يذكر ذلك المصنف على هذا الترتيب بل قال بعد ورب والباء وقد
تقدم مثالها والكاف نحو زيد كالاسد واللام وقد مر مثالها وما يختص بحروف القسم
اي اليمين وهي الواو نحو والله والباء نحو بالله والتاء نحو تالله وقد مر ما تختص
به وبواو رب نحو وليل اي رب ليل وبمذ ومنذ ولا يجران الا اسما مختصا بالزمان
حاضرا كان نحو ما رأيته مذ يومنا او منذ يومنا والتقدير حينئذ ما رأيته في
يومنا او ماضيا نحو ما رأيته مذ يوم الخميس او منذ يوم الخميس والتقدير ما
رأيته من يوم الخميس ولم يذكر المصنف هنا من حروف الجر خلا وعدا وحاشا
لاستغنائه عن ذكرها هاهنا بذكرها في اول الكتاب وفي باب الاستثناء ومعاني
هذه الحروف كثيرة قد ذكرت اكثرها في شرح القطر وذكرت فيه انها تنقسم الى

26.4 The author does not deal with the particles in this order,[1] however, but continues after *rubba* 'how many, how few' with bi 'by', of which an example has already been given above, ka 'like', e.g. *zaydun ka-l-'asadi* 'Zayd is like a lion',[2] and *li* 'for', also illustrated already.

26.5 Then those peculiar to the particles of swearing,[1] (i.e. of swearing an oath), namely *wa*, as in *wa-llāhi* 'by God!', *bi*, as in *bi-llāhi* 'by God!', and *ta*, as in *ta-llāhi* 'by God!', the peculiarities of this last having been set out above.[2]

26.61 The remaining particles are *wa* in the meaning of *rubba* 'how many, how few',[1] e.g. *wa-laylin* meaning *rubba laylin* 'how many a night'.

26.62 Finally *muḏ* 'since' and *munḏu* 'since'.[1] These make oblique only overt nouns which are peculiar to time,[2] whether a present time, as in *mā ra'aytuhu muḏ yawminā* or *munḏu yawminā* 'I have not seen him today' (the implicit meaning being that up to that time I had not seen him during that day), or past time, as in *mā ra'aytuhu muḏ yawmi l-ḵamīsi* or *munḏu yawmi l-ḵamīsi* 'I have not seen him since Thursday' (the implicit meaning being that I have not seen him from the time of last Thursday).[3]

26.63 The author does not mention here among the particles of obliqueness *ḵalā* 'except', *ᶜadā* 'except' and *ḥāšā* 'except', as he has no need to mention them here because he has already mentioned them at the beginning of the book and in the chapter on exception.[1]

26.64 The senses[1] of all these particles are numerous. I have mentioned most of them in my *Commentary on Qaṭr an-nadā*,[2] where I point out that

26.4 (1) The order that aš-Širbīnī is following is based on *Qaṭr* 279, incorporating Ibn Hišām's own comments on *Alf.* v 364f as expanded in turn by al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* II, 3f (cf. 3.63 n 1).

(2) The grammarians cite rare instances of pronoun suffixation to *ka*, e.g. *kahā* 'like her' (*Alf.* v 368, and cf. al-Ušmūnī ad loc. for *ḥattāka* 'till you' etc.). On *ka* see further 1.708.

26.5 (1) See 1.71, 1.711. Note that this *wa* (like all the particles of swearing) may be prefixed with coordinating *wa* 'and' (12.1), e.g. *wa-wa-llāhi* 'and by God!', and *wa-ta-llāhi* in 16.34.

(2) See 1.712, 26.26 on *bi*, 1.713, 26.34 on *ta*. The best known oath beginning with *bi* is surely *bi-smi llāhi r-raḥmāni r-raḥīmi* 'in the name of God, the Compassionate and Merciful', q.v. 1.0 and notes.

26.61 (1) See 1.706, 26.33 on *rubba*; in this function *wa* always means 'how many', but its relation to coordinating *wa* (12.1) and asseverative *wa* (26.5) is obscure (Fleisch, *Tr.* #151g). Here we may include predicative *kam* 'how many a...' (contrast interrogative *kam*, 20.6 n 2), e.g. *kam dam*^{c}*atin ḏarafnāhā* 'how many a tear we shed' (Cantarino I, 158); *Jum.* 145; *Muf.* #217; *Alf.* v 746; *Qaṭr* 266; Fleisch, *Tr.* #149n.

26.62 (1) *Jum.* 150; *Muf.* ##203, 510; *Alf.* v 379; *Qaṭr* 282; Fleisch, *Tr.* #151h: *muḏ* is a contraction of *munḏu,* from **min ḏū* 'from that' (cf. 11.731 on deictic element *ḏ*).

(2) These two are left till last because (a) they are restricted to occurrence before nouns of specific time (never pronouns) and (b) they may be followed by independent nouns as well as oblique nouns (see n 3).

(3) See 2.101 on *taqdīr* 'implicit meaning'. This distinction (from Ibn Hišām, *Muġnī* II, 21) is entirely artificial: it is of more use to know that in positive sentences *munḏu* can correspond to English 'ago', e.g. *waṣalnā munḏu ṯalāṯati 'ayyāmin* 'we arrived three days ago' (Cantarino II, 346). The alternative with indep. nouns is doubtless the original structure, scil. **min ḏū* ^{c}*āmāni* 'since that (was) two years' (Fleisch, loc. cit. n 1, cf. Rabin, *Anc. West-Ar.* 187), with assimilation to the syntax of *min* 'from', which often has the meaning of 'since'.

26.63 (1) These are indeed dealt with in the chapter on exception, viz. 21.5, but the reference to 'the beginning of the book' is obscure. Both MSS insist on *kitāb* 'book' here, rather than *bāb* 'chapter', so if this refers to 26.1, where *ḵalā* etc. are mentioned, perhaps *kitāb* must be taken in a loose sense as 'booklet', i.e. part of the major work. Or possibly aš-Širbīnī had a copy of al-Azharī's *Taṣrīḥ* with the same divisions as current printed versions: these dismiss *ḵalā* etc. on the very first page of vol. II, which aš-Širbīnī might thoughtlessly have copied.

26.64 (1) See 1.701 n 2 on *ma*^{c}*ānī* 'senses'.

(2) The work is unfortunately lost, however the information given here is substantially the same as *Muf.* #498, except that ^{c}*alā* has been made into a category of its own. Among other ways of classifying these elements are (a) according to the number of letters (*Qaṭr* 281), and (b) by

اربعة اقسام قسم يستعمل حرفا واسما وهو مذ ومنذ وعن وكاف التشبيه وقسم
يستعمل حرفا وفعلا وهو حاشا وخلا وعدا وقسم يستعمل حرفا واسما وفعلا وهو على
فقط وقسم يستعمل حرفا فقط وهو باقي الحروف واما ما يخفض بالاضافة وقد مر
ان الراجح ان الخفض بالمضاف لا بالاضافة فنحو قولك غلام زيد فزيد مخفوض
بالمضاف الذي هو غلام لا بالاضافة خلافا لابي حيان وللمصنف ولا بمعنى اللام خلافا
للزجاج ولا بحرف مقدر ناب عنه المضاف خلافا لبعضهم والاضافة لغة مطلق الاسناد
واصطلاحا اسناد اسم الى غيره على تنزيل الثاني من الاول منزلة التنوين وهو اي
المخفوض بالاضافة على قسمين الاول ما يقدر باللام التي للملك نحو (68b) غلام زيد
او للاختصاص كسرج الدابة وباب الدار وهذا القسم اكثر ولذلك اقتصر عليه
الزجاج والقسم الثاني ما يقدر بمن البيانية وهذا القسم كثير وضابطه

they divide into four kinds: (1) used as both a noun and a particle, viz. *muḏ* 'since', *munḏu* 'since', *ᶜan* 'from', and the *ka* 'like' of comparison; (2) used as both a particle and a verb, viz. *ḥāšā* 'except', *ḵalā* 'except' and *ᶜadā* 'except'; (3) used as a particle, a noun and a verb, viz. only *ᶜalā* 'on', and (4) used as a particle only, viz. the remainder of the particles.[3]

26.7 The nouns made oblique by annexation,[1] (it has already been indicated that in the preponderant view obliqueness is caused by the annexed element, not by annexation), e.g. *ḡulāmu zaydin* 'the slave-boy of Zayd', where *zaydin* 'Zayd' is made oblique by what is annexed to it, not by annexation itself (thus contradicting Abū Ḥayyān and our author; nor is it made oblique by the meaning of *li* 'for', nor by an implicit particle which has been replaced by the annexed element, contradicting certain other grammarians).[2] The term *'iḍāfa* 'annexation' lexically denotes the absolute propping up of one thing upon another, and technically it denotes the propping up of one noun upon another in such a way that the second noun has the status of a final *n* of *tanwīn* on the first noun.[3]

26.71 They are (i.e. the nouns made oblique by annexation) of two kinds:[1] (1) with an implicit *li* 'for', (namely the '*li* of possession'),[2] e.g. *(68b) ḡulāmu zaydin* 'the slave-boy of Zayd'; this annexation may also convey particularization, e.g. *sarju d-dābbati* 'the horse-saddle', *bābu d-dāri* 'the house door'. This is by far the largest group, which is why az-Zajjāj confined himself to it.[3]

26.72 (2) with an implicit *min* 'from',[1] (namely the 'explanatory *min*').

distribution, which is the method of Ibn Ājurrūm above.

(3) Of all these *mud̲* and *mund̲u* are regarded as invariable nouns which have acquired prepositional status (*Muf.* #510), *ᶜan* and *ᶜalā* are nouns when operated upon by *min* (18.41 n 3, *Muf.* ##507, 508), and *ka* is a noun when operated upon by *ᶜan* (*Muf.* #509); *ᶜalā* is only a verb insofar as it has a productive verbal cognate *ᶜalā* 'to be high'.

26.7 (1) *Jum.* 75, 155; *Muf.* #110; *Alf.* v 385; *Qaṭr* 283; Beeston 45; Fleisch 170; Bateson 48; Yushmanov 64; Nöldeke 29. Terminology:
'iḍāfa 'annexation', lit. 'causing to lean or incline'
muḍāf 'annexed element', lit. 'thing made to lean against another'
muḍāf 'ilayh 'element to which another is annexed', lit. 'thing against which something has been made to lean', see further 26.7 n 3.
See also: annexation structure 26.91 n 1; annexation to pronouns 11.718 n 2; objective and subjective annexation 16.512 n 1, 24.31 n 1; semantic categories 26.71 n 1; formal categories 26.93 n 1.

(2) See *G.A.L.* II, 109, *E.I.* (2), art. 'Abū Ḥayyān al-G̲h̲arnāṭī' on Abū Ḥayyān, born in Granada, died 1344 after a turbulent career both as a theologian and grammarian. On Abū Ishāq az-Zajjāj, died about 923 and one of the most famous pupils of al-Mubarrad (22.3 n 1) see *G.A.L.* I, 110. The dispute (here paraphrased from al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* II, 24) concerns the problem of 'formal' (*lafẓī*, i.e. some overt element) and 'abstract' (*maᶜnawī*, i.e. the annexation function itself) operators, cf. 1.31 n 4. Curiously this problem is not mentioned in *Inṣāf*.

(3) Note that it is the first element which is annexed to the second: in *kitābuhu* 'his book' *kitābu* is prefixed to *hu*, not *hu* suffixed to *kitābu*. A reason for this may be that the form of the first element (i.e. loss of definition markers, 26.91 n 1) is determined by the intention to annex: failing annexation the listener will expect the final *n* (thus *kitābun* 'a book'), this *n* being in complementary distribution with the second element (see 23.2 n 1 on *manzila* 'status', 1.4 on *-n*).

26.71 (1) In fact a third category is identified in 26.9, the Arabs showing commendable restraint in subdividing into only three a structure capable of exhibiting a virtually limitless number of relationships between its constituents (contrast Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.* 139, Fleisch 171, and cf. Gätje, *Die Sprache* 11, 61).

(2) See 26.91 n 3 on *ik̲tiṣāṣ* 'particularization', 26.27 on *li* (here *lām al-milk* 'the *li* of ownership'), 2.101 n 1 on 'implicit'.

(3) See 26.7 n 2 for az-Zajjāj.

26.72 (1) See 26.21 on *min*, here *al-bayāniyya* 'explanatory', cf. 5.82 n 3. On purely formal grounds we include here the nouns made oblique by numerals (see 20.22 n 1), viz. plural after numbers 3-10 (e.g. *k̲amsu banātin* '5 girls') and singular after numbers 100 upwards (e.g. *mi'atu bintin* '100 girls', *'alfā bintin* '2000 girls'), with the reservation that aš-Širbīnī's predicative paraphrase breaks down here, as both *al-k̲amsu banātun* 'the five are girls' and *al-banātu k̲amsun* 'the girls are five in number' are possible (perhaps 26.72 n 5 applies).

ان يكون المضاف بعض المضاف اليه ويصلح المضاف اليه للاخبار عن المضاف نحو ثوب خز وخاتم حديد لان الثوب بعض الخز والخز نوع من الحرير والخاتم بعض جنس الحديد ويقال هذا الثوب خز وهذا الخاتم حديد بخلاف ثوب زيد وغلامه مما الاضافة فيه تفيد الملك ونحو حصير المسجد وقنديله مما الاضافة فيه تفيد الاختصاص لانتفاء الشرطين فان المضاف في هذه الامثلة ليس بعض المضاف اليه ولا يصح الاخبار فيهما بالمضاف اليه عن المضاف وبخلاف نحو يوم الخميس لانتفاء الشرط الاول فان اليوم وان صح الاخبار عنه بالخميس ليس بعضه وبخلاف نحو يد زيد وان كانت بعض زيد لكنها لا يصح ان يخبر عنها بزيد وما اشبه ذلك من امثلة هذين القسمين واما تابع المخفوض فقد تقدم في المرفوعات تنبيه سكت المصنف عن قسم اخر وهو ما يقدر بفي الدالة على الظرفية وهذا القسم قليل ولهذا لم يذكره الا طائفة قليلة وتبعها ابن مالك وضابطه ان يكون المضاف اليه ظرفا للمضاف سواء اكان زمانيا نحو مكر الليل او مكانيا نحو يا صاحبي السجن اذ

This is a numerous group, whose main principle[2] is that the annexed element should be part of the element it is annexed to, and that it should be proper for the latter to be predicated of the annexed element, e.g. *ṯawbu ḵazzin* 'a garment of silk', *ḵātamu ḥadīdin* 'a ring of iron', because the garment is part of the silk (*al-ḵazzu* denotes a certain kind of silk), and the ring is part of the iron.[3] Hence it is possible to say *hāḏā ṯ-ṯawbu ḵazzun* 'this garment is silk' and *hāḏā l-ḵātamu ḥadīdun* 'this ring is iron', unlike *ṯawbu zaydin* 'the garment of Zayd' and *ġulāmu zaydin* 'the slave-boy of Zayd' in possessive annexation, and unlike *ḥaṣīru l-masjidi* 'the mosque carpet' and *qindīlu l-masjidi* 'the mosque lamp',[4] whose annexation conveys specialization, since both conditions are contraverted: in the above examples the annexed noun is neither part of what it is annexed to nor is it proper to predicate the latter of the annexed noun.[5]

26.73 This kind of annexation is also unlike, for example, *yawmu l-ḵamīsi* 'Thursday',[1] because the first condition is contraverted, for, even though it would be proper to predicate *al-ḵamīsu* 'the fifth' of *al-yawmu* 'the day', it is still not part of it. Likewise this kind of (explanatory) annexation is also unlike, for example, *yadu zaydin* 'the hand of Zayd', because the second condition is contraverted, for, even though the hand is part of Zayd, it would not be proper to predicate Zayd of it. The author concludes with: and the like. By this he means the examples of both kinds of annexation.[2]

26.8 The concordant of the oblique element has already been dealt with under independent elements, to which reference should be made.[1]

26.9 Note: The author omits to mention one other kind of annexation, namely with an implicit *fī* 'in' denoting space or time.[1] This kind is somewhat rare, and so is mentioned only by a small group of grammarians, who have been followed by Ibn Mālik.[2] The main principle here is that the second noun should be a space or time qualifier of the annexed noun, either temporal, as in the Qur'anic *makru l-layli* 'the scheming of the night'[3] or spatial, as in the Qur'anic *yā ṣāḥibayi s-sijni* 'O two companions of the prison',[4] since the implicit meaning is 'scheming in

(2) 'Main principle' is *ḍābiṭ*, lit. 'controller', elsewhere also translated as 'axiom', e.g. 3.422.

(3) Genuine semantic restraints may be operating here and at 20.3, 20.41 n 1, since one element in the construction is always a substance or measure. Evidently in both cases the original structure was appositional (*raṭlun zaytun* 'a ratl-weight, oil', *ṯawbun ḵazzun* 'a garment, silk') the latter then assimilating to the annexation structure (see Fleischer, *Kl. Schr.* II, 1, 74, and cf. 11.9 n 1).

(4) Note in passing the suggestion (Fleisch, *Tr.* #56b, Bravmann, *J.A.O.S.* 81, 386) that the obliqueness marker *i* (3.8) may be connected with the gentilic suffix *ī* (11.721 n 3).

(5) In *Inṣāf* prob. 61, the 'Baṣrans' (9.4 n 3) disallow annexation of synonyms on the grounds that a thing cannot be explanatory of itself: in *masjidu l-jāmiᶜi* 'communal mosque', for example, an elliptical **masjidi l-mawḍiᶜi l-jāmiᶜi* 'mosque of the gathering place' is assumed.

26.73 (1) Observe how Arabic uses annexation to reproduce compound nouns from other languages, e.g. *kušku l-kutubi* 'bookstall', lit. 'the kiosk of books'. But Arabic has other resources in its derivational system (10.37 n 1), e.g. *maktabatun* 'bookshop', with the *mafᶜal* pattern (18.5 n 1), *kutubī* 'bookseller', with the gentilic suffix (11.721 n 3), *kitābun taᶜlīmiyyun* 'textbook', using simple adjectival qualification.

(2) Annexation also occurs with *kull* 'all' etc. (13.4 n 6), *ḡayr* 'other than' etc. (21.4), *'ayy* 'whichever' (5.861), certain numerals (20.22 n 1), superlatives (22.42 n 3) and space/time qualifiers (ch. 18, esp. 18.34). These last may also be annexed to sentences, either directly, e.g. *yawma wulida* 'on the day he was born' (= *on the day of he was born', cf. 2.44 n 1), or through a nominalizer, e.g. *min qabli 'an ya'tiya* 'before it comes' (= *before that it comes', cf. 5.41 n 8).

26.8 (1) Chs. 11-14. Because the annexation unit is indivisible (see 26.91 n 1) adjectives follow it and may qualify either element, marked accordingly: contrast *yadu zaydin iṭ-ṭawīli* 'the hand of tall Zayd' and *yadu zaydin iṭ-ṭawīlatu* 'the long hand of Zayd'.

26.9 (1) Although annexation of agents and direct objects is common, (16.512 n 1) it is felt unusual to annex space/time qualifiers (cf. the reservations about space/time qualfiers in 18.1 n 4).

(2) See 1.02 n 2 on Ibn Mālik. The reference here is to *Alf.* v 386 (ex al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* II, 25 or *Āj.* 95). The phenomenon was known to Sībawayhi, cf. *Kitāb* I, 89, who discusses the two Qur'anic verses mentioned below and some other interesting possibilities such as *wulida lahu sittūna ᶜāman* 'he has been born for sixty years', lit. 'sixty years have been born for him'.

(3) S. 34 v 33, cf. *yā sāriqa l-laylati* 'O thief of the night', *Kitāb*, loc. cit. n 2.

(4) S. 12 v 39; see 23.44 on the juncture feature in *ṣāḥibayi*.

التقدير مكر في الليل ويا صاحبان في السجن بخلاف نحو ثوب زيد وغلامه لفقـــد
الشـرط المذكور لان ذلك انما يفيد الملك كما مر وتسمى هذه الاضافة باقسامها الثلاثة
محضة لانها خالصة من تقدير (69a) الانفصال ومعنوية لانها مفيدة لتعريف الاســم
المضاف بالمضاف اليه فيما اذا اضيف الى معرفة نحو غلام زيد او تخصيص المضاف
بالمضاف اليه فيما اذا اضيف الى نكرة نحو جاءني غلام امرأة لان كلا من التعريـف
والتخصيص امر معنوي واما الاضافة اللفظية فتكون باضافة الوصف العامل من اســم
الفاعل واسم المفعول والصفة المشبهة الى معموله مثال الاول قوله تعالى هديا بالـغ
الكعبة فبالغ اسم فاعل مضاف الى مفعوله وهو الكعبة فجرت باضافة عاملها اليهـا
ومثال الثاني معمور الدار فاضيف في ذلك اسم المفعول الى معموله وهو نائب الفاعل
فتخصص ومثال الثالث حسن الوجه فاضيف في ذلك الصفة المشبهة الى معمولها فتخصصت
وانما سميت لفظية لافادتها امرا لفظيا لانها جيء بها لمجرد التخفيف في اللفظ
بحذف نون تلي الاعراب او التنوين فلا تفيد تعريفا ولا تخصيصا خاتمة قد

the night' and 'O two companions in the prison',[5] which are not the same as *ṯawbu zaydin* 'the garment of Zayd' or *ḡulāmu zaydin* 'the slave-boy of Zayd' as the above mentioned condition is absent (because these latter convey only possession, as already stated).

26.91 This annexation, in its three kinds, is called 'pure annexation',[1] because it is free from implicit *(69a)* separability. It is also called 'abstract annexation'[2] because it conveys the definition of the first noun through the second when the first noun is annexed to a defined nouns (e.g. *ḡulāmu zaydin* 'the slave-boy of Zayd') or the specialization[3] of the first noun through the second when the first is annexed to an undefined noun (e.g. *jā'anī ḡulāmu mra'atin* 'a woman's slave-boy came to me'), since both definition and specialization are abstract features.

26.92 As for 'formal annexation',[1] this is the result of annexing an adjectival operator (namely the agent noun, patient noun, or the quasi-participipial adjective)[2] to the noun on which it operates. An example of the first is the Qur'anic *hadyan bāliḡa l-ka*ᶜ*bati* 'an offering reaching the Kaaba',[3] where *bāliḡa* 'reaching' is an agent noun annexed to the direct object (*al-ka*ᶜ*bati*), which thus has oblique form by having its operator annexed to it. An example of the second is *ma*ᶜ*mūru d-dāri* 'inhabited of house',[4] where the patient noun has been annexed to the noun on which it operates (the substitute agent) and thereby becomes more specific. An example of the third is *ḥasanu l-wajhi* 'handsome of face',[5] where the quasi-participipial adjective has been annexed to the noun on which it operates and thereby becomes more specific.

26.93 This kind is called 'formal annexation' because it conveys something formal: it simply enables the realization of forms without the *n* which is suffixed after inflection, or the *tanwīn*, and it does not of itself convey either definition or specialization.[1]

(5) Note that aš-Širbīnī does not mention the other two possibilities, that this might be particularizing (26.71) or explanatory (26.72) annexation, perhaps because he knows that some grammarians regard the type *makru l-layli* merely as a variant of one of those two (e.g. al-Jāmī on Ibn al-Ḥājib, *Kāfiya* 190, as-Sajā^{c}ī on *Qaṭr* ad loc.).

26.91 (1) 'Pure annexation' (*'iḍāfa maḥḍa*, cf. 5.552 n 1 on *maḥḍa*) is an inseparable bonding of two elements, most obvious when the second is a bound pronouns (cf. 26.7 n 3). The first element loses all definition markers (26.93 n 1) but is marked for the function of the whole unit (e.g. *ra'aytu ġulāma zaydin* 'I saw the slave-boy of Zayd'), while the second is marked with oblique form (*zaydin*) or is a pronoun. If the second element is undefined, e.g. *yadu rajulin* 'the hand of a man', the whole unit is syntactically undefined, but see below, n 3.

(2) See 2.1 n 2 on *ma^{c}nawī* 'abstract'.

(3) 'Specialization' is *taḵṣīṣ*, cognate (and almost synonymous with) *iḵtiṣāṣ* 'particularization' (26.71), in both cases denoting an intermediate stage between absolute definition and indefinition (cf. Gätje, *Arabica* 17, 225, esp. 235f): see also 19.71 n 1.

26.92 (1) 'Formal annexation' is *'iḍāfa lafẓiyya* (v. 2.1 n 2 on *lafẓī*) or *ġayr maḥḍa* 'impure' (contrast 'pure annexation', 26.91).

(2) See 10.34 n 1 on the formal categories of agent and patient noun; 'quasi-participial adjective' renders *aṣ-ṣifa l-mušabbaha (bi-l-fā^{c}il)* lit. 'the adjective made to resemble the agent', i.e. one having a verb phrase as its underlying form (see 11.45 n 1). The 'operation' (*^{c}amal*, 2.11 n 1) referred to here is in the surface structure, viz. of the annexed noun upon the noun it is annexed to (i.e. making oblique), contrast the deep structure in the paraphrases below.

(3) S. 5 v 95; note that the annexation unit is undefined, concording with undefined antecedent *hadyan*. The deep structure shows a relative clause, *yabluġu l-ka^{c}bata* 'which reaches the Kaaba' (v. 11.753 n 3 on relative syntax), with *al-ka^{c}abata* now marked as a direct object.

(4) The deep structure is **tu**^{c}*maru dāruhu* 'whose house is inhabited' (i.e. flourishing), itself a transformation of an underlying active verb (cf. 8.2), with *dāruhu* now marked as a 'substitute agent' (8.0 n 3). Unlike *yabluġu* in n 2, which already contains a referential pronoun (7.58 n 1), *dāruhu* needs an overt referential pronoun.

(5) The deep structure is *yaḥsunu wajhuhu* 'whose face is handsome', with *wajhuhu* now marked as agent (cf. 11.5 n 2).

26.93 (1) In 'pure annexation' (26.91) the second element functions as a definition marker in complementary distribution with *al* 'the' and the suffix *tanwīn* (1.4, 26.7) as well as its allomorphs *na/ni* e.g. *yadā zaydin* 'the two hands of Zayd' etc. (see paradigms 4.5 n 1, 4.6 n 1). But in 'formal annexation' the second element does not define the first and so definition markers must be added as required: contrast *rajulun ḥasanu l-wajhi* 'a man handsome of face' and *ar-rajulu l-ḥasanu l-wajhi*

يكتسب المضاف المذكر من المضاف اليه مع صحة المؤنث تأنيثه وبالعكس وشرط ذلك في الصورتين صلاحية المضاف للاستغناء عنه عند سقوطه بالمضاف اليه مع صحة المعنى في الجملة فمن الاول قولهم قطعت بعض اصابعه فبعض نائب فاعل قطعت وانث الفعل المسند اليه لكونه اكتسب التأنيث من المضاف اليه وهي الاصابع ومن ذلك قراءة الحسن البصري وهي قراءة شاذة تلتقطه بعض السيارة بالتاء المثناة فوق
ومن الثاني قول الشاعر (69b)

انارة العقل مكسوف بطوع الهوى وعقل عاصي الهوى يزداد تنويرا

فذكر مكسوف مع انه خبر عن مؤنث وهو انارة الا انها اكتسبت التذكير من اضافتها الى العقل ويحتمل ان يكون منه ان رحمت الله قريب من المحسنين ويبعده لعل الساعة قريب حيث لا اضافة وذكر الفراء انهم التزموا تذكير قريب

26.94 Conclusion. It is possible for the annexed masculine noun to acquire feminine gender from the noun it is annexed to when the latter is properly feminine, and vice versa.[1] The condition for both forms is that it should be proper for the first noun, if omitted, to become dispensable by means of the second, while the overall meaning remains correct. An example of the first is *quṭi^{c}at ba^{c}ḍu 'aṣābi^{c}ihi* 'some of his fingers were cut off', where *ba^{c}ḍu* 'some' is a substitute agent of the verb *quṭi^{c}at* 'were cut off', and the verb predicated of *ba^{c}ḍu* has been made feminine because *ba^{c}ḍu* has acquired feminine gender from the noun to which it is annexed, namely *'aṣābi^{c}u* 'fingers'.[2] A similar case is the Reading of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī[3] (but it is an abnormal Reading) of the Qur'anic *taltaqiṭhu ba^{c}ḍu s-sayyārati* 'one of the caravans might pick him up',[4] with *t* (spelt with two dots above) on *taltaqiṭ* 'might pick up'.

26.95 An example of the second[1] is the verse of the poet *(69b)*

'ināratu l-^{c}aqli maksūfun bi-ṭaw^{c}i hawan
wa-^{c}aqlu ^{c}āṣī l-hawā yazdādu tanwīran

'the illumination of the mind is eclipsed by obedience to lust, but the mind of him who disobeys lust increases in enlightenment',[2] where *maksūfun* 'eclipsed' is masculine even though it is the predicate of a feminine noun, namely *'ināratun* 'illumination', but the latter has acquired masculine gender by annexation to *al-^{c}aqli* 'the mind'.

26.96 Perhaps to this category also belongs the Qur'anic *'inna raḥmata llāhi qarībun min al-muḥsinīna* 'verily God's mercy is near for those that do good'.[1] The Qur'anic *la^{c}alla s-sā^{c}ata qarībun* 'perhaps the hour is near',[2] on the other hand, with the masculine form of *qarībun* 'near' has nothing to do with this, since there is no annexation: it has been

'the man handsome of face', in which the alternation *ḥasanu/al-ḥasanu* exactly parallels the *Ø-yaḥsunu/allaḏī yaḥsunu* of relative clauses (v. 11.753 n 3). Try also Carter, *B.S.O.A.S.* 35, 486).

26.94 (1) 'Properly feminine' (*ṣiḥḥat al-mu'annaṯ*, lit. 'the soundness of the feminine element') is evidently a gratuitous addition by aš-Širbīnī to his source (al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* II, 31), apparently meaning that the cases discussed in 26.96 are not covered by this rule. As the phrase only occurs in MS C. it is to be treated with suspicion anyway.

(2) The explanation unwittingly concedes that here it is not so much a case of *ba^{c}ḍu* (17.65) acquiring feminine gender as of the verb *quṭi^{c}at* (see 8.0 for 'substitute agent', 3.73 n 5 for verbs as predicates). Cf. attraction in the opposite direction in *ḥaḍara l-qāḍiya mra'atun* 'a woman attended the judge': the masc. verb is allowed by grammarians when not immediately followed by its fem. agent (e.g. *Muf.* #263).

(3) See 21.21 n 2 on 'Reading'; al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī was a famous ascetic and preacher who died in 728, v. *E.I.* (2), art. 'Ḥasan al-Baṣrī'.

(4) S. 12 v 10; the orthodox Reading is *yaltaqiṭhu*, 3rd. sing. masc., concording with the grammatical gender of *ba^{c}ḍu*, and apocopated according to 5.90 n 2(a). The masc. verb here may be influenced by the fact that the formally fem. *sayyāratun* is really a collective/intensive with masc. connotation, scil. *qawmun sayyāratun* 'travelling people', cf. 11.44 n 2.

(5) See 3.44 n 2 on spelling instructions, here distinguishing masc. *ya* and fem. *ta* of the imperfect tense prefixes (5.3).

26.95 (1) Though lacking a term 'gender' (cf. 11.02 n 1) the Arabs were well aware of its existence: *Muf.* #263 treats the masc. as the unmarked form, fem. as the marked form, and distinguishes between natural gender (*ḥaqīqī* 'true, real') and grammatical gender (*ḡayr ḥaqīqī* 'not real'). See also 11.42 n 1, 11.43 n 3, 11.44 n 2, and 26.96 n 4.

(2) *Schaw. Ind.* 112 (add Abū Ḥayyān, op. cit. 8.67 n 1, 274, which may be the earliest citation of this otherwise anonymous verse). Another example of masc. gender by attraction is *muḵtalifun 'alwānuhu* 'its colours varying' in 7.02, though the attraction here is probably due to the considerations in 11.5, 11.51 (see Reckendorf, *Ar. Synt.* 422 for other examples).

26.96 (1) S. 7 v 56. The prefatory 'perhaps' is needed because there are other explanations, e.g. that *qarībun* concords with masc. synonyms of *raḥmata* (e.g. *ḡufrān* 'forgiveness' etc.), or that it qualifies an elided masc. noun, scil. *šay'un qarībun* 'a near thing'. Note that in the text *raḥmata* is spelt with the 'long *t*', q.v. 11.42 n 1.

(2) S. 42 v 17. The problem, however, remains, and we may be dealing here with the class of adjectives in the *fa^{c}īl* pattern (v. 3.411 n 2) which never vary for gender, because they have not lost their original noun status (so *qarībun* by itself may mean 'a near thing', cf. 11.61 n 1).

اذ لم يرد قرب النسب قصدا للفرق وإياك ان تظن ان التذكير لكون التأنيث مجازيا لان ذلك وهم لوجوب التأنيث في نحو الشمس طالعة وانما يفترق حكم المجازي والحقيقي الظاهرين لا المضمرين كما قاله ابن هشام في مغنيه

اغنانا الله تعالى من فضله وكرمه وختم بالصالحات اعمالنا بمحمد وآله والله سبحانه اعلم وهذا اخر ما يسر الله تعالى من نور السجية في حل الفاظ الاجرومية وقد جاء هذا الشرح بحمد الله تعالى محررا لدلائل هذا الفن مظهرا الاعراب ودقائق استعمل الفكر فيها اذا الليل جن فان ظفرت فيه بفائدة شاردة فادع لي بحسن الخاتمة وان ظفرت بعثرة قلم فاعذرني فان العذر عند خيار الناس مقبول واللطف من شيم السادات مأمول وانا اسأل الله تعالى ان يجعله لوجهه خالصا وان ينفعني به حين يكون الظل في الاخرة قالصا وان يصب عليه قبول القبول كما صب على اصله فانه اكرم مسؤول واعز مأمول وان يكفينا شر الحساد وان لا يفضحنا يوم المعاد بمنه

observed by al-Farrā'[3] that the masculine of *qarībun* 'near' has been adhered to here for the purpose of differentiation, when nearness of kinship is not intended. But beware of thinking that *qarībun* is masculine because the feminine gender of *sā^cata* 'hour' is only figurative: that this is a misconception is proved by the compulsory feminine in, for example, *aš-šamsu ṭāli^catun* 'the sun is rising'.[4] There is a different rule for the figurative and the literal when both are overt nouns, not when they are pronominalized, Ibn Hišām says in his *Muġnī*.[5]

EPILOGUE

May God enrich us with His grace and generosity and seal our work with good things through Muḥammad and his Family. God, who is praised and exalted, knows best.[1]

This is the end of what it has pleased God to allow of *The Ājurrūmiyya's Exposition by the Light of Intuition*.[2] This Commentary has been produced, praise be to Almighty God, so as to put in the clearest terms all the essential features of the art of Grammar[3] and to make plain its inflections and details, over which the mind has been exercised far into the night.[4] And if you come across some stray benefit therein, then pray for my good end, and if you come across some slip of the pen, then excuse me, for excuse is readily accepted from people of quality, and kindness is always hoped for from the character of the nobility.

That this work[5] will be pure in His sight the Almighty God I ask, and that when the shadows of the afterlife roll back He will make me profit from my task, and on this Commentary as on the original the breeze of favour make to blow, for on all that pray to Him he does most generously bestow, and is most Mighty, as we who put our hopes in Him do know; and may He guard us from the evil of the envious, and may He not on

(3) See 1.21 n 2 on al-Farrā', and *Ma^c^ānī* I, 380 for his comments on *qarībun*. Aš-Širbīnī's immediate source, however, is al-Azharī, *Taṣr.* II, 31-32, from which all of 26.94-26.96 is taken.

(4) This is not a rhetorical distinction such as exists between, say, masc. *manzilun* 'real place, dwelling' and fem. *manzilatun* 'metaphorical place, status'. It means that masc. *qarībun* does not imply that the grammatical gender of *raḥmata* or *sā^c^ata* is also masculine, for if this were generalized there would be no need for fem. adjectives with any nouns except those of natural fem. gender, and this is disproved by *aš-šamsu tāli^c^atun*, where the fem. adjective qualifies a noun of unmarked fem. gender.

(5) See 1.02 n 1 on Ibn Hišām; the reference is to *Muġnī* II, 112-3. It means that nouns may acquire the other gender following a transfer to figurative meaning, but pronouns cannot (so a verbal paraphrase of S. 42 v 17 would have to be *as-sā^c^atu qarubat* 'the hour, it is near', with fem. pronoun agent concealed in *qarubat*, 7.58 n 1); cf. *Muf.* #263 end.

EPILOGUE

(1) This is the conventional disclaimer of infallibility which often accompanies anything even slightly speculative in Muslim writings (but whose modesty may cloak a challenge to the reader to do better!).

(2) See 0.5 n 1 on the rhyming title.

(3) This part of aš-Širbīnī's epilogue bears a striking resemblance to the corresponding passage in as-Suyūṭī's Commentary on the *Alfiyya* (e.g. in the margin of Ibn ^c^Aqīl, Cairo 1925, 203). If this is plagiarism it is not without irony, for as-Suyūṭī (d. 1505, *G.A.L.* II, 143) is himself best known for the energy and thoroughness with which he reproduced the contents of earlier works.

(4) Too much study of grammar, it has been remarked, drives one mad (cf. J. Kramers, *Analecta Orientalia*, Leiden 1956, II, 167).

(5) Translations of grammatical texts are few, and of unequal merit and reliability. Still useful is S. de Sacy, *Anthologie grammaticale arabe*, Paris 1829 (see below). Among available translations are:

al-Ḥarīrī, *Molhat al-Irab, ou les récréations grammaticales*, L. Pinto, Paris n.d. (1904?, cf. *G.A.L.* I, 277 and Suppl.).

Ibn Ājurrūm, *Einleitung in das Studium der arabischen Grammatiker, die Ajrūmiyyah des Muḥammad b. Daūd*, E. Trumpp, Munich 1876 (but see Fleischer, *Kl. Schr.* II, 75). Other translations, *G.A.L.* II, 237.

Ibn ^c^Aqīl, *Ibn ^c^Akīl's Commentar zur Alfijja des Ibn Mālik*, F. Dieterici, Berlin 1852.

Ibn Hišām, (a) *Qaṭr an-nadā wa-ball aṣ-ṣadā, la pluie de rosée, étanche -ment de la soif*, A. Goguyer, Leiden 1887.

(b) *Al-'i^c^rāb ^c^an qawā^c^id al-'i^c^rāb*, de Sacy, *Anthologie gram. ar.*,

وكرمه (70a) انه كريم جواد وان يفعل ذلك بوالدينا واخواننا واحبابنا وسائر
المسلمين والمسلمات لانه قريب مجيب الدعوات والحمد لله الذي هدانا لهذا وما
كنا لنهتدي لولا ان هدانا الله وصلى الله على سيدنا محمد وآله واصحابه وازواجه
وذريته واهل بيته صلاة وسلاما دائمين متلازمين الى يوم الدين آمين

Judgement Day dishonour us, through His grace and bounty *(70a)* for He is bountiful and generous.[6] And I ask that He will do the same to our parents, our brothers, our loved ones and all Muslims male and female, for He is near and answers every prayer. Praise be to God who guided us to this, for how else would we have been guided if not by God?[7] And God bless our Lord Muḥammad and his Family, and his Companions, his wives, his seed and the people of his House with blessing and peace for ever, continuing so until the Day of Resurrection, Amen.[8]

*

Appendix: This edition is based on the following manuscripts,

B. (Berlin), Ahlwardt 6679 (*G.A.L.* II, 238, item 10). An incomplete manuscript of 35 folios, ending at 8.0 (=text, p. 168 l. 3, *laysa*, in the present edition). The writing is hasty but easily legible, and no evidence of date or provenance is forthcoming.

C. (Carter). This manuscript came into the editor's possession in Cairo. Apart from errors (e.g. 18.209 n 2) it is complete in 70 folios and neatly written by Ṣāliḥ ᶜAbdullāh al-Manfalūṭī al-Mālikī, who dates the final copying at the last Friday of Rabīᶜ II, 1203, i.e. the 23rd January, 1789.

D. (Damascus), Ẓāhiriyya 162; complete in 77 folios, very neatly and clearly written, finished on Wednesday, 17th Šaᶜbān, 1046, i.e. the 14th January, 1637, by Zayn ad-Dīn ibn ᶜAlā' ad-Dīn al-Kufayrī.

Manuscript D. being the oldest, it has usually been trusted in cases of doubt, but there are insufficient grounds to establish whether the three manuscripts are related in any way.

N.B. Brockelmann's reference to another Damascus manuscript, Ẓāhiriyya 68 (*G.A.L.* II, Suppl. 333, item 10) is wrong: this is Isfarā'īnī's *Commentary on the Kāfiya*.

*

Errata: 5.81, trans. p. 132 line 13, omits 'with independent status through it' after '*huwa* 'he''.
5.89, trans. p. 142 line 7, omits 'made independent by it' after 'concealed in it'.
5.90, trans. p. 142 line 16, ditto.

155-225 (Arabic text 73-92).

Ibn Mālik (a) *L'Alfiyya*, L. Pinto, Constantine 1887.

(b) *La 'Alfiyyah d'Ibnu Malik*, A. Goguyer, Paris 1888.

(c) *L'Alfiiah*, E. Vitto, Beirut 1898 (Italian).

(d) *Alfiyya*, extracts, de Sacy, *Anthologie gram. ar.*, 315-347 (Arabic text 134-144).

al-Muṭarrizī, *Miṣbāḥ*, extract, de Sacy, op cit. 224-239 (Ar. text 93-98).

ar-Rummānī, *Sieben Kapitel des Šarḥ Kitāb Sībawaihi von ar-Rummānī in Edition und Übersetzung*, E. Ambros, Vienna 1979.

Sībawayhi (a) *Sībawaihi's Buch über die Grammatik, übersetzt und erklärt*, G. Jahn, Berlin 1895-1900.

(b) *Kitāb*, extracts, de Sacy, op. cit. 361-407 (Ar. text 152-166).

az-Zamak̲šarī, *Unmūḏaj*, extract, de Sacy, op. cit. 240-280 (Ar. text 99-118).

(6) See 0.5 n 2 on the rhyming prose.

(7) Nevertheless the reader should not be deterred from consulting the following works of reference for further guidance:

Bakalla M. H., *Bibliography of Arabic Linguistics*, London 1975.

Encyclopaedia of Islam, 1st ed., Leiden/London 1908-1934, 2nd ed. Leiden/London 1960-.

Hospers J. H., *A Basic Bibliography for the Study of the Semitic Languages*, vol. II, Leiden 1974.

Linguistic Bibliography/Bibliographie Linguistique, Utrecht/Brussels 1949-.

Pearson J. D., *Index Islamicus*, Cambridge 1958, then London 1972-.

(8) Here we summarize what little is known about the life of aš-Širbīnī and his works. In Ibn al-^{c}Imād's biographical dictionary (loc. cit. *G.A.L.* II, Suppl. 441) aš-Širbīnī (after the village of Širbīn in his native Egypt, cf. 11.721 n 4) is conventionally eulogized as a man of outstanding piety and learning, which are confirmed by his authorship of a large *Commentary* on the Qur'ān, several minor religious treatises, and some grammatical works (cf. 1.0 n 3, but see 0.4 n 6). He died on the 11th January 1570, at what age is not known, though one of his biographers (aš-Ša^{c}rānī, apud *al-K̲iṭaṭ al-jadīda*, see *G.A.L.* II, 320) says that he had known him for forty years.
He would thus have lived through perhaps the entire reign of the most successful of the Ottoman Sultans, Sulaymān the Great (1520-66), during which period Egypt became definitively absorbed into the Ottoman Empire. This has been interpreted as an eclipse of Arabs by Turks, but culturally at least it was an era of profound intellectual complacency in which the Arabic language unquestionably remained the dominant medium, however unadventurously it functioned.

INDEX OF QUR'ANIC QUOTATIONS

INDEX OF VERSE QUOTATIONS

The alphabetical order is Arabic. No account is taken of the exact form of the rhyming vowel. The first word of each line is in brackets.

INDEX OF NAMES, AUTHORS, TITLES

GLOSSARY-INDEX

References are selective only, and are to English entries by paragraph number, including material contained only in the notes. Alphabetical order ignores *al*, *'*, ^{c}, diacriticals and hyphens.

jāmid underived (noun, verb)
jarr obliqueness
jārr wa-majrūr operator of obl-ness and oblique element
jawāb, jazā' apodosis, see conditional sentence
jazm apocopation
jins genus
jinsī generic (proper noun)
jumla sentence; *j. ḏāt wajhayn* two-faced sentence
    j. fi^c*liyya* verbal sentence
    j. ismiyya nominal sentence
    j. šarṭiyya conditional s.
juncture *waṣl, darj* 11.1, 13.12

ka 1.708
ka'anna 10.44, 10.53
ḵabar predicate
kāda 10.101
ḵafḍ obliqueness
ḵāla 10.63
kalām speech, utterance; *k. 'inšā'ī* exclamatory statement
    k. ḵabarī predicative st.
kalima word
kallā 1.21
kam 20.6, 26.61
kāna 6.4, 10.1, 15.12
kasra name of *i* 0.4, see obliqueness markers
kay 5.44, 5.51, 26.1
kayfamā 5.92
ḵayr 5.82
kilā 13.43, 13.6
ḵiṭāb apostrophe
kull 13.4-91, 17.64
ḵumāsī quinquiliteral
kunya nickname

la emphatic *lām at-tawkīd* 13.6;
    la prefixed to subjects *lām al-ibtidā'* 10.8
    la prefixed to predicates *lām al-ḵabar* 13.6
lā categorical negative *lā llatī li-nafy al-jins* 15.08, 22.0
lā ad-du^c*ā'iyya, lā* of request
lā negative *lām an-nafy* 5.76
lā of prohibition *lām an-nahy* 5.76
lā repeat conjunction 12.7
lā of request *lā ad-du*^{c}*ā'iyya* 5.761
lā ṭ-tabri'a, lā of quittance see categorical negative
la^c*alla* 10.46, 10.55, 26.1
lafẓ form, utterance
lafẓī formal
laḡw neutralization
lāḥiq suffix
lākin 12.9
lākinna 10.43, 10.52
lam 5.71, 5.721, 5.722
lām al-^{c}*ahd* article of familiarity
lām al-'amr imperative *li*
lām ad-du^c*ā', li* of request
lām al-ibtidā', la prefixed to subject, see emphatic *la*
lām al-istiḡrāq all-embracing *al*, see def. article, generic
lām al-jins generic *al*, see def. article
lām al-juḥūd, li of denial
lām al-ḵabar predicative *la*
lām kay the *li* of *kay*
lām al-milk, li of possession
lām an-nafy negative *lā*
lām an-nahy, lā of prohibition
lām at-ta^c*līliyya* causative *li*
lām at-ta^c*rīf* definite article
lām at-tawkīd emphatic *la*
lamentation *nudba* 23.22, 23.3
lammā negative *l. nāfiya* 5.72
    temporal *l. tawqītiyya* 5.413
lan 3.53, 5.42
language of situtation *lisān al-ḥāl* 1.1
laqab title
latitude *sa*^{c}*a, tawassu*^{c} 18.1
law 5.811
lawlā 6.6
laysa 5.11, 10.18, 21.62
layta 10.45, 10.54
lāzim inherent, intransitive
lengthening *ziyāda* 3.221, 3.41
letter of the alphabet *ḥarf al-hijā'* 1.11, 2.12

mu'akkid corroborative
mu'annat̲ feminine
mubālaġa hyperbole
mubdal substituted
    m. minhu substituted for
mubham vague, see demonstrative nouns
mubtada' subject
mud̲ 26.62
muḍāf annexed
    m. 'ilayh element to which annexed
muḍāri^c imperfect tense verb
muḍmar pronominalized, suppressed
mufāriq transient
mufarraġ exhaustive (exception)
mufīd informative
mufrad single, singular, simple
muhmal neutralized, undotted
mu^c*jam* dotted
mujarrad free from operators
muk̲āṭab listener
mulġā neutralized
munādā vocative noun
mund̲u 26.62
munfaṣil free (pronoun)
munqaṭi^c discontinuous (exception)
munṣarif fully current, see declinable
muqaddar implicit
mu^c*rab* inflected
murakkab composite, compound; *m. 'iḍāfī* annexed compound
    m. 'isnādī predicative comp.
    m. mazajī mixed compound
    m. taqyīdī limiting compound
muṣaġġar diminutive
musnad subject, *m. 'ilayh* predicate
mustaġnī self-sufficient
mustaqbal future tense verb
mustaqīm right
muštaqq derived
muštarik equivocal
mustatir concealed (pronoun)
mustat̲nā excepted element
muta^c*addī* transitive
mu^c*tall* defective
muta^c*alliq* semantically connected
mutamakkin stable, established, cf. declinability
mut̲annā dual
muttaṣil bound (pronoun)
    conjunctive *'am*
    continuous (exception)
muwakkid corroborative
muẓhar overt noun

n final, see *tanwīn*
n preserving *nūn al-wiqāya* 3.96
na fem. plur. suffix *nūn al-'ināt̲* 3.241
nafs 13.31, 13.5, 13.9
nafy negation;
    n. maḥḍ pure negation
an-nā'ib ^{c}*an al-fā*^{c}*il* substitute agent, see passive verb
naḥw grammar
naḥwī grammarian
nahy prohibition
nakira indefinition, undefined
nāqiṣ defective, incomplete, weak (verb)
nasaq sequential coordination
naṣb dependence
na^c*t* adjective;
    n. ḥaqīqī true adjective
    n. sababī semantically linked adjective
nat̲r prose
nawāsik̲ cancellers
negation *nafy* 5.76, 22.0
    categorical neg. *nafy al-jins* 22.0
    pure neg. *nafy maḥḍ* 5.54, 5.552
neutralization *'ilġā'*, -ed *laġw*, *mulġā* 5.431, 21.31, 22.31
nickname *kunya* 11.723
nidā' vocative
ni^c*ma* 5.11
nisba gentilic adj., relation
niyya intention
norm, normal way *'aṣl* 9.8
noun *ism;* formal categories 1.24, 10.37, 20.7
    markers 1.3, abstract 1.6
    paradigms ch. 4 passim
    semantic categories 3.64, 24.21
    abstract n. *i. ma*^{c}*nā* 24.21
    n. of action *i. fi*^{c}*l* 1.42

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